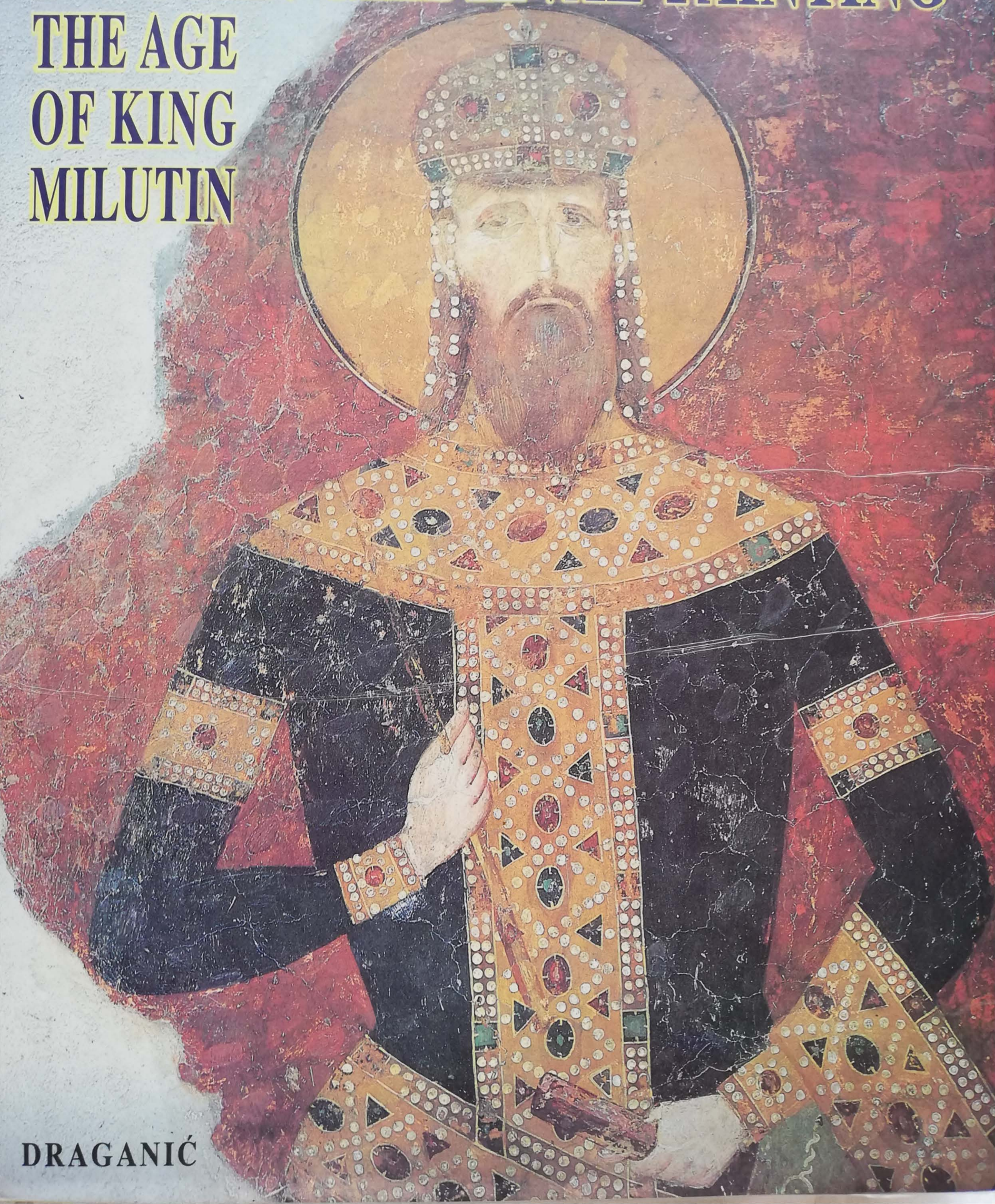


SERBIAN MEDIEVAL PAINTING

THE AGE OF KING MILUTIN



DRAGANIĆ

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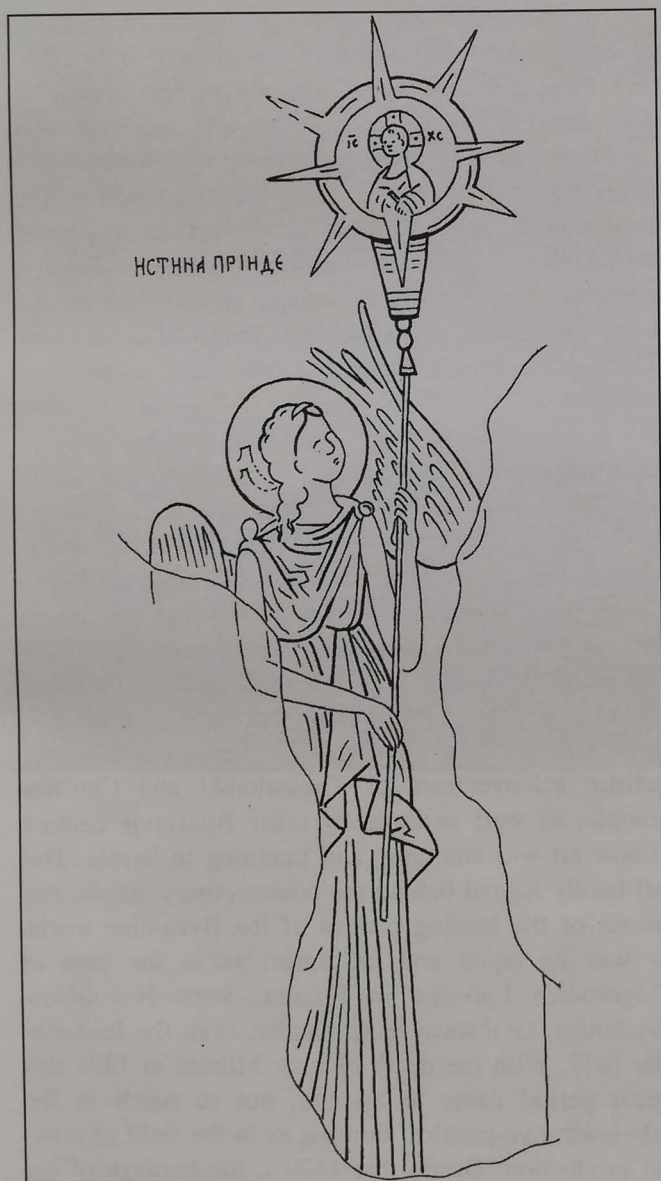
THE AGE OF
KING MILUTIN

DRAGANIĆ
Belgrade 1999

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INTRODUCTION

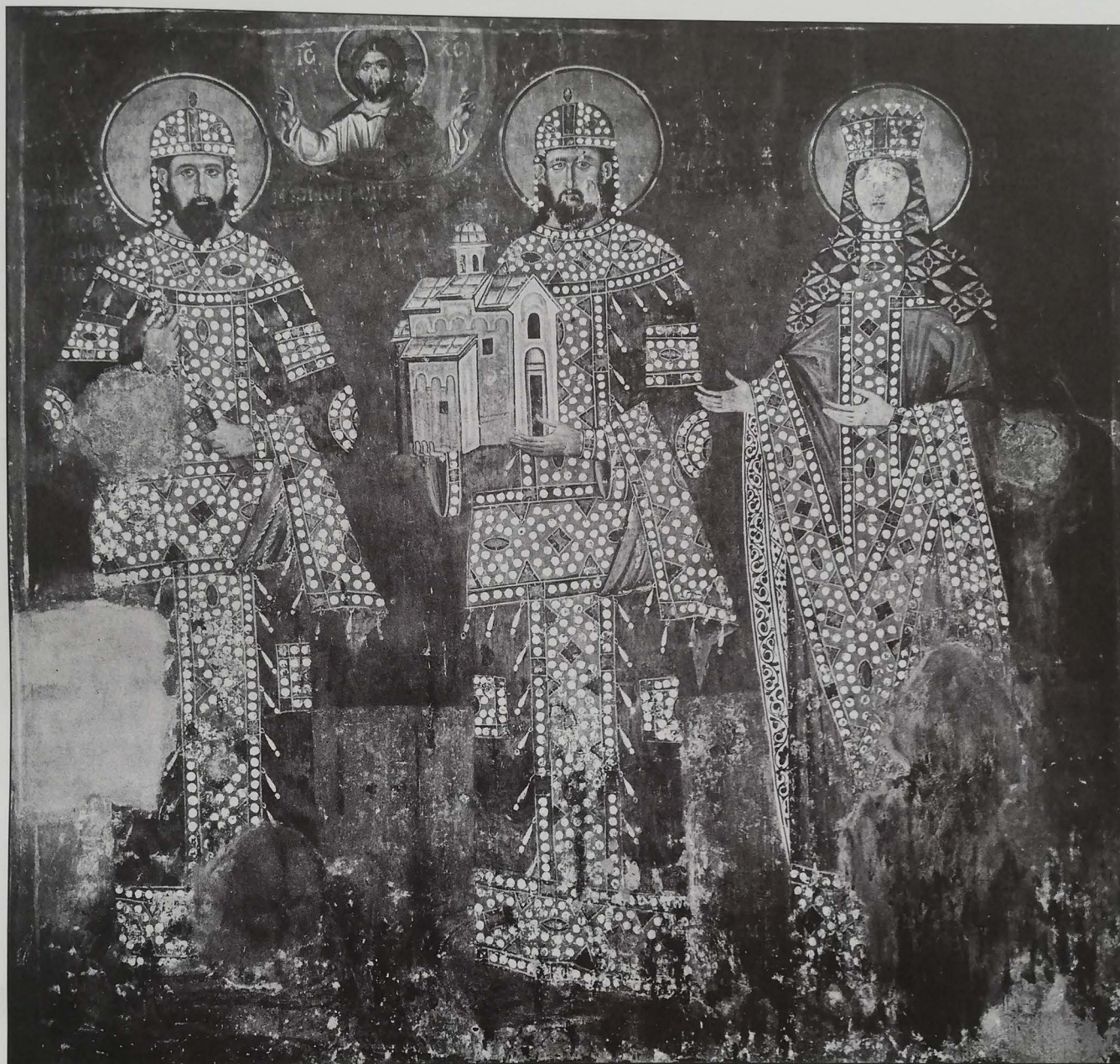


The first two centuries of artistic creation in Serbia were marked by intricate and difficult paths of familiarisation with civilisations of both the West and the East and by efforts to select, adopt and adapt to the needs of the Serbian milieu all the highest values of the Orthodox world of the day. Beginning with the church of St. Michael in Ston (around 1050) and throughout the following years, the focus of artistic activity gradually shifted to the eastern reaches of Serbian lands, with the Romanesque style surviving most persistently in the domain of architecture and book illumination while the iconography of sacral spaces, as well as the wall paintings covering them, turned increasingly towards Byzantine forms and models. The fascination of the great jupanus Stefan Nemanja and his descendants on the royal throne of Serbia with the weakened Byzantine Empire and the adoption of their ideology, as well as the autonomy of the Serbian church within the Orthodox Christian ecumene, were elemental in tracing the destiny of the Serbian people, their culture and art. Imbued with the millennial tradition of Byzantine art, inspired by clever and farsighted men leading and directing the political, ecclesiastical and cultural life of the land in those days, Serbian painting resolutely joined the main currents of late Komnenian art. At the time when, after 1204, the Byzantines no longer ruled from the city on the Bosphorus and a series of smaller states were fighting for their own heritage and prestige in the Balkans, Serbian art became the haven of continuity and development of Eastern Christian art. During the XIII century, between the waning of late Komnenian art and Angeloi era and, following the restoration of Byzantine rule in Constantinople (1261),

the rise of that of the Palaiologoi, Serbian lands cradled the birth of a series of wall paintings displaying clearly all the characteristics of a developed iconography and style. The fact that these paintings were not just a local phenomenon in the westernmost reaches of the Orthodox world is further attested by similar, although rare, creations scattered from Bulgaria and Mount Athos across the Greek islands to Russia and Asia Minor and kept today in numerous libraries and museums throughout the world. On the other hand, owing to the economically strong and politically and spiritually stable Serbian state, the wall paintings in the endowments of Nemanja's sons and grandsons were not just a link between the two major periods of Byzantine painting, the Komnenian and the Palaiologan, stagnating and awaiting better days of restoration and cultural transformation of the old Byzantine capital. The preserved frescoes of Studenica (1208/1209), Žiča (1220–1221), Mileševa (1222–1228), Morača (1260), Sopoćani (1263–1268), Peć (around 1265), Gradac (around 1275) and a series of other works, represent a logical path of development, maturing and gradual dissolution of a new style and at the same time testify of the readiness and understanding with which the Serbian milieu accepted the highest forms of artistic creation, passing them on to the generation of painters of the restored Byzantine Empire. Other contemporary works, above all those of literature, also speak of an all-encompassing reception of this art as well as of the fact that it was this very form of artistic expression that the Serbs chose as the matrix into which they wove their own specific understanding of beauty and ideology and the one chosen to render the portraits of their rulers and ktetors as well as the cycles of their first saints.¹

Significant changes in the development of Serbian painting occurred after 1275, contemporary to the forceful change on the throne which took place in 1276 and the one which followed shortly after, in 1282, when king Dragutin abdicated in favor of his brother Milutin. The long reign of king Milutin, which lasted until 1321, was filled with numerous tumults but also with cultural and artistic activity. In extent and character, especially after 1300, his reign undoubtedly represents a unique and complete phenomenon in ancient Serbian art. During the short period of his rule over the entire territory of the Serbian state, king Dragutin did not have enough time to dedicate more attention to the construction and decoration of churches — he restored the church of St.

Achilleios at the see of the bishops of Moravica and saw to the painting of a new layer of frescoes in the narthex of the main monastery church at Djurdjevi Stupovi, Nemanja's endowment to the enlarging and embellishment of which Dragutin devoted great care.² He seems also to have made certain alterations in some of the existing churches. After 1282, king Dragutin saw to the completion of his previously commissioned works. The newly built chapel at Djurdjevi Stupovi, created by transforming the monastery entrance tower into a space of sacral function, was decorated with frescoes around 1283–1285 and the church in Arilje in 1295/1296. It remains unknown whether it was king Milutin alone, his brother Dragutin or both of them, during the harmonious period of their rule, who were the ktetors of the third layer of fresco decoration in the church of St. Peter and Paul (Petrova crkva), the see of the bishops of Ras. Judging by the inscriptions and representations on other works of art created before 1299, in certain cases they did appear as joint ktetors, together with their mother, queen Jelena. In the period which followed that fateful year, Serbia became a field of unprecedented activity in artistic creation whose primary protagonist and ktetor was king Milutin himself. Through his efforts famous shrines were restored and enlarged throughout the land as well as in the newly conquered regions in the south and on Mount Athos, in Thessaloniki, Constantinople and even as far as Jerusalem. Such activities of the king were emulated by representatives of the highest hierarchy of the church and the aristocracy, thus marking the beginnings of a phenomenon which reached its apogee around the middle of the XIV and continued in the XV century. During the age of king Milutin Serbia became a great construction site and the meeting point of excellent painters. Carefully monitoring all artistic achievements of Thessaloniki and Constantinople, as well as those of other Byzantine centres, a new art was emerging and maturing in Serbia. This art hardly lagged behind the contemporary artistic creations of the leading centres of the Byzantine world. It was its equal and, at times, as in the case of Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren, Staro Nagoričino, Studenica, Gračanica or Chilandar, even the leader in the field. With the death of king Milutin in 1321 this great period came to an end, not so much in the administrative-political domain as in the field of artistic production. During the 1320's, the heritage of his enterprises and the achievements of the artists of his



age served as the basis for the development of a new phase in Serbian art, a phase which was to end around the middle of the second half of the XIV century with the death of the last Nemanjids and the catastrophe on the river Marica (1371).

Thus, the year 1299 divides the reign of king Milutin into two stages. The first (1282–1299) is marked by his seizure of power and conquest of vast territories as well as by an absence of large-scale

¹
Arilje, Ktitor's composition, 1295/1296

undertakings on the cultural scene. The change on the Serbian throne which took place in Deževu in 1282 seems to have been the result of circumstances in both internal and foreign affairs.³ It was certainly no accident that the new king, probably fulfilling the obligations of an earlier contract with Charles d'Anjou, invaded Byzantine territories south of Mt. Šara, advancing far south during that same year and setting the Greek-Serbian border along the line stretching between Strumica, Prilep and Debar. For more than ten years after 1284 there was neither war nor peace between the neighbours while frequent skirmishes and looting along the border line became a common thing. Meanwhile, alone or together with his brother Dragutin, king Milutin focused all his potential as a warrior and statesman on the north frontier, at first in combats with Drman and Kudelin and later in armed conflicts with Šišman, the prince of Vidin, and the Tatar khan Nogay. While Milutin was busy concentrating all his powers on protecting or expanding the Serbian state, Dragutin was somewhat more devoted to the fresco decoration of Djurdjevi Stupovi, the completion of the church at Arilje and the founding of a royal workshop of craftsmen producing various objects of art. On the other hand, queen Jelena, to whom Milutin assigned the administration of certain regions of his state, was engaged in raising or restoring monasteries on the Adriatic coast and in its hinterland. Together with her two sons, she thus restored the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus on the Bojana in 1290 and donated luxuriously decorated icons to the famous shrines of St. Nicholas in Bari and St. Peter in Rome.⁴ Nonetheless, all the ventures mentioned above were still only modest contributions to the brilliant art of the XIII century. Apart from the politically critical times for the Serbian state, this must also have been conditioned by a sudden and abrupt loosening of cultural ties between Byzantium and Serbia which took place as a result of frequent and long lasting conflicts.

Important and far-reaching changes in the field of artistic creation were to be felt soon after 1299. Following yet another attempt (in 1297) of the Byzantine emperor and his general Michael Glabas Tarchaniotes to regain control over the conquered territories and a long period of negotiations, a peace treaty was signed between the warring parties and crowned by a marriage between king Milutin and Simonida, the daughter of the emperor Andronikos II. That event had several consequences: from then on Serbian con-

quests of Byzantine lands were sanctioned and Milutin could now become their true ruler, family ties with the imperial court opened wide door the for the spread of Byzantine influences in Serbia and, as the emperor's son-in-law, Milutin decidedly resolved the question of succession to the Serbian throne in his own favour.⁵ Namely, the Assembly of Deževu (1282) had presumably given Milutin the right to a life-long rule providing that, following his death, the royal line of succession be continued by Dragutin's sons. However, given Milutin's marriage to the daughter of the Byzantine emperor, the implementation of the decisions of the Deževu assembly was at best questionable: indeed, hostilities between the two brothers broke out soon after and lasted for more than a decade (until 1312). This war which engulfed the state brought about a significant division of power – the aristocracy, disapproving of the peace treaty with the Byzantines from the very beginning, sided mostly with Dragutin while the Church, aware of the benefits to be gained from approaching Constantinople, supported Milutin. The mutual sustenance between Milutin and the Church was to continue until the king's death and have a significant impact on culture and art. On the other hand, the king's reconciliation with Dragutin, under as yet unclear circumstances, seems to have caused new tumults in the land. Their settlement may have included an agreement which designated Milutin's children from his marriage to Simonida, and apparently also her brothers, as heirs to the Serbian throne. The person most stricken by these decisions was certainly the king's eldest son Stefan, until that moment considered to be his father's successor, who consequently tried to take the throne by force. Milutin thwarted his attempt and banished him, blinded, to Constantinople in 1314.⁶

Despite several moments of crisis, beginning with 1299 relations between Byzantium and Serbia were marked by manifold cordialities and cooperation. At first expressed only formally, Byzantine influences were seeping ever deeper and more systematically into the Serbian state, its culture and its art. The territories which once belonged to the Empire and which came under Serbian rule during Milutin's time played a specific role in this process, at first as an intermediary in the process of adoption of Byzantine offices, legal norms and terminology.⁷

During the first years of the XIV century, a large number of exceptionally important works of art were produced in Serbia and outside its boundaries which

were inspired, above all, by the king. A series of charters, biographies and chronicles speak of Milutin's famous enterprises from this period. Not only the number but apparently the very character of these monuments resulted from the growing strength of Serbian-Byzantine ties after 1299. Milutin's efforts to preserve the tradition of his state politics implied opening wide the traditional and inciting new areas of cultural and artistic creation. The Serbian king stimulated such activities primarily through his bountiful financial support and close cooperation with the Church. Copiously restoring and endowing episcopal sees above all, he opened wide the door for the spread of Orthodox spirituality so that the favourable impact of Byzantium was not limited only to the court but infused deeply all the currents of spiritual life in the land.⁸

At the crossroads of the Orthodox and the Catholic world, Serbia did not remain untouched by influences coming from both sides. Already in the days of Stefan Nemanja it made a final turn towards the Byzantine Empire but her ties with the West still remained strong – they persisted in economy, politics, at times even in art. Pursuing a tradition set by his ancestors, especially king Uroš I, Milutin intensified his predilection for Constantinople, in external pomp and ceremony he emulated the Byzantine court and adopted many of its customs and institutions. Contemporary sources are quite decided concerning his pro-Byzantine policy as well as his reserved relations with the Catholics. In general, the king's politics were truly focused on creating tight relations with Byzantium. It is, however, an undeniable fact that in his days the West was by no means disregarded, as attested by contacts with the papal curia and the political alliance forged in 1308 with Charles d'Anjou. Such relations with the Catholic West could have been additionally inspired by queen Jelena, Milutin's mother, who for many years ruled autonomously in the environs of Brnjaci in the region of Zeta, kept close ties with the pope and Dubrovnik and renovated and supported Catholic monasteries. Romanesque and Gothic art was thriving in the cities with a Catholic majority on the Adriatic coast and in its hinterland while their merchants, as well as a number of Saxons, settled permanently around markets and mining centres further inland.⁹ Artefacts of western nature are found especially among objects of the applied arts – they were either imported from the West, reaching as far east as Chilandar, or produced in Serbia by craftsmen from

abroad. Even the royal jewels were made by craftsmen who came from the Adriatic coast. For example, there is a preserved copy of a contract drawn in 1313 in Dubrovnik obliging a jeweller named Petar to spend a year on the Serbian court and comply with any order he may receive there from the king.¹⁰ In monumental art there is an obvious ebb of Romanesque elements which had previously been in abundant use in architecture and sculpture. On the other hand, it is well known that the relatively poorly preserved Catholic monastery of St. Sergius and Bacchus, to which king Milutin was most devoted, seeing to its restoration in 1290 and 1318, was built in the Gothic style. Elements of Romanesque and Gothic decoration are seen also on Milutin's major endowment, the church of St. Stephen at Banjska. Archbishop Danilo explains their presence as a form of regard for the traditional expressed in the king's desire that Banjska be "modelled after the image of the Virgin of Studenica". Romanesque elements appear even in the sculptural decoration of the katholikon of Chilandar monastery.¹¹

All this points to the fact that the Byzantinisation of Serbian culture in the age of king Milutin did not take place at once nor was it entirely thorough. Persisting ties with the West and a centuries long heritage of some art forms slowed down this process and gave it a somewhat specific nature. In the changes which swept over Serbian culture during the first decades of the XIV century the role of the court was undeniably principal for it was the court which stimulated most patently the adoption of Byzantine models, above all in the sphere of politics and, later on, in the field of artistic production. Being the major ktetor of great artistic undertakings, the king could undoubtedly extend his influence over that domain. The question still remains, however, regarding the extent to which the earliest forms of the new culture were organically adopted and the measure in which they were the result of conscious affectation and sheer imitation.¹² The role and significance of Thessaloniki was exceptionally important in the course of these events, not only because of the fact that at the beginning of the XIV century it had become the second political and cultural capital of the Byzantine Empire, that it was closer to Serbia than Constantinople and that the Serbian monastery of Chilandar was oriented towards it, but also because in 1303 Thessaloniki became the residence of empress Irene, Milutin's mother-in-law. It was in that city that she schemed to

secure the Serbian throne for her sons, there that she invited her daughter Simonida and son-in-law for a visit, from that city she sent them lavish presents. The above mentioned personages and signs of translating the glamour of the Byzantine court to Serbia were described by Nikephoros Gregoras in the following passage: "Θέλουσα γάρ τὴν θυγατέρα βασιλικοῖς παρασήμοις κοσμήσαι, ἵνα μηδ' ἐκείνη μηδενὸς ἐλαττοῖτο, ὅποσα Ῥωμαίων θεσμοὶ τὰς βασιλίδας ἥρηνται πάλαι κοσμεῖν, μὴ δυναμένη δ' ἄλλως τὸ καταθύμιον ἐκπερᾶναι, φέρουσα καλύπτραν ἐπέθηκε πρότερον τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ γαμβροῦ λίθοις καὶ μαργάροις πολυτελέσι κεκοσμημένην, ὅποσοις καὶ οἷσις μικροῦ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκεκόσμητο. ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξαμένη κατ' ἔτος ἑτέραν προσετίθει κρεῖττω τῆς προτέρας ἀεί... τίς δ' ἂν ἐξετάζοι τῶν βασιλικῶν κειμηλίων τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὅποσα αὐτὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποστεροῦσα τῷ Κράλει Σερβίας ἐδίδου..."¹³ Regardless of the obvious hyperbole of Gregoras's account, portraits of Milutin and Simonida demonstrate an intention to emulate imperial grandeur, perhaps the true aim of empress Irene, while king Milutin himself was responsible for the changes in royal iconography which were mostly based on the prototypes found in Byzantine art: instead of in the humble, pious stance of his ancestors, king Milutin is portrayed either as a triumphator or in the moment of his heavenly investiture, in the manner of contemporary and earlier autocrats of Byzantium.

The political and cultural inclination towards Byzantium, which began during the first years of the XIV century, was fully supported and further developed by the Church. Generally speaking, this was the century of powerful expansion of monasticism in the entire Orthodox world and king Milutin did not only use its strength but also gave it his wide sustenance by renovating a large number of monasteries, especially in the south regions of his state, and abundantly endowing them with large holdings of land.¹⁴ On the other hand, during the conflict with his brother Dragutin and at the time when most of the nobility had turned their backs on him, he kept the throne largely as a result of the support he received from the Church. Their cooperation became especially tight after the reconciliation with Byzantium because of the advantages the Church stood to gain from friendly relations with Constantinople, the see of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

In the cultural life of those days, Chilandar, the Serbian monastery on Mount Athos, gained special importance. Lately, its role and significance in the field of literature has been the subject of scholarly interest and these investigations show that this monastery was the true source of crucial impulses which strengthened the church and brought about liturgical reforms.¹⁵ The need to change the old and write new texts, which arose from the requirements of liturgical reform, resulted in lively literary production in both Chilandar and Serbia. The first decades of the XIV century witnessed the translation of the Jerusalem Typikon (1319), the critical reviewing of earlier translations of the Gospels and Deeds (Chilandar Gospel No.1 from 1316, Deeds of the Apostles from Šišatovac from 1324) as well as the translation from Greek of the prologue in verse and the edition of Raška krmčija (Nomokanon of Raška). Liturgical reasons conditioned not only the copying of existing hagiographies of Serbian saints (Par. cod. slav. 10) but also the writing of new ones. The activity of Teodosije falls exactly in the last years of the XIII and the first decades of the XIV century. Based on the model offered by Domentijan, he wrote new biographies of St. Sava and Symeon Nemanja and created new services for them as well as for St. Peter of Koriša, thus completing the cult of this saint with texts of those literary genres.¹⁶ The very same reasons instigated archbishop Danilo II to spend a lengthy period of time on the "Serbian prologue", actually a hagiographic compendium containing the biographies of Serbian rulers and archbishops. The beginning of his work coincides with the age of king Milutin (Danilo's biography of queen Jelena most probably dates from 1317) and his entire opus reflects the spiritual tendencies of the first years of the XIV century (monastic reform, strong influence of liturgy, adoption of the leading principles of Byzantine literature).¹⁷ The appearance of these famous Serbian men of letters on Mount Athos is by no means accidental or isolated. Located on Byzantine territory, Chilandar kept close ties with both Constantinople and Thessaloniki. Byzantine emperors Andronikos II and Constantine IX issued many charters granting estates and benefits to this monastery and confirming the abundant donations of the Serbian king. On his part, Milutin strove in every way to raise the esteem of Chilandar: by renovating the katholikon and the funerary chapel as well as the refectory, raising towers within the system of the monastery's fortifica-



tions, commissioning many icons and other works of art, restoring its metochia and endowing them with large holdings of land. Owing to its efficient and capable hegoumenoi, Danilo, Nikodim and Gervasije above all, the brethren made use of the king's generosity in the best possible way. More than anything, Chilandar's educated monks turned this monastery into a true centre of Serbian spiritual and cultural life. Thus, already in the short span between 1316 and 1320, several writers and scribes were working in Chilandar and in the cell at Karyes: apart from Teo-

dosije, there were also Teodul and then Gervasije, Damjan, Roman, Nikola, Metodije, Grigoriје.¹⁸ Moreover, archbishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church were usually recruited among former hegoumenoi of this monastery just as it happened that episcopal thrones were often occupied by Chilandar monks. Hence, probably in 1307, Sava of Chilandar was invested as the bishop of Prizren, to be elected archbishop soon after (1309). Danilo II praises his intellect and acumen and it is well known that he was involved in the restoration of Bogorodica Ljeviška, Žiča and Banjska.¹⁹ In those days, the role of Danilo, a former Chilandar monk and the future archbishop of Serbia, a brave man, diplomat, writer and an educated theologian, was of exceptional importance. Being extraordinarily devoted to king Milutin, during his mandate as hegoumenos of Banjska he directed the works on the king's mausoleum leaving this position only to become the bishop of Hum. However, not even the duties he had prior to his investiture as the archbishop of Serbia could keep him away from Mount Athos for longer periods of time. Apart from being the kector of several endowments in Peć, Danilo was also the main consultant of Serbian kings in questions of art – in Banjska and later in Dečani he managed to balance successfully the kings' desire to respect both tradition and the requirements of contemporary Orthodox sanctuaries. Although seemingly traditional, Danilo's complete life work was very influential in introducing the Serbian lands, which still held on to their ancient idiosyncrasies, to the main currents of the Orthodox world.²⁰ On the other hand, not much is known about Grigoriје II, a bishop of Ras who was probably educated in Chilandar, another important person active in Serbia at the beginning of the XIV century. Assumptions concerning the life and works of this bishop are based only on the brief, incidental data which we have today. He took great care of his church, St. Peter in Ras, and made a copy and a new recension of the collection of canon laws drawn by Sava. In 1305, in his prologue to this manuscript, he clearly indicated the requirements facing church dignitaries of those times: "For every teacher, whether a bishop or a priest, and any man who shares the mission of teaching, if he knows not well these books than he knows himself not; and having perceived the depth of these God inspired books, he shall perceive, as if in a mirror, who he is and what he should be like and shall convey this to the others and teach them."²¹ There certainly must have been other learned

bishops who came from Chilandar to dioceses in Serbia. Athonite origins can only be surmised in the case of Arsenije and Damjan, bishops of Prizren, and Nikola, bishop of Dabar while there is no data at all for many others. Names of some of the bishops and hegoumenoi are mentioned either in connection to the building of churches or in charters issued by king Milutin (bishop Ignjatije of Gračanica, hegoumenoi Andonije and Venjamin of Nagoričino and Jovan of Studenica). They, too, were learned theologians and men well educated on a broad cultural basis – as attested by the beauty of the architecture and frescoes of their churches, their form and contents.²²

Another exceptionally important person of the day was Nikodim, former hegoumenos of Chilandar and hermit in the Karyes cell. He was elected to the office of archbishop at an assembly held in 1317 in Peć. Highly educated and with a good knowledge of Greek, a talented man of letters and theologically inspired, he was – along with St. Sava and Danilo II – the greatest patron of the arts among the Serbian archbishops: the service dedicated to him mentions three churches (St. Demetrios at Peć is the only one preserved today) and his merits in the restoration of Žiča. His greatest deeds also include a liturgical reformation initiated through the translation into Serbian of the Jerusalem Typikon, or Typikon of St. Sabas. His work on this translation began already on Mount Athos and was finished in Serbia in 1319, as the final step in the process taking place simultaneously on Mount Athos and in Serbia.²³ Services based on the Jerusalem model were common on Mount Athos long before the time of Nikodim and the introduction of the Typikon to the Serbian milieu was preceded by changes in the most important liturgical books, the litourgiarion, euchologion, menologion, triodion and ochtoechos.²⁴ In his prologue to the translation of the Typikon Nikodim pointed out that he only fulfilled the testament of St. Sava the Serbian who was truly the first to adapt the liturgy of the Serbian church to the Jerusalem rite. The event which directly initiated the actual translation of the Typikon was Nikodim's stay in Constantinople where he became acquainted with its practical application.²⁵ The fact that its rules are more strict than those of the Constantinopolitan Euergetis Typikon and that it was in wide use on Mount Athos and partly in Serbia, too, made it seem appropriate in the eyes of the Chilandarites who headed the Serbian church during the first decades of the XIV century. However, due to the rather late date of



its translation and introduction to the liturgical practice of the Serbian church, the influences of the Typikon on architecture and painting of Milutin's era are not that obvious.

In order to enhance our understanding of the changes which took place in Serbian culture and art we must also consider the significant role of those Byzantine territories which were conquered by the Serbian state between 1282 and 1297. In the process of adopting Byzantine customs and art they must have

of adopting Byzantine customs and art they must have acted as cultural intermediaries. Not only were they the main channels of transmission of influences coming from Constantinople, Thessaloniki and Mount Athos, they also made considerable contributions to the nurturing of a different culture through their own, centuries long heritage. Their cities and monasteries, now under Serbian rule, were still dotted with representative monuments of architecture and painting. It is surely not without significance that – in his attempts to thwart Serbian conquests in the south – emperor Andronikos II devoted special care to the archbishopric of Ohrid, endowing its cathedral church of St. Sophia, as well as the newly built church of the Virgin Peribleptos, with donations to such an extent that, at one point, Ohrid became the most prominent artistic centre in the interior of the Balkan Peninsula.²⁶ It was in Ohrid that the painters whose work marked the age of king Milutin began their careers; this city seems to have been the corridor of Epirote influences manifested in the architecture of some Serbian churches. The importance of other monastic centres is not to be disregarded either. Although some of the Greek bishoprics passed under the jurisdiction of the Serbian church, the Greek element still remained strong within them. Hence, a curious blend of Byzantine and Serbian elements appears in the new churches: Greek and Serbian (at times in its archaic orthography) are used side by side in manuscripts, inscriptions and on frescoes; the cults of both Serbian, local and Ohrid saints are exalted in painting while certain elements of the Raška school make sporadic incursions in the field of architecture and painting.²⁷

Therefore, after the year 1300, there were many and mutually intertwined favourable conditions for a true flourishing of Serbian art. Unquestionably, the main protagonist, in close cooperation with the highest ecclesiastical circles, was king Milutin who thus emulated and even surpassed his ancestors by restoring, enlarging and endowing their foundations, episcopal sees and famous Byzantine shrines. It is also quite conspicuous that a large portion of his activities as a patron of the arts was focused on the newly acquired territories while covering also the broader reaches of the Orthodox world: Mount Athos, Thessaloniki, Constantinople, Jerusalem. To date, only a portion of the great number of his endowments has been preserved, some of them reaching our time in ruins while the geographic location of others still remains to be determined. At the outset of his ven-

tures as a ktetor stands the church dedicated to his patron saint, St. Georgios Gorgos near Skoplje, previously already richly endowed with donations from Byzantine, Bulgarian and Serbian rulers. However, nothing remains of the first in line of Milutin's great artistic undertakings, even the location of the monastery is only barely known.²⁸

All the finest and in every aspect superlative in Milutin's activities as a ktetor is tied to Chilandar, a fact especially stressed by the king's biographer: "For this Christ loving (king), having razed to the ground the original divine church of this holy place founded by the Lord and called Chilandar, built a larger one in its place and decorated it with all sorts of beautiful fittings, unrelentlessly giving much gold, and raised in that place imperial palaces and excellent cells... an enclosure with great fortifications... and large pyrgoi... And not only in that place, the house of the Blessed Virgin called Chilandar, but also in all other monasteries of the Holy Mountain." The architect of the grand triconch church may have been Georgios Marmaras from Thessaloniki, aided by his assistants, including Michael and Barnabas who worked on the floor and apparently some stonecutters from Serbia who were in charge of the sculptural decoration. While the precise date of its construction remains undetermined, we are certain that its frescoes were finished during the last years of Milutin's life. Apart from the beautiful katholikon, the king also saw to the furnishing of Chilandar with other structures, at least a refectory and a funerary chapel, decorated with frescoes in his days. Responding to the appeal of kyr Theodulos, he also renovated the hermitage of St. Sava in Karyes. Moreover, the king commissioned icons for the monastery, some of which are still kept in Chilandar today.²⁹

Another significant area of Milutin's activities as a ktetor was tied to episcopal sees, in a way continuing the tradition set by his elder brother, his father and more distant ancestors. It has already been pointed out that Dragutin raised a new church at the see of the bishops of Moravica. One of the brothers also renovated the cathedral of Ras, the oldest Serbian bishopric. In those days, Žiča and Peć, the two sees of Serbian archbishops, were either in the hands of barbarian invaders, in considerably poor conditions or even ruined. Žiča was burned around 1290, if not even earlier, and remained deserted for a long time before archbishop Jevstatije II (1292–1309) devoted himself to its reconstruction. His successor, Sava III



(1309–1316), carried on with the works which were finally completed by Danilo II. The painters, engaged at the beginning of the XIV century to decorate its main church, showed great respect for the older frescoes on its walls, they conserved all those in good condition and did not make any considerable changes in the existing programme. Works on the fresco decoration of the church lasted just as long as those on its architectural reconstruction: they probably began already in the days of Jevstatije and were completed only in the times of Sava III.³⁰ The role of king

Milutin in these renovations is as yet uncertain although it should not, by any means, be ruled out. Judging by the inclusion of his portrait in the representation of the Christmas hymn in the church, it must have been considerable. Although there are no written testimonies and no indications on the wall paintings of the west bay of the church of the Holy Apostles, we can nevertheless assume, with great certainty, that he also took part in the renovation of Peć. The fact that these frescoes were painted shortly after 1300 and that they display the portraits of his ancestors are strong reasons to believe that king Milutin must have had a certain part in the restoration of wall paintings of this archbishopric see.³¹

The large-scale restoration of the equally old cathedral of Prizren, which took place during the episcopate of Damjan (until 1307), Sava (until 1309) and probably other bishops in rapid succession on the throne of Prizren at the beginning of the XIV century, is also the work of king Milutin. At that time the church of Bogorodica Ljeviška received its five-domed form including two nartheces, a belfry and several parekklesia. After the work of the master builder Nicholas was completed, a group of painters headed by Michael Astrapas entered the church. Like the architect which preceded them, in the years between 1309 and 1313 they produced one of the most beautiful works of Serbian medieval art. From the somewhat later charter issued in 1324 by Milutin's son, Stefan Uroš III, we learn that the king had richly endowed the church and provided it with books and a treasury.³²

The major endowment of king Milutin and his final resting place, the church of St. Stephen at Banjska, was also raised in an episcopal see. The renovation of the church began after an agreement had been reached between the king, his mother Jelena, brother Dragutin and the acting archbishop Sava III, shortly after the ceasefire between the two brothers and the investiture of Danilo as the bishop of Banjska which took place probably during 1312. Construction works took a long time. In the meantime Jelena and Sava III passed away so that the charter was confirmed by Dragutin (died in 1316) and archbishop Nikodim, following his election as the archbishop of the Serbian church on Ascension day in 1317. Obeying the king's explicit order, this church was raised "as an image of the Virgin of Studenica", as a sign of regard for Serbian heritage but not as a simple copy of the older building from Studenica. The church at Banjska must

have received its frescoes after 1316 because the charter issued by king Milutin does not mention its decoration. Because the monastery was later badly ruined and its church converted into a mosque, only modest fragments remain of the once brilliant wall paintings, famous for their gold. The original glory and greatness of Banjska can now be surmised only from the results of recent extensive archeological exploration. We do, however, know that the monastery was lavishly endowed by the king with exceptionally large and bountiful land holdings. It was also the king's order that it should no longer serve as an episcopal see but assume the sole function of a royal mausoleum. In this respect he followed yet another tradition set by his ancestors for no Serbian king, nor any of the later rulers of Serbian lands was ever laid to rest in a cathedral church.³³

In return, Danilo, the bishop of Banjska, was given jurisdiction over another bishopric, that of Hum. The new bishop found the diocese and its cathedral, the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the river Lim, as well as its other churches in a desolate condition and turned for help to the king. Despite the fact that the partly preserved pertaining document offers no direct evidence of the king's role in the restoration, Milutin did answer the plea of his good friend. The architecture, and most of all the new frescoes of this church, indicate his presence in this enterprise. The entire restoration took place between 1317 (the year of Danilo's investiture as bishop of Hum) and 1321 (the year of the king's death). The time of completion of the frescoes is most probably closer to the latter date. In any case, they could not have been painted after 1321 because, shortly after the king's death, Danilo, still the bishop of Hum, set off for Mount Athos where he remained until the date of his election as the archbishop of Serbia (1324).³⁴

King Milutin also restored the cathedral church of the bishops of Lipljan – Gračanica, a church which has reached our days almost unaltered. Here too, at the site of an older Byzantine basilica, he encountered a badly ruined modest church from the days of one of his ancestors from the XIII century. In its place he raised a new building of exceptionally harmonious proportions and shapes and dedicated it to the Virgin. The knowledge and experience of the builders from Prizren and Nagoričino produced here a grandiose building of a five-domed cross-in-square plan with an ambulatory ending in parekklesia, a narrow narthex and a gallery chamber above it. It was decorated with



5
Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, 1313/1314

frescoes most probably between 1319 and 1321. Ignjatije, the bishop of Lipljan, played a great role both in the construction of the church and the formulation of its fresco programme. His name appears several times in the text of the king's charter preserved in fresco on one of the walls of this church.³⁵

Several years earlier, in 1313 to be more precise, king Milutin also restored the church of St. Georgios Tropaiophoros in Staro Nagoričino near Kumanovo. Its construction and decoration were apparently tied to Milutin's military success against the Turks in Asia Minor. This victory of the Serbian troops, apparently held in high reverence, is mentioned in the ktetor's inscription carved on the lintel of the west portal and reflected in the ktetor's composition on the north wall. Judging by the look of the model seen on this fresco, on the south, and probably the north side as well, the church was encircled by an open porch with arcades. The extent of the XIV century restoration is clearly visible even today. The master builder employed by Milutin raised only the upper portions of the walls and the vaulting, creating a five-domed church of the cross-in-square plan in a new choice of materials (stone, brick and earthenware) and with an additional narthex and parekklesia. Several years later, this solution was to reappear in its perfected form in Gračanica. Work on the fresco decoration of the church at Nagoričino began in 1315 or 1316 and was completed in 1317/1318.³⁶

In rendering Milutin's endeavours as a ktetor, archbishop Danilo makes special note of the king's care for the endowments of his ancestors: "And in his fatherland he raised many holy monasteries from the ground and, having been renewed by the Holy Spirit, invested himself with the glory of restoring the ancient endowments of his fathers and forefathers and did even more of what is pleasing to the Lord than the root from which he stemmed." In a similar manner, this is also pointed out by the king himself (or by Danilo, should authorship be ascribed to him) in the prologue of the charter of St. Stephen of Banjska.³⁷ In addition to a series of other mentioned enterprises, the product of this dedication of the king's is the church of St. Joachim and Anne (the so-called Kraljeva crkva) raised in the monastery of Studenica in 1314. The inscription in stone on its east facade and the ktetor's composition attest to this fact. Minute in dimension but pronouncedly harmonious in form and decorated with outstanding frescoes (painted probably in 1318–1319), this church is one of the

most beautiful gifts donated to the famous endowment of the founder of the Serbian Nemanjid dynasty.³⁸

The construction of St. Nikita near Skoplje can be associated with Milutin's renovation of a large number of other churches in this city and its environs in the years following 1299. However, his intention to provide Chilandar with another metochion in the fatherland seems to have provided the most decisive impulse. The church was restored "from the foundations" in the form of a single-dome cross-in-square structure. Its interior was decorated with frescoes (partly restored in 1484). There are no written sources indicating the date of their creation. It is only the characteristics they display which draw them close to the period around 1320 while the absence of Milutin's portrait indicates either that he was not the actual ktetor or that they were painted shortly after his death.³⁹

In exalting the king's virtues – his love of God, modesty, temperance and mercy – archbishop Danilo II also adds: "And not only in the God given state of his fatherland, but all through the great Romania and in the great and New Rome, Constantinople, itself, he built churches and to the rest he gave alms, there feeding and warming the feeble... Thus he lived and did for many years, so that his name became known and celebrated in all the neighbouring lands, east and west: Stefan Uroš, the supreme and mighty and sovereign and merciful Serbian king."⁴⁰

Out of the great number of his endowments only two churches with fresco decorations, icons and other gifts have been preserved, one in Chilandar and the other in Thessaloniki – Hagios Nikolaos ton Orphanon or Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos. Although it has the exterior appearance of a three-nave basilica, this Thessaloniki church is actually a single-nave structure with two longitudinal parekklesia and a common narthex on the west side. Its frescoes are well preserved but not in their entirety so that we do not know whether they once included representations which spoke directly of Milutin as their ktetor. However, there are several details on the existing frescoes, rare in the Byzantine world and common in Serbian art, which clear away the long present hesitancy concerning the identity of the church and its ktetor. Moreover, their stylistic traits testify that these wall paintings were created during the second decade of the XIV century, i.e. at the peak of king Milutin's activities as a patron of the arts.⁴¹

Little or practically nothing is known today of the king's other numerous endowments and their paint-



6
Arlje, Bishop Jevseviye and archbishop Jevstatije, 1295/1296

ings: St. Georgios Gorgos, St. Constantine, St. John the Prodigios and the Virgin Tricheiroussa in Skoplje, St. George in Orahovica, St. Stephen in Prizren, St. George in the region Kičevo, St. Nicholas at the foot of Mt. Kožlje on the Pčinja, his churches in Jerusalem, Constantinople, St. George in Thessaloniki and the king's palace in this city.⁴² Although subsequent tradition also ascribes many other churches to this great patron of the arts, it is hardly possible to associate them all with king Milutin.⁴³

In his great and numerous endeavours as a ktetor the king relied mostly on the assistance of the archbishops, bishops and hegoumenoi of the most prominent monasteries. Moreover it is highly probable that the restoration of a number of churches was frequently initiated by those representatives of ecclesiastical circles. That was certainly the case with the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim when bishop Danilo of Hum, in his desire to renovate his cathedral, turned to the king for help. In certain instances, when the restoration or construction of a church lasted for several years, each in the line of prelates on the episcopal throne of a given diocese continued the work on the construction and decoration of the cathedral church began by his predecessor. Their merits were recorded either in the king's charters or in inscriptions commemorating their enterprises. Efforts of church dignitaries could also be commemorated in a more modest manner, by placing particular emphasis on and procuring special decoration for an icon of a saint held in especially high reverence or regarded as the holy guardian of the prelate in question, most often his name-sake. Owing to the writings of Danilo's disciple and follower, we know that archbishop Jevstatije dedicated himself to the restoration of Žiča and that his work was carried on by Sava III (whose portrait still stands in that church), to be completed only by Danilo II.⁴⁴ In his charter issued to Bogorodica Ljeviška, the king mentions the efforts of bishops Damjan and Ilija in the godly endeavour of raising their cathedral church. In the inscription on the east facade the first of the two also points out: "I ja smerni (e)p(isko)p' prizren'ski Damjan trudi se" (I, too, the humble bishop of Prizren, Damjan, put in my efforts), while bishop Sava who participated in the completion of the church had inscriptions with his name placed in several spots on the church exterior.⁴⁵ The role of hegoumenoi Andonije and Venjamin in the construction and decoration of the church of St. George at Staro Nagoričino must certainly have been

considerably greater what their modest inscriptions actually disclose.⁴⁶ Jovan, the hegoumenos of Studenica, was far less humble. In his inscription on the facade of Kraljeva crkva at Studenica, following immediately that of the king, he put down the following: "S'zda že se si hram' s' potruženijem' arhimandrita i protosingelu Jovana" (This church was raised through the efforts of the archimandritos and protosingelos hegoumenos Jovan).⁴⁷ The merits of Ignjatije, the bishop of Lipljan, in the rebuilding of Gračanica were recorded both in the king's charter and, rather discretely, in the fresco decoration.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, in the biography of king Milutin, bishop Danilo gives a lively and detailed account of his own undertakings in the construction of Banjska.⁴⁹ It is obvious that not only were these well educated church dignitaries entrusted with preparations for the construction and decoration of royal endowments and put in charge of regulating legal and financial matters on monastery land holdings, but their influence spread to the actual shaping of the architecture and wall paintings of the churches assigned to their care.

King Milutin was certainly the greatest ktetor of his age; during the first phase of his reign he was accompanied by his brother, king Dragutin, and their mother, queen and subsequently nun Jelena. After a number of years, however, this role was adopted also by the aristocracy and church prelates of noble birth. Thus, in the years around 1320 archbishop Nikodim raised the churches of St. Demetrios in Peć and St. Sava in Lizica, but did not manage to complete their fresco decoration in his lifetime. Before him, similar feats were undertaken by his predecessors – in Žiča and perhaps other churches as well. Having conquered large territories of the Byzantine state, king Milutin encountered there many endowments raised by Byzantine aristocrats, especially in Skoplje and its surroundings. The example they set induced the Serbian nobles to raise their own foundations. Out of this group of monuments only the church of the Virgin Hodegetria in Mušutište near Prizren remains. It was built in the form of a single-dome cross-in-square structure in 1314/15 and decorated shortly after by the treasurer (great kaznac) Jovan Dragoslav and members of his family.⁵⁰ On the estate of another, in this case unidentified nobleman, in Sušica, rose a single-nave church dedicated to the Virgin, decorated with frescoes in the years around 1310 and displaying Slavic inscriptions of archaic orthography.⁵¹ The ktetor of the burial church of St. Prochor of Pčinja near

Vranje also remains unknown. Only in our days we witness the re-emerging of its original frescoes beneath a later layer dating from 1488/9. The name of the artist who created them and their style, as well as the preserved architectural elements and the inscription bearing the name of bishop or archbishop Sava, testify that the church and its frescoes date from the days of king Milutin.⁵² At that time, this church was probably restored through the efforts of Sava, bishop of Prizren, and decorated with frescoes around 1315. We have already mentioned that the presence of a Catholic population in Milutin's state must not, by any means, be disregarded. This is especially true of the coastal region and the environs of significant market places and mining centres where thriving local Catholic communities certainly had their own churches. Little has remained of these buildings: the church at Stari Trg seems to have received a new layer of frescoes at this time but they have been so badly ruined that even the scenes in the apse are not clearly discernible. In Kotor, the Collegiate church of St. Mary was reconstructed around 1300. Its partly preserved frescoes of a somewhat later date have been discovered only recently but so far there is no preserved data concerning the identity of their ktetors.⁵³

Such a multitude of churches and pertaining frescoes and icons all dating from the admittedly extremely long reign of one king, even if we take into account only those which have survived to this day, is almost unequalled in the later Middle Ages. The exceptional nature of Serbian art, and in particular that from the beginning of the XIV century, is marked by a remarkably high quality and a striving to break through the temporal limitations of state boundaries and join the major currents of the highest artistic achievements of the Byzantine world. These exceptional qualities of Serbian art from the age of king Milutin, and in particular the paintings of this epoch which stand out in both quantity, iconography and style, have long been known to scholars. Depending on the information available, the different viewpoints of the leading centres of art history, the new discoveries and the publication of works presenting monuments which are less well known, or not at all familiar, to scientific circles, Serbian painting of the age of king Milutin has so far been classified either as neo-Hellenistic in style or as a representative of either the Macedonian, Serbian or Chilandar school. It has

also, rather hazily, been assigned to the Palaiologan style or rather, somewhat more precisely, to its "first" or "second" phase as well as to the beginnings of the Palaiologan renaissance, the classicist period of this art and so forth.⁵⁴ In a way, all of the various approaches were sublimated in the work of Svetozar Radojčić who was convinced that the monuments from Milutin's time constitute a specific entity: during his reign both architecture and painting had a style of their own which, despite the strong ties with Constantinople, crystallised into a unique school. Based primarily on their stylistic qualities, he placed the art of this epoch within the framework of the "narrative style" which did not end with the king's death.⁵⁵ On his part, Horst Hallensleben named it the "school of painting of king Milutin" thus not only overemphasising the influence of the Serbian king on the art of this period but also classifying under this term works of art which were in no way connected with king Milutin and neglecting the impact of other highly significant factors in the flowering of this art in the Serbian state. The author was aware of the fact that the preserved works represent the creations of several painters but, according to him, they all operated under the patronage of the Serbian king. Furthermore, this implies that they all belonged to the same workshop, a premise which accounts for the uniformity of their spiritual-artistic expression and allows the author to classify the entire corpus of paintings in king Milutin's state and abroad under one general school.⁵⁶ Hallensleben's theory was in many ways shaken by Vojislav J. Djurić, the most persuasive reason being this scholar's observation that, apart from the incontestable impact of the royal court, the changes in Serbian painting can not be truly comprehended without understanding the contribution in this matter of the church and its most prominent representatives. In another instance, Djurić decidedly stated and explained his views in greater detail, substantiating his conclusions with analyses of the monuments in question. In his opinion, the southward expansion of the state, the king's kinship with the imperial family, the forging of political, cultural and artistic ties with Byzantium and the arrival of the most progressive painters of the day to Serbia were events of crucial importance for the emergence and development of a new art in this land. As a result of the above mentioned conditions, the concept of religious images was entirely changed in Serbia, in many ways as a result of the work of two painters, Michael

and Eutychios. Thus, at the beginning of the XIV century, the paintings produced in Serbia almost equalled the famous creations of Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Mount Athos, Veria and Mistra, not only because they appeared at nearly the same time but also because they rivalled them in quality.⁵⁷ Finally, in one of his last studies devoted to the major works of painting from the first decades of the XIV century in Constantinople, Thessaloniki and Serbia, Djurić confirmed his earlier views and showed how the art of the Serbian milieu shared the fate of that of Byzantine metropolises, going through the same phases of building a new image: from the breach with tradition and the formulation of a new, Palaiologan style, through the search for a new mode of expression to the stage of classicism and later its gradual relinquishment.⁵⁸

Avoiding the traps which lead the first scholars of late Byzantine and Serbian painting of the early XIV century to formulate their one-sided interpretations and their territorial or "national" classifications, in his synthetic study, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien*, V. J. Djurić discusses Serbian painting from the close of the XIII and the beginning of the XIV century under a chapter entitled "The Age of King Milutin". We find his views appropriate not only because art history of our day rejects the existence of "schools" but also because Serbian medieval painting belonged, almost entirely, to a much broader and longer tradition of East Christian culture and art which had none of the territorial or national partitions of today nor any of our concepts of likeness and difference. On the other hand, there were never any strictly separate phenomena in art, least of all in the Middle Ages, nor ever a total rejection of tradition and an unconditional quest for novelties. On the contrary, consciously or unconsciously, continuity was always respected – admittedly to a varying degree. At times older forms served as the seed of new inception or motivation for new and different expressions. Changes were natural and necessary in that unbroken chain and should be regarded in terms of the circular links with their own nuclei and concentric lines of expansion in time and space. Almost without exception, their names and qualifications are conditional, most often tied to prominent historical events and their protagonists. Serbian medieval art lasted for centuries, at times entirely or only partly inclined to the West and at others to Byzantium, reaching the heights of European artistic creation in certain moments but

in others falling into shorter or longer periods of crisis. Nevertheless, it is incontestable that its development was channelled by strong personages, rulers, church prelates and members of literary and artistic circles, who rerouted or speeded up its currents and imbued it with special qualities. During the last decades of the XIII and the first years of the XIV century king Milutin and his many courtiers, nameless or known by name, certainly numbered among such inspirers along with the highest church prelates and representatives of the greatest monasteries as well as the artists brought from abroad and those of local provenance or residence who ennobled Serbian culture and art, established a continuity with times past and prepared them for the days to come. It seems that the epoch reached its zenith during the 1320's but this apogee would certainly have been impossible to attain without the thorough preparations which took place during the previous decade.

Any thorough approach and at all adequate interpretation of ancient Serbian art requires a series of preliminary steps: recording all the preserved works of art and those of which we know only from the sources, describing them, discovering, when possible, their ktetors and authors, dating them precisely or at least giving an approximate assumption. As a result of the endeavours of our predecessors, painting from this age in the lands of the Byzantine world, including Serbia, has been catalogued.⁵⁹ Many synthetic works, impregnated with the results of generations of earlier scholars which have greatly changed our understanding of late Byzantine painting, have been written and published in the form of books or studies as well as in thematic compendiums.⁶⁰ The turning point in the development of a different perception of XIII–XV century art occurred in 1958 at the Eleventh Congress of Byzantine Studies with the definition of fields of future research, delineation of spatial, chronological and stylistic boundaries of "Palaiologan art" and determination of methods of study. Thereafter, knowledge and understanding of this art were quick to grow, not only in reviews of the millennial history of Byzantine painting but in equal measure also in special studies of particular monuments of this age. The publication of monographs of almost all the most significant monuments dating from around the year 1300: the Chora, St. Mary Pammakaristos, Hagioi Theodoroi (Kilise Camii) in Constantinople,⁶¹ St. Panteleimon, St. Euthymios, Holy Apostles, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloni-



I

Petrova crkva in Ras, *St. Christopher*, around 1280





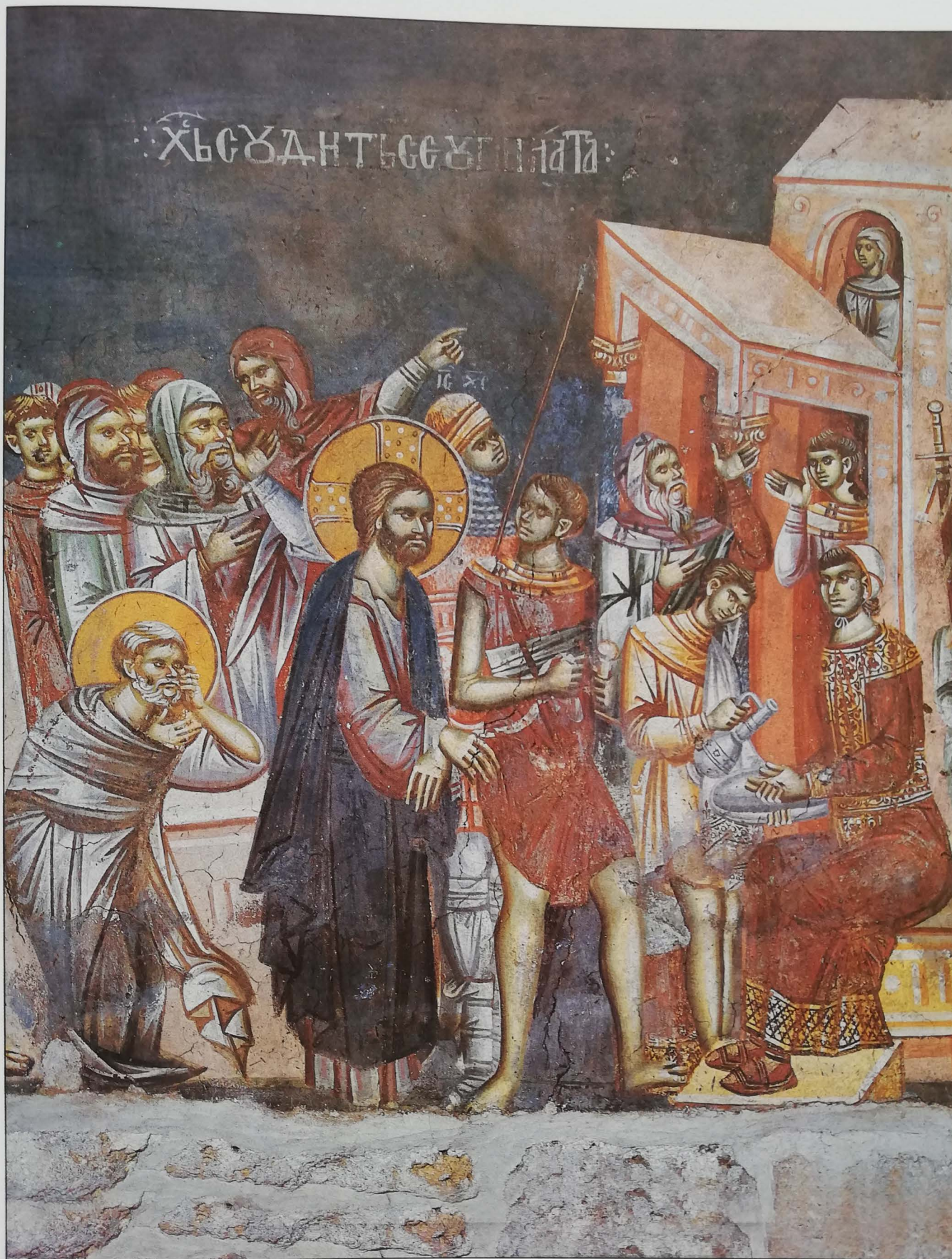
III

Peć, Holy Apostles, Stefan Prvovenčani and Uroš I as monks, around 1300



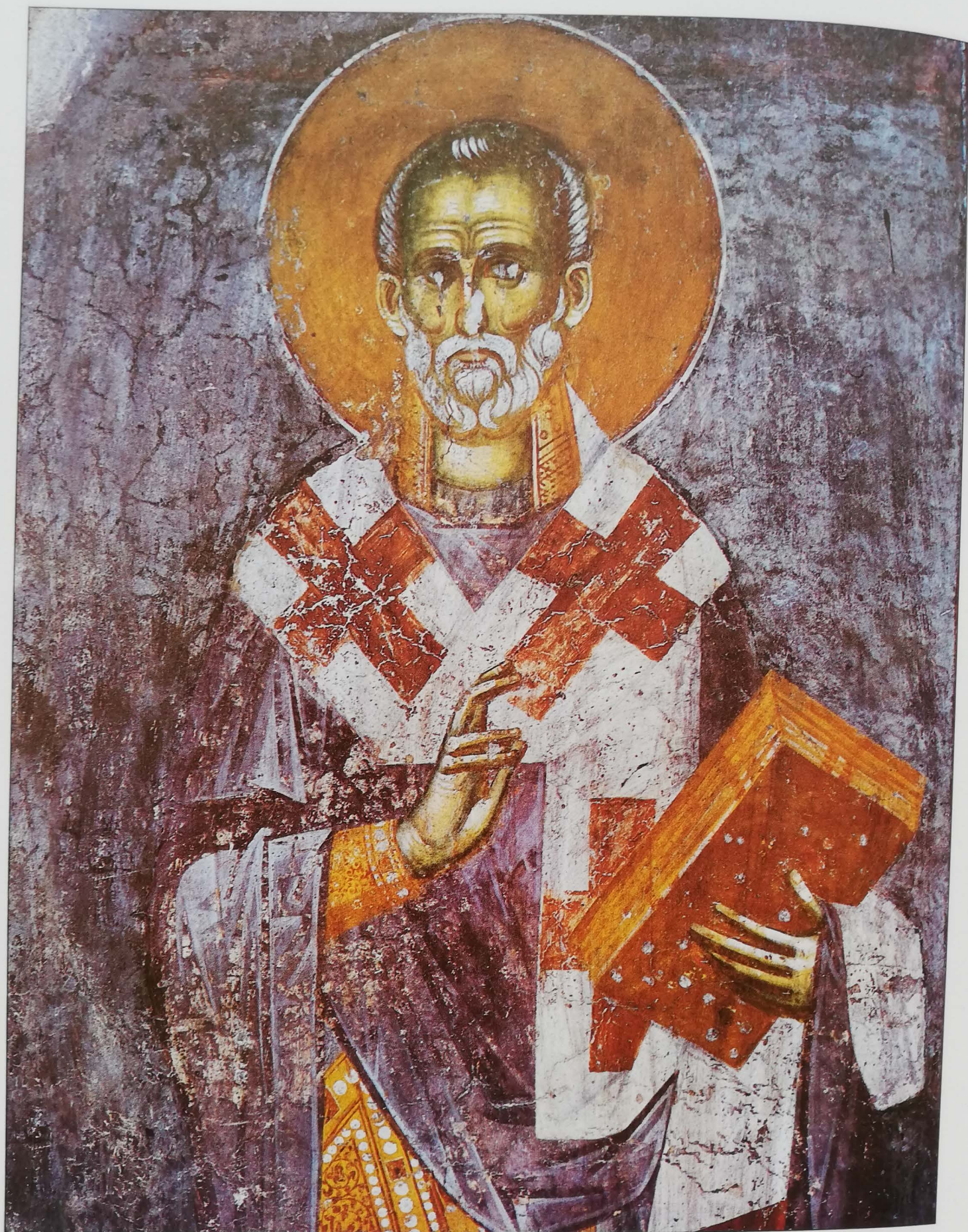
IV

Peć, Holy Apostles, *Christ before Annas*, detail, around 1300



V

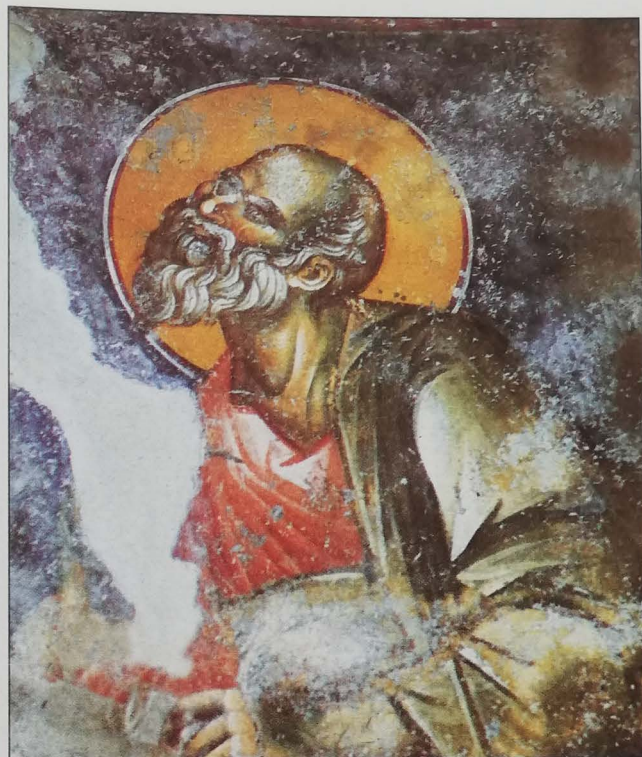
Рец, Holy Apostles, *Christ Tried by Pilate*, around 1300





VII

Žiča, *Evangelist Mark*, around 1310



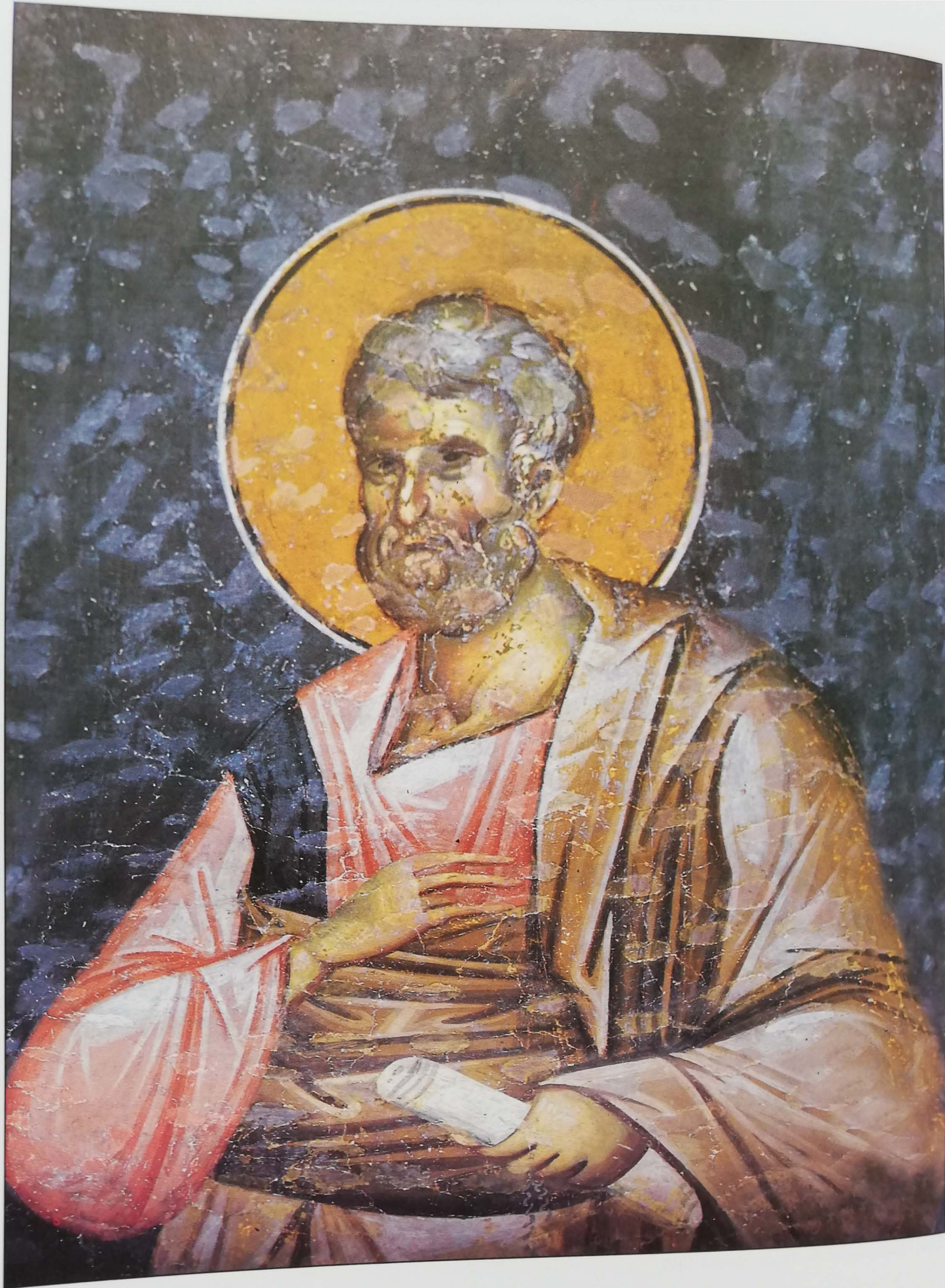
VIII

Žiča, *Evangelist John*, around 1310



IX

Žiča, *Dormition of the Virgin*, around 1310



X
Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Apostle Peter*, 1309–1313



7
Gračanica, around 1315

ki,⁶² the Protaton on Mount Athos,⁶³ Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid,⁶⁴ Christ's church and that of St. Blasios in Veria,⁶⁵ manuscripts and icons of the epoch,⁶⁶ is certainly of great importance in perceiving the main lines of its development. Certain monuments such as the Hagioi Theodoroi in Constantinople, the Protaton, the katholikon of Vatopedi, the Virgin Peribleptos, Holy Trinity in Berat, St. Catherine in Thessaloniki and Apheniko in Mistra, still await broader investigation.⁶⁷ Monuments in Serbia and abroad created under the patronage of king Milutin have not all been studied to the same extent. Some have recently received extensive monographs (Žiča, Bogorodica Ljeviška, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, Chilandar, Gračanica, Kraljeva crkva in Studenica, Staro Nagoričino).⁶⁸ Fine studies have been written on some of the others (Petrova crkva, icon of the apostles Peter and Paul in Rome, Djurdjevi Stupovi, Peć, Mušutište, Sušica, St. Prochor of Pčinja)⁶⁹ while the rest have been studied only partly (Arilje, Banjska, katholikon of Chilandar, St. Peter and Paul on the Lim, St. Nikita).⁷⁰

Having reviewed all that has survived of the rich artistic heritage from the age of king Milutin (1282–1321), both in Serbia and the Byzantine cities and territories in which he was active as a patron of the arts, we shall proceed with observations of the development and changes this art had undergone during that time, discovering its nature and its peculiarities. We shall attempt to decipher the ideological messages of Serbian state and ecclesiastical history, at times even the destinies of individuals from those days, and to point out the main themes of this art, its characteristics, artistic qualities and identify the leading painters and their followers. For those reasons we shall leave aside many interesting phenomena as well as those iconographic and stylistic solutions which have not found broader application in Serbian painting of Milutin's era. As a result, at the end of the book we offer a survey of all the mural paintings and other works of art with information concerning their chronology, notes on all the preserved inscriptions and the artists who produced them as well as a review of existing bibliography.

¹ The best texts offering general insight into Serbian painting from the second half of the XI until the second half of the XIII century are: Demus, *Die Entstehung*, 26–30; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 27–71, 77–81; Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIII^e siècle*, 145–167; Lazarev, *Storia*, 273–352 (passim); Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 33–60; Djurić, *La peinture murale byzantine*, 198–212, 219–220, 238–248 as well as a series of compendiums, monographs and articles.

² Recent investigation has shown that work on the construction of the church of St. Achilleios in Arilje began in the 1280's and that it was finished around the time of the change on the Serbian throne (M. Čanak-Medić, *Iz istorije Arilja*, Saopštenja XIV, 1982, 38–41). Recently it has also become clear that the narthex of Djurdjevi Stupovi was decorated with frescoes before 1282 (Z. Zeković, *Konzervacija zidnih slika manastirskog kompleksa Djurdjevi Stupovi u Rasu*, Glasnik DKS 5, 1981, 45; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarske insignije*, 50).

³ About Dragutin's abdication from the throne in favour of his younger brother Milutin, his reasons and the consequences of this act cf. Dinić, *Odnos*, 49–52; L. Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'Empire serbe – le kralj Milutin*, Thessalonique 1978, 15–22; J. Kalić, *Dežvo u srednjem veku*, ZRVI 20 (1981), 75–76; *Vizantijski izvori*, VI, 44–45 (Lj. Maksimović); Djurić, *Deževski sabor*, 169–193.

⁴ G. Subotić, *Kraljica Jelena Anžujska – ktitor crkvenih spomenika u Primorju*, Istorijski glasnik 1–2 (1958), 131–147; V. Korać, *Id. Sergije-Srdj i Vakh na Bojani*, Starinar XII (1961), 35–43; sv., *Graditeljska škola Pomorja*, Beograd 1965, 28, 65–68, 89–93; Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona apostola Petra i Pavla*, 11; V. Tomić-De Muro, *Srpske ikone u crkvi Sv. Nikole u Bariju, Italija*, Zbornik LU 2 (1966), 107–123.

⁵ In the peace treaty emperor Andronikos II "bestowed" upon his son-in-law the conquered regions (cf. one of the king's charters issued shortly after 1299: L. Slaveva, *Gramota na kralj Milutin za kelijata Sv. Petka vo s. Tmorane*, Spomenici na Makedonija, I, 255–256); V. Mošin, *Balkanskata diplomatija i dinastičkite brakovi na kralot Milutin*, Spomenici na Makedonija, II, 188–189; L. Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'Empire serbe*, 33–50; *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 445–446 (Lj. Maksimović); *Vizantijski izvori*, VI, 95, 116–117 et passim (I. Djurić).

⁶ The entire course of the hostilities between the brothers is explained by Dinić, *Odnos*, 49–80 (with minor corrections in recent historiography). About the date and reasons of Stefan's rebellion Lj. Kovačević, *Nekoliko hronoloških ispravaka o srpskoj istoriji*, GNČ XLVI (1937), 27–30; I. Božić, *O položaju Zete u državi Nemanjića*, Istorijski glasnik 1–2 (1950), 116–119; L. Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'Empire serbe*, 70; *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 462–465 (S. Ćirković); *Vizantijski izvori*, VI, 178–179 (S. Ćirković – B. Ferjančić).

⁷ This problem has been thoroughly investigated so that, in this instance, we point out only some of the general studies regarding the question: S. Novaković, *Vizantijski činovi i titule u srpskim zemljama XI–XV veka*, Glas SKA LXXVIII (1908), 255–267; V. Mošin, *Vizantijski uticaj u Srbiji u XIV veku*, Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis III (1937), 147–160; G. Ostrogorsky, *Problèmes des relations byzantino-serbes au XIV^e siècle*, Procé-

edings of the XIIIth Int. Congr. of Byz. Studies, London 1947, 41–55.

⁸ Cf. Djurić, *L'art des Paléologues et l'Etat serbe*, 179–191; *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 476–495 (G. Babić).

⁹ C. I. Jireček, *Handelstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien Während des Mittelalters*, Abhandlungen der königl. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. VI Folge, 10 Band, Classe für Philosophie, Geschichte und Philologie, Nr. 2, Prag 1879, 43–48; A. Schmaus, *Zur Frage der Kulturorientierung der Serben im Mittelalter*, Südost-Forschungen XV (1956) 187–188; V. Korać, *Izmedju Vizantije i Zapada*, Beograd 1987. Apart from the mentioned churches on the Adriatic coast and in its hinterland (cf. note 4), other churches in Serbia were also being renovated and redecored but their frescoes are poorly preserved: M. Šuput, *Crkva u Starom Trgu*, Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta XII/1 (1974), 321–329; M. Čanak-Medić, *L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja, II, Eglises de la vallée du Lim et du littoral adriatique*, Beograd 1989, 203–208; *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 278–280, 283–286 (V. J. Djurić).

¹⁰ Cf. B. Radojković, *Nakit kod Srba od kraja XII do kraja XVIII veka*, Beograd 1969, 104, 158; V. Han, *Tendences gothiques dans les arts mineurs de la Serbie médiévale*, Actes du XIV^e congr. int. des études byz., III, Bucarest 1976, 328; *Istorija primenjene umetnosti kod Srba*, Beograd 1977, 86, 160, 283; S. Radojčić, *Hilandarski diptih. Novi prilog poznavanju mletačke minijature kasnog XIII veka*, Glas SAN CCXXXIV/7 (1959), 49–54.

¹¹ On the architecture and sculpture of Banjska cf. Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 114; M. M. Vasić, *Žiča i Lazarica*, Beograd 1928, 64–74; M. Šuput, *Manastir Banjska*, Beograd 1989; on the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus on the Bojana V. Korać, *Graditeljska škola Pomorja*, 17–33; on western influences on Chilandar V. Korać, *Arheološka opažanja o priprati kneza Lazara u Hilandararu*, Hilendarski zbornik 4 (1978), 81–84.

¹² Cf. Djurić, *L'art des Paléologues et l'Etat serbe*, 179–191; *Vizantijski izvori*, VI, 111–114 (I. Djurić).

¹³ *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopenus, I, Bonnae 1829, 241–242.

¹⁴ V. Marković, *Pravoslavno monaštvo i manastiri u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Sr. Karlovci 1920, 89–90; S. Nikolovska, *Izgradeni i obnoveni manastiri i crkvi od kralot Milutin*, Spomenici na Makedonija, II, 509–519. The king also restored or endowed many monasteries throughout the Byzantine Empire, especially in Thessaloniki, Constantinople and on Mount Athos and even in Palestine, on the Sinai and in Apulia (Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 173–180).

¹⁵ D. Bogdanović, *Nove težnje u srpskoj književnosti prvih decenija XIV veka*, Symposium de Gračanica, 85–96; id., *Istorija stare srpske književnosti*, Beograd 1980, 164–175; Dj. Trifunović, *Stara srpska književnost – osnove*, Beograd 1994, 191–219.

¹⁶ Apart from the previous note, cf. C. Müller-Landau, *Studien zum Stil der Sava-Vita Teodosius*, München 1972; G. Subotić, *Teodosijeva žitija i srpski živopis Milutinovog doba*, Stara književnost, Beograd 1972, 398–403; Teodosije, *Žitije svetog Save*, Beograd 1974, pp. VII–XL (D. Bogdanović); M.

Kašanin, *Srpska književnost u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1990, 178–209.

¹⁷ Cf. Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, pp. V–XXIX (N. Radojčić); M. Kašanin, *Srpska književnost u srednjem veku*, 210–233; Dj. Trifunović, *Stara srpska književnost*, 200–203.

¹⁸ It is interesting, however, that there are no figurative representations in many books copied at that time on Mount Athos and in Serbia (the later inserted leafs with images of the evangelists in the gospel of Kumanica do not date from the beginning of the XIV century), the only exception being the somewhat more elaborately painted ornaments and initials of the geometric, floral and fantastic decoration, cf. S. Radojčić, *Stare srpske minijature*, Beograd 1950, 13–14; J. Maksimović, *Srpske srednjovekovne minijature*, Beograd 1983, 37–42), so that they were not included in this book dealing with the painting of Milutin's era.

¹⁹ About him Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 246; S. Stanojević, *Srpski arhiepiskopi od Save II do Danila II (1263–1326)*, Glas SKA CLIII (1933), 69–71.

²⁰ In addition to the works cited in note 16, about Danilo, monk and bishop, cf. Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 248–287 (written by his disciple); M. A. Purković, *Srpski episkopi i mitropoliti srednjega veka*, Hrišćansko delo III/4–6 (1937), 22–26, 35–36; V. A. Mošin – M. A. Purković, *Hilandarski igumani srednjega veka*, Skoplje 1940, 18–27, as well as the latest compendium monograph *L'archevêque Danilo et son époque*, Beograd 1991.

²¹ SSZN, I, 17. About Grigoriye II cf. D. Kostić, *Kada je Teodosije pisao Život sv. Save*, Glasnik Jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva XIV/3 (1933), 225–226.

²² Cf. SSZN, I, 19–21; V. A. Mošin – M. A. Purković, *Hilandarski igumani srednjega veka*, 16, 36; Todić, *Gračanica*, 70–71, 168–169; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 25, 123.

²³ Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 116, 247, 286; S. N. Vulović, *Beleške o arhiepiskopu Nikodimu*, Glas SKA XLIII (1894), 1–15; S. Stanojević, *Srpski arhiepiskopi od Save II do Danila II*, 71–78; V. A. Mošin – M. A. Purković, *Hilandarski igumani srednjega veka*, 27–30; Srbijak, II, Beograd 1970, 207, 235.

²⁴ D. Bogdanović, *Istorija stare srpske književnosti*, 164–166, 168.

²⁵ M. M. Vasić, *Žiča i Lazarica*, 183; L. Mirković, *Tipik arhiepiskopa Nikodima (I)*, Bogoslovlje XVI/2 (1957), 18–19. Nikodim's references to St. Sava are not accidental, cf. P. Simić, *Rad svetog Save na osavremenjivanju bogoslužnja u Srpskoj crkvi*, Sveti Sava, spomenica povodom osamstogodišnjice rođenja 1175–1975, Beograd 1977, 181–205. On the liturgy and its influences on Serbian painting, id., *Bogoslužjenje i freske XIII i XIV veka*, Mileševa dans l'histoire du peuple serbe, Beograd 1987, 103–108.

²⁶ R. Ljubinković, *Les influences de la vie politique contemporaine sur la décoration des églises d'Ohrid*, Actes du XII^e congrès int. d'ét. byz., III, Beograd 1964, 221–222; cf. also Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 65–67.

²⁷ Cf. the basic literature: G. Millet, *L'ancien art serbe. Les églises*, Paris 1919, 103–104; B. Koneski, *Crkvenoslovenskiot*

jazik na freskite vo Makedonija, Simpozijum 1100-godišnica na Kiril Solunski, II, Skopje 1970, 101–103; Djurić, *L'art des Paléologues et l'Etat serbe*, 187–188.

²⁸ Milutin's charter issued in 1299/1300 to the monastery of St. Georgios Gorgos has been published several times, best by: R. M. Grujić, *Tri hilendarske povelje*, Zbornik za istoriju Južne Srbije i susednih oblasti 1 (1936), 5–24 and *Gramoti na manastiroi Sv. Georgi-Gorg skopski*, Spomenici na Makedonija, I, 209–238. The most serious attempt to determine the location of the monastery is that of K. Petrov, *Identificiranje na lokalitetot na manastiroi Sv. Georgi Gorgos*, Godišen zbornik na Filozofski fakultet 20 (1968), 255–286.

²⁹ The most reliable testimony about Milutin's activities related to Chilandar is that offered by Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 175–176. On the architecture of Milutin's age in Chilandar S. Nenadović, *Arhitektura Hilandara – crkve i paraklisi*, Hilendarski zbornik 3 (1974), 87–146; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 70–76. On the date of the fresco decoration of the katholikon Djurić, *Narthex de Chilandar*, 116–118. On the king's other endowments in Chilandar and his donations to the monastery Djurić, *Chilandar*, 76, 78, 80–81, 86, 88, 92, 96–98.

³⁰ Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 283; Mijović, *Žiča*, 5–52 (M. Kašanin); G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, Belgrade 1988, 32.

³¹ Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 74–76 and Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67 (also, Djurić, *Pecka patrijaršija*, 121–130) date these frescoes to the period around the year 1300, and B. Todić (*Patrijarh Joanikije – ktitor fresaka u crkvi Sv. apostola u Peči*, Zbornik LU 16, 1980, 86) associates them with king Milutin.

³² Cf. S. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, Beograd 1963; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*. – The king also donated the church of St. Nicholas in the upper town of Prizren to Ljeviška and this church served as a shelter for its treasures "in times of danger" (I. Jastrebov, *Hrisovulja Dečanskog kralja od godine 1326*, GSUD XLIX, 1881, 363).

³³ About the founding of Banjska, its chronology, architecture and holdings cf. Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 192–194; S. Novaković, *Manastir Banjska – zadužbina kralja Milutina*, Glas SKA XXXII (1892), 4–14; M. M. Vasić, *Žiča i Lazarica*, 64–74; V. Korać, *Graditeljska škola Pomorja*, 102–106, 203–207; G. A. Škrivanić, *Vlastelinstvo Sv. Stefana u Banjskoj*, Istorijski časopis 6 (1956), 177–198.

³⁴ About Milutin's charter issued to the church of Sts. Peter and Paul cf. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, 597–598 and Mošin, *Povelje kralja Milutina*, 66–67; about Danilo cf. M. Janković, *Danilo, banjski i humski episkop*, L'archeveque Danilo II et son époque, 83–88; on the architecture of the church D. Nagorni, *Die Kirche Sv. Petar in Bijelo Polje, Montenegro*, München 1978; on the wall paintings Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74 and note 56 (with bibliography published until 1973).

³⁵ Recently, two extensive books about this church have been published, based also on numerous earlier studies concerning Gračanica: S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica. King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture*, The Pennsylvania State University 1979 and Todić, *Gračanica*.

³⁶ Todić, *Nagoričino* (on the history, architecture and wall paintings of the church).

³⁷ Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 180–181; *Svetostefanska hrisovulja* (edited by Lj. Kovačević), Spomenik SKA IV (1989), 9.

³⁸ This church also has a modern and all-encompassing monograph published not so long ago, Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*.

³⁹ The most reliable testimony indicating king Milutin as the founder of the church of St. Nikita in Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 181. There are numerous charters related to this church but, so far, they have not received a definite analysis which could distinguish the originals from the forgeries and determine the results of interpolation in them. Existing literature is also not uniform in determining the date of the frescoes, ranging from 1307 to 1320, cf. the latest work on this subject Miljković-Peppek, *Crkvata Sv. Nikita*, 381–383.

⁴⁰ Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 173–184, 192–194 (the cited passage on page 173–174). One by one, Danilo lists Milutin's churches in the Prodromos quarter of Constantinople, together with palaces and a hospital, his churches of St. Nicholas and St. George as well as numerous palaces in Thessaloniki, his donations to the church of the Virgin at Treskavac and to the monastery of St. George in the Kičevo region, and makes a general mention of the monasteries on the Sinai and in Jerusalem.

⁴¹ About the wall paintings in the church Ευγρόπουλος, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου; Τσιτουρίδου, Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, about the architecture A. Ευγρόπουλος, *Τέσσαρες μικροί ναοί της Θεσσαλονίκης εκ των χρόνων των Παλαιολόγων*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1952, 36–44. Data on this church as Milutin's endowment in Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 179.

⁴² Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 174–181. The church of the monastery of the Holy Archangels in Jerusalem is preserved, although with later reconstructions and without its original wall paintings, V. Nedomački, *Manastir arhandjela Mihaila i Gavriila u Jerusalimu – zadužbina kralja Milutina*, Zbornik LU 16 (1980), 25–69. On Milutin's endowments in Thessaloniki cf. P. Mijović, *O gradjevinama kralja Milutina u Solunu*, Starinar XVIII (1968), 233–237; Kisas, *Solun*, 29–42.

⁴³ Cf. Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski hrisovulji, akti, biografije, letopisi, tipici, pomenici, zapisi i dr.*, Spomenik SKA III (1890), 95, 125, 139; V. Marković, *Pravoslavno monaštvo i manastiri u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, 95–97; M. A. Purković, *Popis crkava u staroj srpskoj državi*, Skoplje 1938, 12, 34, 44; Petković, *Pregled*, 5, 36, 58, 146, 154, 179, 228, 230, 244, 265, 269, 292, 298, 299, 302, 335; K. Petrov, *Pregled na sakralnite spomenici vo Skopje i okolinata od XI do XIX vek*, Spomenici na Makedonija, I, 76–83; S. Nikolovska, *Izgradeni i obnoveni manastiri i crkvi od kralot Milutin*, Spomenici na Makedonija, II, 509–519. Apart from these, several other churches are also ascribed to king Milutin.

⁴⁴ SSZN, III, 73, 76; Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 283; Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, 597–598.

⁴⁵ I. Jastrebov, *Hrisovulja Dečanskog kralja od godine 1326*, 364; M. M. Vasić, *Crkva Sv. Bogorodice na Ljeviši u Prizrenu i prizrenski episkop Damjan*, PKJIF 1 (1921), 93–101; Dj. Sp.

Radojčić, *O Pomeniku Sv. Bogorodice Ljeviške*, Starinar 15 (1940), 61; S. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 25–27, 180–185; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 43, 50–61 (D. Panić).

⁴⁶ SSZN, I, 19, 21; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 26 et passim, drawing 1–2.

⁴⁷ SSZN, I, 20; R. Nikolić, *Natpis na Kraljevoj crkvi u Studenici*, Saopštenja IX (1970), 76–77; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 20–21.

⁴⁸ Cf. note 35.

⁴⁹ Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 193–194.

⁵⁰ SSZN, I, 20; on the architecture of the church S. M. Nenadović, *Beleške s puta po Kosmetu*, Muzeji 7 (1952), 168–171, on its frescoes Djurić, *Nepoznati spomenici*, 61–67; Djordjević, *Zidno slikarstvo*, 50, 131 et passim.

⁵¹ The most comprehensive work on this church and its frescoes is Babić, *Sušica*, 303–339.

⁵² So far the best work about them is Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 117–137.

⁵³ M. Šuput, *Crkva u Starom Trgu*, 321–329; M. Čanak-Medić, *L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja, II, Eglises de la vallée du Lim et du littoral adriatique*, 208–251 (mention of the frescoes and their dating on page 205).

⁵⁴ Cf., along with other works, P. Muretoff, *La peinture byzantine*, Paris 1935, 117, 127; Millet, *Recherches*, 630; Petković, *La peinture serbe*, II, 17 et passim; Demus, *Die Entstehung*, 33–63; Lazarev, *Storia*, 273–442; Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 125–153; *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 476–495 (G. Babić-Djordjević); Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 11–28.

⁵⁵ Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 87.

⁵⁶ Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 14–15.

⁵⁷ Djurić, *L'art des Paléologues et l'Etat serbe*, 179–191; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 66–67, 75–76.

⁵⁸ Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 67–78.

⁵⁹ Petković, *La peinture serbe*, II, 16–37; Petković, *Pregled*, passim; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 135–243 (passim).

⁶⁰ Demus, *Die Entstehung*, 1–63; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*; Lazarev, *Storia*, 273–442; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 85–119; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59–76; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 150–170; *The Kariye Djami*, IV; Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 125–154; Radojčić, *Klassizismus*, 189–205; Mouriki, *Stylistic Trends*, 55–83; Tsiouridou, *La peinture monumentale à Salonique*, 9–19; H. Belting, *Le problème du style dans l'art byzantin des derniers siècles*, *La Civiltà bizantina del XII al XV secolo*, Roma 1982, 294–308.

⁶¹ *The Kariye Djami*, I–IV; W. Grape, *Zum Stil der Mosaiken in der Kilise Camii in Istanbul*, Pantheon 31 (1974), 3–13; H. Belting – C. Mango – D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) in Istanbul*, Washington 1978.

⁶² A. Cituridu, *Zidno slikarstvo Svetog Pantelejmona u Solunu*,

Zograf 6 (1975), 14–20; Τσιτουρίδου, 'Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός; Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensamle*; Gouma-Peterson, *The Frescoes*, 111–159. Wall paintings from this epoch exist also in the churches of St. Catherine, Hosios David and the Virgin tôn Halkeon, only mentined in literature.

⁶³ A. Xyngopoulos, *Manuel Panselinos*, Athens 1956; Δ. Καλομοιράκης, *Ερμηνευτικές παρατηρήσεις στο εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα του Πρωτάτου*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/15 (1991), 197–200; V. J. Djurić, *Les conceptions hagiologiques dans la peinture de Prôtaton*, Hilendarski zbornik 8 (1991), 37–81. On Mount Athos, apart from those in the Protaton, frescoes from this epoch exist also in the Great Lavra (A. Xyngopoulos, *Nouveaux témoignages de l'activité des peintres macédoniens au Mont Athos*, BZ 52, 1959, 62–64), Vatopedi (Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 226–227; A. Xyngopoulos, *Mosaïques et fresques de l'Athos*, Le millénaire du Mont Athos, II, Chevetogne 1964, 254; Mouriki, *Stylistic Trends*, 66; Τσιγαρίδας, *Η μνημειακή ζωγραφική*, 304–320; Τσιγαρίδας, *Η Μονή Βατοπεδίου*, 401–423, πίν. 154–213) and Chilandar (cf. infra).

⁶⁴ The church still does not have a comprehensive monograph, so far the best work is Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, passim; its wall paintings, however, are the subject of a series of papers and studies, cf. C. Grozdanov, *Studii za ohridskiot živopis*, Skopje 1990, 84–101.

⁶⁵ Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*; Θ. Παπαζώτος, *Η Βέροια και οι ναοί της (11ος–18ος αι)*, Αθήνα 1994, 172–175, 253–257.

⁶⁶ V. J. Djurić, *Ikônes de Yougoslavie*, Beograd 1961, 19–25; Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*; M. Chatzidakis, *Une icône*

en mosaïques de Lavra, JÖB 21 (1972), 73–81; Οι θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους, I–IV, Αθήνα 1974–1991; Buchtal, *Toward a History*, 145–146; J. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, I–II, Leiden 1981; R. S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites. A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator*, Wien 1991 and a series of other books, discussions and contributions.

⁶⁷ Cf. W. Grape, op. cit.; A. Ducellier, *Observations sur quelques monuments de l'Albanie*, Revue archéologique II (1965), 196–197; Mouriki, *Stylistic Trends*, 60–61; M. Chatzidakis, *Mistra*, Athènes 1981, 59–67; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 67–78; Τσιγαρίδας, *Η Μονή Βατοπεδίου*, 401–423.

⁶⁸ Mijović, *Žiča*, 105–199; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 47–104; Τσιτουρίδου, 'Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 64, 81–98; Todić, *Gračanica*; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 61–219; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 71–138.

⁶⁹ We list here only the most important and latest works: Djurić, *Nepoznati spomenici*, 61–67; Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona apostola Petra i Pavla*, 11–16; Babić, *Sušica*, 303–309; Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 131–137; Čorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*, 44–47; Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 121–130; Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 117–137.

⁷⁰ Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 109–112; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, passim; Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 31–41; M. Čanak-Medić, *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju*, Beograd 1982, 16–50 (with a bibliography of earlier works); M. Šuput, *Manastir Banjska*, Beograd 1989, 34–35.

THE IMAGE OF SERBIAN HISTORY



During his long reign (1282–1321), king Milutin was portrayed so many times that he has no equal in any other Serbian ruler except, perhaps, tsar Dušan. Leaving aside for the moment his portraits as a prince, preserved in Sopoćani, it is obvious that none of the churches the king restored were left without his image and easy to conclude that he appears even in those where his patronage is uncertain, or where he most definitely played no part at all as a ktetor, as well as on icons donated to famous shrines and coins produced in his mints. Rather reliably dated, to a measure which allows the discernment of the order of their appearance, these portraits present Milutin's easily recognisable image – from the days of his youth, as in Djurdjevi Stupovi, to a ripe old age in Gračanica and Chilandar. Moreover, his dress and royal insignia mirror the transformations in royal iconography while the locations chosen for his portraits, as well as the personages surrounding them, reveal deeper connotations of the king's images. Apart from depicting the devout act of presenting offerings to Christ – the main subject of donor portraits repeated throughout the Middle Ages – portraits of king Milutin, more than all the other portraits seen in Serbian medieval art, convey the complexity of his epoch weighty with intricate questions of succession to the throne and the king's relations with his ancestors, his brother Dragutin, his sons as well as his ties with Constantinople, emperor Andronikos II and a number of other phenomena. Inspired by the tumultuous events which took place between 1282 and 1321 – Dragutin's abdication in Deževu in favour of his brother, their collaboration and subsequent hostilities, the political marriages of Milutin, most impor-

tantly that to a Byzantine princess, the rebellion of his son Stefan and the promotion of Konstantin as the heir to the throne in 1320 – Milutin's portraits are a true mirror of history of his day.

Apart from such representations of Milutin, Serbian art of this period also includes the portraits of his mother Jelena and father Uroš, not lacking in ideological overtones, as well as those of his other ancestors and relatives, beginning with Stefan Nemanja, Dragutin and his family, St. Sava and practically every archbishop of the Serbian church, from its first prelates to Milutin's contemporaries, local bishops in their respective churches and, finally, images of Byzantine emperors. The reasons for their appearance are easily explained especially when compared with similar representations in Byzantine and earlier Serbian art which provided the basic concepts and iconographic models. Their meaning becomes even easier to comprehend once adequate attention is devoted to the scenes which surround them. As a rule, portraits were conceived as a constituent element of the overall programme of fresco decoration and their messages thus given more clarity. Apart from the universally accepted and venerated Christian saints, images of local saints whose cults were territorially confined were also painted in Serbian art of this period. On the other hand, members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy – archbishops, bishops and hegoumenoi – who either played minor roles in raising and decorating the churches, or were impelled by modesty to leave out their own portraits, had images of their holy guardians painted in their place on prominent locations.

In order to explain this gallery of personages from Serbian history as best we can, above all the portraits of king Milutin, his contemporaries and ancestors, we shall divide them into groups based on similar iconographic and conceptual solutions trusting that, in doing so, our explications will be more thorough and the image of Serbian history of this age better elucidated.¹

The Harmony of Rule After the Change on the Throne

The rise of king Milutin to the Serbian throne in 1282 was described in full detail by archbishop Danilo: king Dragutin, the sovereign who came to power in 1276 by forcefully taking the throne from his father, king Uroš I, having fallen from his horse while riding in the vicinity of the fortress of Jeleč, broke his leg and was badly injured. This caused great

alarm and fear in the land. The liturgical character of Dragutin's biography which renders this description, and the undeniable ideological overtone of the text, impelled the author to assign this accident to Dragutin's penance for having raised his hand against his own father. Danilo's account of alarm and fear, of neighbouring emperors in particular, reveals the actual danger of an imminent attack from the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII and his allies as well as the probable existence of internal strife caused by Dragutin's physical incapability. At the same time, it justifies the subsequent change on the throne. Having immediately sent for his brother, Dragutin handed over to Milutin his throne and royal insignia: the crown, the royal robes, his horse and weapons. Following an established model for such transfers of power, Dragutin instructed his brother wisely. At this point Danilo stresses again the abdicating king's remorse for having forcefully deposed his father and establishes the legitimacy of Milutin's rise to power in the following, presumed, words of the ex-ruler: "And you, my dear and beloved brother, take my imperial crown and sit upon the throne of your father." The fine syntax of Danilo's sentence reveals the essential point of this change on the Serbian throne: although Milutin receives his crown from his brother, he is actually promoted as his father's heir hence determining the line of succession to the Serbian throne, an important moment in Serbian dynastic ideology which permeated the entire scope of historical imagery.

Danilo's text offers no definite data concerning the agreement reached between the two brothers at their "secret consultations" held in Deževno. Still, owing to the work of Georgios Pachimer and the anonymous author of "Descriptio Europae Orientalis" we do have information regarding the crucial subject of their negotiations. According to their accounts, generally accepted as reliable by contemporary scholars, the incontestable sovereignty which Milutin received in Deževno was strictly limited to the period of his own reign and he was to be succeeded on the throne by Dragutin's sons. It was decided then, as attested by Danilo and other contemporaries, that the northern territories of the Serbian state be handed over to the administration of Dragutin who was to rule independently. His lands were soon augmented by holdings reaching all the way to the banks of the Sava and across the Drina which he received as a gift from his father-in-law and brother-in-law, Ladislaus IV. Note should also be made of the fact that the agreement of

Deževu did not diminish the scope of the territory which had already been under the control of their mother Jelena since 1276 and the deposition of king Uroš I. It included the vast region of Zeta, territories around the upper flow of the Ibar as well as cities on the Adriatic coast. Brotherly harmony between Milutin and Dragutin which lasted for nearly two decades after the Deževu proceedings is demonstrated especially well by their cooperation in military campaigns against Byzantium (1283–1284) and Drman and Kудelin (1298) as well as by the mutual respect of the agreement they had reached and confirmed not only by written sources but also by the frescoes of Djurdjevi Stupovi and Arilje as well as their portraits on an icon in Rome.²

Soon after the Deževu agreement and the change on the throne, king Stefan Dragutin reconstructed the entrance tower in the monastery of Djurdjevi Stupovi, turning it into a chapel of unknown dedication. This was Dragutin's second large-scale enterprise in this monastery founded by the progenitor of the dynasty. The first, undertaken while he was still the sole ruler of the entire state, was tied to the renovation of the narthex of the main church and the construction of a new refectory, all with the intention of making this monastery his final resting place.³ The appearance of king Dragutin's portrait proves that the frescoes in the narthex of the main church date from the period of his independent rule (1276–1282). This is a frontal representation of the sovereign wearing a dark violet divetesion and yellow loros with a stemma on his head and a large cross-shaped staff and red akakia in his hands. The stance and insignia bring this portrait of Dragutin quite close to the official representations of Byzantine emperors and it could well be said that its solemn appearance represents a turning point in the long line of images of Serbian rulers of the XIII century. Although rendered as a second ktetor (the long inscription which once stood by this figure has vanished), Dragutin's portrait primarily exalts the king's sovereign power through insignia adopted from Byzantine royal iconography.⁴ At perhaps nearly the same time, the king appears once again in a similar stance in Gradac, by the ktetor's composition. On the other hand, it is possible that he was depicted there already during the reign of his father, king Uroš I.⁵ In any case, these portraits of Dragutin prepared the way for the appearance of the solemn frontal representations of king Milutin, the supreme sovereign of the state. In that guise and with that meaning, Milutin was portrayed for the first time in Djurdjevi Stupovi.

The space Dragutin adapted for liturgical services, better known as Dragutin's chapel, is almost entirely covered with representations of personages and events from Serbian history. In the lowest register of frescoes we see the ktetor's ancestors on one side of Christ's throne and his own figure on the other, offering the model of his endowment to the heavenly king, with his son Vladislav and wife Katelina standing behind him. Beside them is the figure of king Milutin, the only figure with a frontal posture, and that of his wife with hands outstretched in prayer to Christ.⁶ The central part of this scene, including Christ, Dragutin and his family, has all the elements of a typical ktetor's composition widely used in the Byzantine cultural sphere. It approaches the Byzantine model in both meaning – by offering his endowment to Christ the ktetor prays for his own salvation – and iconography: slightly inclined, Dragutin raises his left hand to his chest in a gesture of supplication while pointing to his endowment and addressing Christ. He is followed by his very next of kin, his son and wife. For the offering he receives, Christ responds by blessing the king. The line of the ktetor's ancestors approaching Christ in gestures of supplication, interceding on Dragutin's behalf, is also well known from older monuments. The novelty, however, is the appearance of king Milutin and his wife directly behind Dragutin's family. Not only does this element determine that the frescoes were painted after 1282, it also reflects the political situation in the Serbian state following the agreement of Deževu. The frontal, representative stance of king Milutin, with a crown on his head and a staff and akakia in his hands, presents him as the supreme ruler. On the other hand, although rendered as the ktetor, Dragutin clearly displays the signs of his position which sprang from the agreement reached between the two brothers. The title which appears in the inscription accompanying the figure of Dragutin, dressed in regal robes, a loros and a divetesion, and wearing a crown with strings of prependoulia hanging from both sides – an exact likeness of Milutin's crown, repeats that written out by the figure of his brother, at that time already a ruler with absolute supremacy. Dragutin is marked as "Stefan' kral' s(i)n' s(ve)t(a)go i velikago kralja Uroša" (Stefan the King, son of the Holy and Great King Uroš) and in addition as "i htitor s(ve)tago hrama sego" (and ktetor of this holy church). A similar inscription once stood by the figure of king Milutin "Stefan' Uroš' kral' i s(i)n' s(ve)tago velikago kralja Uroša" (Stefan Uroš the King and son of the Holy Great King





⁸
Djurdjevi Stupovi, Dragutin's chapel,
Frescoes on the south wall, 1283–1285

⁹
Djurdjevi Stupovi, Dragutin's chapel, *King Dragutin*
in the scene of handing over the throne to Milutin, 1283–1285

¹⁰
Djurdjevi Stupovi, Dragutin's chapel, *King Milutin*
in the scene of handing over the throne to Milutin, 1283–1285

Uroš).⁷ The symphony of joint reign of the two brothers, established in 1282 in Deževu, is expressed in full measure on this fresco from Djurdjevi Stupovi. At the same time, Milutin's supremacy is clearly underlined not only by the fact that his image appears in one of his brother's endowments but also by the representative character of this portrait, seen already on representations of Byzantine emperors as well as on those of Dragutin from the period of his independent rule. The influence of the other item of the Deževu agreement — that concerning the transfer of power only to Milutin personally, with an obligation on his part to acknowledge Dragutin's sons as heirs of the Serbian throne — is revealed not as much by the fact that Dragutin is accompanied by Vladislav,

the one designated to inherit the royal title and supreme power after his uncle's death, as by the fact that Milutin's son Stefan, who must certainly have been born by that time, is missing from the picture.⁸

The wives of the two kings are painted in almost the exact same manner: their heads bent and arms raised towards Christ, both wrapped in simply decorated cloaks and wearing low crowns and both bearing the title of queen. Originally they were accompanied by inscriptions, now vanished, which read: "Katelina kraljica d'šti velikago kralja ugarskago Stefana" (Katelina the Queen and daughter of the Great Hungarian King Stephen) and "Jelena kraljica srb'ska" (Jelena the Serbian Queen). Dragutin's wife Katelina, most probably portrayed also in Gradac and certainly in Arilje, is a well known personage and the above cited data is considered reliable. However, the portrait of Milutin's wife from Djurdjevi Stupovi seems to have been the cause of a considerable number of scholarly arguments. At first this figure was identified as Milutin's second wife, the daughter of the sebastokrator of Thessaly, John Angelos (she was married to the Serbian king from the close of 1282 to the end of 1283). Hence, it was concluded that the frescoes of Dragutin's chapel must date from 1282–1283. In the meantime, it turned out that this lady by the name of Jelena was married to William de la Roche and the possibility of the existence of her portrait in Dragutin's chapel was thus discarded. The same reason induced some scholars to regard this figure as a portrait of Milutin's first wife (married to him perhaps until 1282) whose name is not confirmed in the sources.⁹ Her identification as Milutin's third wife, Jelisaveta (married to the king from the end of 1283 until mid 1284), and even his fourth spouse, Ana (in matrimony with Milutin certainly from August 11th, 1284 until 1299), was also rejected¹⁰ and all because of the confidence put into an old deciphering of the inscription which once stood by the queen. In fact, after the rejection of her identification as Jelena, the princess of Thessaly, only the *terminus post quem* remains beyond doubt – namely the year of the Deževó agreement (1282) – while the ultimate chronological limit for the creation of this fresco could be stretched to 1285, the approximate date of birth of Dragutin's second son, Urošić.¹¹ Justified misgivings concerning this quite old reading of the inscription by the Serbian queen¹² introduce the possibility of identification of Milutin's wife as Jelisaveta, a Hungarian princess and Dragutin's sister-in-law, whose marriage to Milutin was very brief

(1283–1284), or even the Bulgarian princess Ana Terter whom he married in 1284. It is possible and more probable that only the first letters of Jelisaveta's name were once visible ("Jel...") and that they were consequently completed with and interpreted as those reading Jelena. On the other hand, it is also possible that the name of queen Ana was written out in an unusual manner, like that of St. Anne close to the apse ("Ajana"), which lead the scholars on to read it as Jelena ("Jelena").¹³ In any case, this portrait does not represent Milutin's Thessalian wife. It is either Jelisaveta or Ana and the entire fresco decoration should accordingly be dated to 1283–1285, somewhat later than what is currently accepted.

The ktetor's composition in Dragutin's chapel owes its form to the traditional appearance of such representations in Serbian art – mostly in the choice of characters and their relation to Christ on the throne, although with an additional portrait of the supreme sovereign, and not as much in their distribution. The single, continuous line of ancestors ending with the figure of the ktetor bearing a model of his church, seen already in Mileševa, Radoslav's narthex in Studenica, Sopoćani, Gradac and perhaps even Petrova crkva, is divided into two groups gathered around Christ. On one side we have the ktetor's ancestors mediating before Christ while on the other stand the singled out figures of the ktetor himself and his family. In the presence of the sovereign king, he is the one who offers his endowment to Christ. The advance towards models set by Byzantine ktetors' compositions goes a step further in the church of St. Achilleios in Arilje (1295/1296), the second in line of Milutin's endowments raised after the change on the Serbian throne and dating from period of observance of the decisions made in Deževó. In essence, the ktetors' composition in Arilje emulates the type formulated in Dragutin's chapel at Djurdjevi Stupovi with the introduction of some significant changes: the group of ancestors-mediators is entirely detached from the ktetor and transferred from the narthex to the naos of the church, the ktetor's children are also singled out into a separate group and his relation to Christ is fundamentally changed. For the first time in Serbian art the act of donating a church to Christ is joined to the representation of heavenly investiture which entirely altered the composition of this painting. Instead of being shown while piously approaching Christ to receive his blessing for his good deed, the ktetor is rendered in a representative posture, facing the beholder and carrying the model of his church in his

hands. Only his wife still has her hands outstretched in prayer. On this painting Dragutin is also accompanied by Milutin portrayed in a stance already seen in Djurdjevi Stupovi. More than the one from the older church, this double portrait reflects the situation established by the agreement of Deževu. Both figures are signed as kings although with a significant distinction – Dragutin is "Stefan' kral' i prvi ktitor" (Stefan the King and first ktitor) and Milutin "Stefan' kral' vse srp'skie zemle i pomor'skije Uroš" (Stefan the King of all Serbian land and the Littoral Uroš). They are both dressed in the same robes, a dark scarlet divetesion and a loros studded with pearls and precious stones, and wearing spherical crowns with prominent orphans. They both stand on red pillows but only Milutin bears in his hands royal insignia – a large cross-shaped staff and a red akakia.¹⁴ Their joint reign and Milutin's primacy in hierarchy – as attested by the appearance of his portrait in Dragutin's endowment, his insignia and title – are confirmed by the blessing Christ gives to the both of them from a segment of the heavens above the two figures. There is no doubt that the emphasis placed on this relation between them opened the way for the creation of a specific ktitor's composition, modelled after Byzantine examples, which shows Christ accepting Dragutin's offering while giving his blessing to both Dragutin, Milutin and their joint reign and clearly indicates the extent of power of each ruler.¹⁵ This representation justifies the long present theory that in the period following 1282 Milutin was regarded as the true ruler of all Serbian lands, i.e. also of those parts governed by Dragutin – even Arilje, the see of the bishops of Moravica, may have been subjected to his rule.¹⁶

Although the royal portraits in both Dragutin's chapel and Arilje reflect the situation brought about by the Deževu agreement and the nature of royal government in Serbia, it is curious that in Arilje Milutin is portrayed without his wife by his side. Although the presence of the queen was by no means prerequisite in proclaiming the mentioned ideological views, in Byzantium and other states which belonged to the sphere of its cultural influence it was quite common in compositions of this type. In order to understand better the differences in this matter between Djurdjevi Stupovi and Arilje, we shall reiterate the hypothesis which seems probable. It is well known that from 1284 king Milutin was married to the Bulgarian princess Ana, daughter of tsar George Terter. Because practically all the king's marriages were inspired and

conditioned by guidelines of his foreign policy and even the internal affairs of his state, it seems that the separation from Ana, although not quite a formal divorce, could have taken place already in 1292 when George Terter lost the Bulgarian throne.¹⁷ Queen Ana lived in Serbia until 1299 but was no longer considered to be Milutin's wife (a message which may have been indicated also by the Arilje fresco). Already in 1298 negotiations were in progress concerning the marriage of Milutin and Eudocia, sister of emperor Andronikos II, and, subsequently, the emperor's daughter, Simonida. This seems to be the most plausible reason for her absence from the painting in Arilje, all the more so since her image was in no way significant in showing the relations between the two kings, Dragutin and Milutin.

From the time of the Deževu agreement and until Milutin's marriage to Simonida (1282–1299) these relations were untarnished and filled with cooperation between the two brothers. Sources indicate that their mother played a considerable role in sustaining such conditions. It is well known that, together with her sons, Jelena restored the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus on the Bojana in 1290, as attested by the lengthy inscription carved by the entrance. A similar inscription also existed on a now lost icon of St. Nicholas which Jelena and her sons donated to the shrine of this saint in Bari. According to a XVII century testimony by Antonio Beatillo, the icon showed the figure of king Milutin on the right hand side (*Rex Urosius filius Urosii Regis Serviae*), Dragutin on the left (*Rex Stefanus filius Urosii Regis Serviae*) and also that of queen Jelena. Beside the name of her husband, king Uroš, the accompanying inscription also mentioned her sons, first Milutin and then Dragutin. The icon was painted on wood and its dimensions were small, most probably it resembled the one preserved in the Vatican treasury.¹⁸

The Vatican icon shows Christ in the top segment and beneath him the busts of the apostles Peter and Paul in the act of benediction. At the very bottom, underneath a decorated arch resting on columns and against a green background, we see the figure of queen Jelena as a nun, dressed in a dark red and blue robe. With hands outstretched, she bows before a Catholic saint. On either side we see the figures of kings Milutin and Dragutin wearing spherical crowns, dark red divetesion, richly decorated loros and scarlet shoes, with hands slightly uplifted towards Christ who gives his blessing. Of very interesting content, a votive gift to the apostolic church, decorated with



11
Vatican, Pinacothek, *Icon of Sts. Peter and Paul with portraits of kings Milutin and Dragutin and their mother Jelena*, end of the XIII century

images of the donors in prayer, the iconography of this icon emulates the solution of numerous examples found in Byzantine art on which Christ blesses pairs of saints or laymen. The disposition of the saints and the donors (with the figure of Jelena receiving the blessing of an unidentified singled out, saint) shows the apostles Peter and Paul as the mediators between Christ and the ktetors. It seems that there were never any inscriptions by the figures of the two Serbian kings but, like the words of the inscription on the Bari icon, the similarity in their stance and dress was certainly intended to show the equality of Jelena's sons. Jelena's humility as a modest nun before the unknown saint, the supplication of both her identically dressed sons addressed to the apostles Peter and Paul, and through them to Christ, as well as the blessing they receive from him, all impart an almost too ideal picture of brotherly love and an unwavering trust in Christ who, in the words of Jelena, makes her two sons "strong, powerful and sovereign kings in their fatherland, in Serbian lands".¹⁹ Such a perfect picture persevered for quite some time, for almost twenty years, and left its stamp on literature, epigraphy and painting. But it could not be kept alive, neither by Jelena's efforts nor by Dragutin's open war against his brother. Having become a kinsman of the imperial family of Constantinople, in 1299 king Milutin set the future of Serbian history on a new course of which Deževio and its decisions were no longer a part.

Representations of Ancestors – Mediators and Advocates

In Serbian mural painting of the XIII century we come across a phenomenon which is almost unique in the Byzantine cultural and artistic sphere: almost as a rule, Serbian rulers are depicted with their parents and other ancestors as their mediators in the pious deed of donating endowments to Christ. In all truth, such scenes can sometimes be seen in Byzantium and the neighbouring countries,²⁰ but in Serbia they appear as a result of planned efforts to create and promote the cult of the holy dynasty and its most prominent members. The ideological overtones of this scene should by no means be overlooked either. In emphasising the holiness of dynasty members and selecting among them its intercessors before God, beginning with Stefan Nemanja, the monk Symeon, and ending with the figure of the ruler currently on the throne, there was a striking omission of those who were not directly descended from the progenitor, even if they had once

ruled as sovereign kings. In a state in which forceful changes on the throne, all within the same family, were almost a rule, the inclusion of ancestors in royal ideology was indeed understandable, from the moment power was seized, through the period of its strengthening to the raising of the question of succession. By summoning hallowed ancestors the order of succession of the throne was justified and usurpers thus given legitimacy as an expression of God's will. The gradual elaboration of the dual meaning of the line of Nemanjids standing between the ktetor (who is also the ruler) and Christ – supplicatory as well as ideological in nature – can be observed in all the preserved monuments: the narthex of Mileševa (1222–1228), the south parekklesion of Radoslav's narthex in Studenica (1233–1235), the naos of Sopoćani (perhaps after 1276) and Gradac (around 1275).²¹ Similar meanings are present also in representations of Byzantine emperors and their ancestors, encountered in Byzantium and some other Orthodox states, which, although poorly preserved, are well known from the sources.²²

In Serbia, the theme of mediation is explicitly asserted for the first time in Sopoćani, at an as yet undetermined date, in the ktetor's composition painted in the south-west corner of the nave. The Virgin leads Uroš I and his sons to an enthroned Christ. Interceding on the king's behalf are his ancestors, the monks St. Symeon Nemanja and Simon (Stefan Prvovenčani), who no longer bear any signs of royal power which they once displayed in Radoslav's narthex in Studenica. In Gradac, the ktetors, queen Jelena and her husband Uroš I, are also introduced to Christ by the Virgin and St. Symeon Nemanja.²³ For the last time the line of ancestors appears in this guise in Petrova crkva in Ras, around 1282, on the third layer of frescoes in this cathedral church. At that time the south conch received a ktetor's composition in which the Virgin leads an unidentified monk with arms stretched out in prayer, probably St. Symeon Nemanja, to Christ the Merciful holding an open gospel book displaying the text of the eschatologically coloured verses concerning the Light of the World (John 8, 12). This monk must certainly have played the role of mediator on behalf of one of his descendants, either Dragutin or Milutin, whose image once occupied the spot which is now damaged.²⁴ Compared to similar scenes of an earlier date, the novelty of this composition lies in the fact that the interceding monk stretches both his hands out towards the Virgin in a stance which was to become paradigmatic at the close of the XIII century.

In Dragutin's chapel at Djurdjevi Stupovi the theme of intercession is replaced with representations of ancestral mediators. They are detached from the ktetor and his family and approach Christ's throne from the other side. The Virgin no longer stands between them and Christ since the ktetor is excluded from this group and her mediation is no longer necessary. All the ktetor's immediate ancestors are now his intercessors before Christ: the progenitor of the dynasty, St. Symeon Nemanja, Stefan Prvovenčani as monk Simon, Uroš I also as monk Symeon and finally his mother, Jelena. Except for this queen whose regal robes are replaced here with a modest attire and a white head scarf, a sign of her widowhood, all the others are depicted as monks turning towards Christ in gestures of supplication. Apart from the carefully planned choice of personages, the only sign indicating their connection to the idea of succession are their royal names and titles which appear side by side their monastic names in the accompanying inscriptions: Nemanja is "G(ospodi)n v'seh' sr'b'skih zeml'" (lord of all Serbian lands) and Prvovenčani "Stefan' Pr'vovenčani kral' sr'b'ski" (Stefan the First-Crowned Serbian King), Uroš I "Stefan' kral' Uroš" (Stefan King Uroš), and Jelena "Velika kralica" (the Great Queen). It is difficult to say whether it was king Dragutin's idea to have these Nemanjid monks painted and designated in such a manner. Their appearance could be interpreted as an honoured tradition and a sign of the times immediately preceding the agreement of Deževu. The well known part played by Nemanjid intercessors before Christ seems to be doubly stressed in Jelena's address to her sons on the question of brotherly love: "Your forefathers brought before the Lord their good deeds and feats while holding this earthly kingdom and living in it in a godly way... and by so doing they won the Lord's mercy... and their prayers which the Lord has acknowledged fortify your houses."²⁵

Some ten years later, in Arilje, this group of mediators is even more detached from the ktetor's composition because it is transferred to the south wall of the west bay of the naos. Here also the row of figures includes Prvovenčani, Uroš I and Jelena, all shown in monastic habits and turning towards Christ with their hands raised in prayer. They also bear both their monastic and secular names as well as their royal titles. Incidentally, only that pertaining to Jelena is complete ("Jelena kralica v'se sr'p'skie zemle" – Jelena the Queen of all Serbian land) because in 1296 she was the only living person in this group. How-

ever, although still a part of this group St. Symeon Nemanja is singled out and depicted on the north wall. Like the two monks, his descendants, and Jelena, he, too, is facing Christ. Nemanja's role as mediator is further stressed by the scroll in his hands, inscribed for the first time here with the words of Psalm 34, 11 which lecture on the Fear of the Lord.²⁶

The custom of painting Nemanjid mediators and advocates before God continued for a certain period of time, devoid of influences of royal ideology and considerably altered in appearance, as attested only by the partly preserved fresco in the west bay of the church of the Holy Apostles in Peć. Sometime around the year 1300, the south wall of this space was decorated with a row of figures of monks from the Nemanjid family. Only those of Stefan Prvovenčani and Uroš I remain from the original layer of frescoes, both still with their monastic and lay names and royal titles. They are represented as frontally postured megaloschimnoi holding unrolled scrolls, the right hand of each figure in a gesture of benediction, which makes them quite similar to the other figures of holy monks painted on church walls at that time. Today, their intercessory role is incomplete and difficult to understand because the frescoes adjoining them display a new choice of figures painted over the original layer of wall paintings in the XVII century. We can only discern that here, too, the figure of St. Symeon Nemanja, repainted in its original location in 1613–1614, headed the line of Serbian holy monks. The fact that Stefan Prvovenčani (Simon) and Uroš I (Symeon) are rendered in a manner characteristic of the XIII century, although in a greatly changed iconography and without epithets of holiness, indicates that the portrait of the ktetor, descendant of theirs, must once have stood in their vicinity. By that date, and judging by earlier examples of similar representations of Nemanjid monks, this could only have been king Milutin.²⁷

After 1300, rows of personages from the Nemanjid family, iconographically interesting and rich in meaning, were no longer painted. The new circumstances called for a different approach in presenting the ruler's ancestors. The idea of intercession and mediation was replaced with representative portraits better suited to express the claims to the throne and its succession. Although in his charters king Milutin continues to evoke his ancestors, listing all or just some of them, from the progenitor of the dynasty on,²⁸ on the frescoes of this period the role of mediator is assigned only to St. Symeon Nemanja and St. Sava and, what's





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Chilandar, Katholikon, naos, St. Symeon Nemanja, 1320–1321



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Chilandar, Katholikon, naos, *King Milutin*, 1320–1321

more, only in Studenica and Chilandar, the two centres of their cults. The fact that these two figures still retain the idea of mediation is demonstrated by their proximity to the portraits king Milutin on whose behalf they are interceding before Christ. In Kraljeva crkva of Studenica (around 1319) they were depicted on the north wall, directly facing the figure of king Milutin shown offering a model of his endowment to Christ through the intercession of the two patron saints of this church, St. Joachim and Anne. St. Sava, the full title of archbishop accompanying his image, is shown in his episcopal robes and with a gospel book in his left hand. His right hand is raised to his chest in a gesture of supplication. St. Symeon Nemanja wrapped in a monastic cloak stretches both his hands towards the infant Christ in the Virgin's arms. The Lord answers their prayers and supplications on behalf of their descendant with a gesture of benediction.²⁹ Another fresco on which these two Serbian saints intercede on behalf of king Milutin was painted in 1320–1321 in Chilandar, by the original tomb of St. Symeon Nemanja located in the south-west corner of the katholikon. St. Symeon – ὁ ἅγιος Συμεὼν, St. Sava – ὁ ἅγιος Σάβας κ[αὶ] κτήτορ – as well as king Milutin himself – Στέφανος ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) πιστός Οὐρεσις κ[αὶ] κτήτορ], all hold their hands up in prayer. The king is followed by St. Stephen the Protomartyr who gives him his blessings. The gesture of mediating intercession is also assumed by the figure of St. Nicodemus, painted above the south entrance, to its west, probably the namesake and advocate before God of the former hegoumenos of Chilandar and acting archbishop of Serbia.³⁰ King Milutin is shown here as the new ktetor of Chilandar who carries on the feat of the first ktetors, his ancestors, who, rather like the XIII century prototypes, intercede on his behalf before Christ. All this corresponds to king Milutin's trust in the mediation of these holy men, praying before Christ,³¹ evoked in his charters.

Portraits of Ancestors and Sons in the Service of Succession of the Throne

Serbian royal ideology upholds an exceptionally pronounced trust in the esteem of family ancestors whose cults were devoutly fostered. In order to justify the common and often forceful changes on the Serbian throne, charters and literary texts as well as works of art are all equally filled with evocations of royal forefathers from the direct line of ancestry.

Apart from the basic idea of mediation, ktetors' compositions with portraits of former rulers and representations of the assemblies they held as the supreme protectors of the faith clearly convey the origin and nature of royal power. At the close of the XIII century, lines of ancestors accompanying the ktetors, depicted in postures of pious modesty, mostly had the function of mediation before Christ. However, scenes with far stronger political overtones appeared beside them. They in turn presented images of ancestors as well as descendants promoted as heirs to the throne and their iconography was most often based on similar scenes in Byzantine art.

The decisions made at Deževu in 1282, probably bolstered by their ratification at the assembly held at that time, of which we have no direct testimonies in the written sources, created a situation previously unknown in Serbian history. A sort of joint reign was established which granted primacy to Milutin while obliging him to pass the throne on to Dragutin's sons after his death. Circumstances called for constant confirmation and reiteration of this agreement. Royal portraits were not exempt of an imprint of current events. Probably the first ensemble painted after Deževu, that in Dragutin's chapel at Djurdjevi Stupovi (1283–1285), reflected the change which took place in 1282 most clearly. The vault of this small church, an uncommon location unless this former gate house is regarded as an entrance in general,³² is decorated with scenes of four state and church councils focused on the subject of royal succession and investiture of a new ruler. Although some of the councils are reliably documented in the sources, the painted scenes do not always adhere to the well known facts. Hence the representations on the vault of Dragutin's chapel are not of an illustrative nature but rather ideological in essence. The scenes from Serbian history we find here begin with the assembly summoned by Symeon Nemanja in 1196 when this ruler turned the throne over to his son Stefan. Although badly damaged, the following two scenes undoubtedly represent the investitures of Uroš I and king Dragutin. Their forceful takeovers, in one case from an enthroned brother and in the other from a father, rule out the possibility that these compositions could have been based on the iconography of succession which is the underlying matrix of the first scene. Finally, in the last scene of this sequence we see Dragutin turning over the throne to his brother Milutin. Both kings have youthful countenances although – modelled after the composition of Nemanja's abdication in favour of his son –

the new ruler assumes a central position, bearing an akakia in his right and raising his left hand to his chest. Dragutin, akakia in his right hand, points to the new king with his left hand.³³ Each investiture takes place in the presence of bishops who also point in the direction of the ruler, confirming the fact that the act of enthronement is also a sacral act. This indicates that the new ruler is the keeper of God's law and the protector of the Orthodox faith in the state. Crowned according to the Orthodox rite, he has become God's anointed one on earth. Shortly after, this idea was to begin to be rendered in a far more explicit manner in Serbian art – in the form of scenes of heavenly investiture.

The representations of state councils in Dragutin's chapel thus proclaim the order of succession of power in Serbia and the justification of these changes secured through the approval of the church. In this particular case the investitures of Radoslav and Vladislav, the two uncles of Dragutin and Milutin, were excluded because they could have toppled the legitimacy of Uroš's inheritance of the throne from Vladislav and thus also made the succession of Uroš's sons questionable. The other message conveyed by the councils depicted at Djurdjevi Stupovi – namely the fact that Serbian kings rule according to Orthodox canons and that they are the protectors of the faith and guardians of purity of its sacraments – could have been modelled after a fresco ensemble found in the narthex of Sopoćani (1263–1268). On the east wall we find a Serbian state council painted beneath a number of scenes of Ecumenical Councils and right above the portraits of king Uroš and his son Dragutin approaching the Virgin. This historical scene from Sopoćani shows king Stefan Prvovenčani on the throne, bishops dispensing benediction and below them two groups of church dignitaries in dispute. The element of significance in this composition is the figure of Symeon Nemanja, depicted to the right of Prvovenčani in the act of handing over to his son the akakia as a symbol of power and keeping of God's laws. This fresco from Sopoćani has at least two semiotic levels. It shows Nemanja handing over to his son Stefan the throne later to be inherited by Uroš and thereafter by his son, Dragutin, both of whom are portrayed right beneath this council. This scene also points out that Prvovenčani and the entire dynasty, from Nemanja to Uroš, rules according to Christian laws, defends the dogmas adopted at the Ecumenical Councils and sees to the purity of the Orthodox faith. The same message is also conveyed through a

scene showing the council of Nemanja painted in Arilje in 1296. Emulating the compositional scheme of the Ecumenical Councils surrounding it, this Serbian council stands directly opposite the ktetor's composition showing kings Milutin and Dragutin and presents Stefan Nemanja as a ruler (marked in an uncommon manner as "S(ve)ti Nemani Simeon' kral'" – St. Nemanja Symeon the King, while the entire composition is designated as "Zbor' sv(e)tago Simeona" – Council of St. Symeon) surrounded by bishops. Nemanja appears here as a role-model of the reigning kings and an exemplary champion of Orthodoxy. Unlike the scene in Sopoćani or the compositions in Dragutin's chapel, this Arilje fresco is not imbued with the idea of succession of power. It only indicates the progenitor of the Serbian ruling dynasty as the protector and teacher of the Orthodox faith whose mission is perpetuated by kings Milutin and Dragutin.³⁴ The location of these scenes in the narthex, adjacent to representations of Ecumenical Councils, could be associated with services of the first week of Lent, Orthodoxy Week, which are generally known to have made a considerable impact on fresco ensembles found in nartheces of Byzantine churches and created between the XII and the XIV centuries. This particular week, namely, commemorates the establishment of the cult of icons at the VIII Ecumenical Council held in 843 as well as other Orthodox dogmas considered to enjoy the protection of Orthodox rulers. Hence, it is not at all strange that royal portraits showing sovereigns offering their endowments to Christ are most often found in this particular part of the church.³⁵

Apart from such images of ancestors, models of holiness and succession of power from one dynasty member to the next, Serbian XIII century art also includes images of their sons, heirs to the throne, intended to confirm and secure the line of succession of supreme power in the future. The first example of such a composition is preserved in the narthex of Mileševa (1222–1228), showing Stefan Prvovenčani standing in front of his elder son and co-regent Radoslav and his younger son Vladislav, ktetor of the church, standing at the end of this line. We have already discussed the way king Uroš and his two sons are portrayed in the narthex of Sopoćani, right beneath the scene of the council presided over by Prvovenčani. Once the ktetor's composition in the naos received a new layer of painting, at a still uncertain time, two figures of princes standing at the end of the line were added to the traditional sequence of the Nemanjids. The age of king Milutin introduced



significant novelties in the field of princely portraiture. It seems that the decrees of Deževu favoured the exclusive portrayal of Dragutin's sons, depicted in a traditional manner while accompanying their father in his mission as a ktetor, while entirely disregarding the descendants of king Milutin. The badly damaged fresco of Dragutin's son Vladislav at Djurdjevi Stupovi offers no ground for conclusions regarding his dress and princely insignia. It is only certain that, apart from his father, he is the only figure taking part in the supplication addressed to Christ while his mother's hand rests on his upper arm in a gesture of protection. Such a family portrait is not a rare phenomenon in Byzantine art either – let us just

mention the example which is chronologically closest to our fresco, the portraits of emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos and members of his family from Apollonia (1281–1282) – and a similar solution had already been formulated in the case of the portraits of king Uroš, queen Jelena and their sons in the narthex of Sopoćani.³⁶ In Arilje, some ten years after Djurdjevi Stupovi, Dragutin's sons were portrayed again: namely Vladislav and his brother Urošić who was born in the meantime. Although still in the narthex, on the west wall, they are no longer a part of the ktetor's composition. Both princes are depicted frontally, standing on red pillows and wearing long tunics with cuffs and red chlamidae on top. Modelled after By-



zantine double portraits, they both raise their arms slightly towards Christ Emmanuel who blesses them from on high. Although such images could convey the idea of succession of power we must not be too hasty in concluding that here Dragutin's sons are represented as heirs to the throne. After all, the inscription only mentions them as sons of king Stefan (Dragutin).³⁷

However, shortly after the completion of the frescoes in Arilje, historical events took a different course and annulled the decisions made in Deževu, namely the decrees which had already left their imprint on art. The great military successes of king Milutin in the south resulted in lengthy negotiations with the

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Arilje, *Council of St. Symeon Nemanja*, 1295/1296

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Prizren, *Bogorodica Ljeviška, Sts. Sava, Symeon Nemanja, Stefan Prvovenčani and prince Stefan*, 1309–1313

Constantinopolitan court and opened possibilities which could free him from the binding oaths of Deževu concerning the succession of the Serbian throne. The forging of family ties with the imperial family (1299) gave him great prestige and an opportunity to resolve single-handed, on his own, all the questions of internal and foreign politics. We do not know today the exact nature of all the items discussed in the course of the negotiations nor all the decisions of the agreement reached between the Serbs and the Byzantines, but it seems that one of the key clauses concerned Milutin's status on the Serbian throne or, more precisely, the possibility of its inheritance by his sons, especially those from his marriage to Simonida.³⁸ It is well known that shortly after Milutin's wedding with Simonida open and long-lasting war broke out between the brothers (and went on until 1312), and it is by no means accidental that from then on Milutin used every opportunity to point out that he was the son-in-law of the "Great Greek emperor", just as his grandfather Stefan Prvovenčani did before him, even after he divorced the Byzantine princess Eudocia.³⁹ Ties with the imperial family were emphasised not only for reasons of personal prestige but also as a means of resolving the far more significant questions of legitimacy and succession of power. In any case, with the marriage between Milutin and the Byzantine princess in 1299, and the war which soon broke out between the two brothers, the Deževu agreement was annulled which encouraged Milutin to promote his sons as heirs to the throne. It is characteristic that the first portrait or even mention of his elder son Stefan in an official document appears only at the time of open hostilities between Dragutin and Milutin. Namely, in a charter issued to the monastery of the Virgin of Ratac (1306) the Serbian king addresses the Virgin "s' sinom moim' Stefanom" (with my son Stefan) while striving to procure legitimacy for him from the Catholic world and handing over to his independent administration the region of Zeta, previously under queen Jelena's control, so that in the eyes of some of the foreigners Stefan even appeared to be the king, being referred to with that title in a Venetian document dating from 1310/1311.⁴⁰

At the same time (between 1309 and 1314) a portrait of Stefan appears in Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren, as a part of an interesting group of portraits representing king Milutin and his ancestors.⁴¹ Following the model set by his predecessors, king Milutin stresses the legitimacy of his rule and his right to the Serbian throne by having his portrait painted next to

those of his ancestors just as, in his charters, he had their names written out next to his own. In Ljeviška the well known messages of Serbian royal portraits – holiness of the dynasty, continuity of inheritance of the throne and the God-blessed line of its succession – are conveyed in a somewhat different iconographic mode. The choice of characters, their disposition and accompanying inscriptions are all of equal significance. Here we see only the figures of Milutin's immediate ancestors (his great grandfather Symeon Nemanja, grandfather Stefan Prvovenčani and father Uroš I whose image has been destroyed) and his son and heir flanked by the two archbishops from their family (Sava I and, probably, Sava II whose figure is not preserved except for the green pillow he was intended to stand on). This composition simultaneously emphasises the solid unity of both ecclesiastical and secular authorities in the Serbian state. St. Symeon Nemanja, painted on the west wall as a monk with arms raised in prayer, intercedes before Christ (shown right opposite this figure, above the entrance to the naos) to whom he introduces his descendants, as recorded in the inscription around his head: "St. Symeon leading to the Lord all ktetors of the Serbian land". St. Sava stands on his left and on his right Stefan Prvovenčani, right next to Stefan, Milutin's son. King Uroš I and king Milutin, blessed by Christ shown in half-figure, stood on the opposite wall. If the holiness of the dynasty is epitomised by Nemanja's monastic figure as well as by the title which precedes his name and indicates his sanctity, the unbroken line of royal rule is stressed by the insignia and dress of Stefan Prvovenčani (Uroš I was probably represented in the same way), the omission of their monastic names as well as by Uroš's title. On the frescoes of Dragutin's chapel and Arilje the situation was entirely different because there the figures of parents and grandparents appeared only in the guise of mediators. The legitimacy of power transfer from father to son, beginning with Symeon Nemanja and confirmed by Christ's benediction, is underlined also in the inscriptions accompanying the royal portraits: Prvovenčani is the son of Stefan Nemanja and father of king Uroš (I), Uroš is the grandson of St. Symeon Nemanja, son of Prvovenčani and father of king Uroš (Milutin), Stefan Uroš II Milutin is the great grandson of Symeon Nemanja, grandson of Prvovenčani and son of Uroš. The inscription by Stefan, his son, is only partly preserved ("Stefan... Uroša..."). Stefan's appearance (shown here wearing a princely tunic decorated with two-headed eagles, a

stemma on his head and a staff in his hands) and his location, right next to the first Serbian king and opposite his father, testify that he was included in the direct line of inheritance of the Serbian throne. It may have been planned for king Milutin to be represented as a ktetor in the narthex of Ljeviška but that idea finally assumed a secondary position: instead, he is represented in a solemn, frontal stance, no model of the church in his hands, and with all the symbols of sovereign power. His role as the ktetor is mentioned only in the closing words of the long inscription. It was obviously his intention to present himself as the sole king of Serbia whose rule is based on ancestral heritage rights and blessed by Christ while being transferable to his son. Moreover, as attested by the inscription, in achieving all this he relied on the esteem of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II, his father-in-law.

A direct follow-up of such an image of the Nemanjid family, with all its inherent meanings, is found in Gračanica (1319–1321), Milutin's last church. Several significant events took place in the meantime – Stefan's rebellion and his relegation to Constantinople in the spring of 1314, Dragutin's death in 1316 and plans concerning the designation of one of Simonida's brothers as the heir to the Serbian throne (once it was established that she could not bear children). Should that have actually happened the political ideology of the state would have been greatly altered and the significance of Nemanjid ancestors diminished. It seems that certain effects of such plans are actually reflected in the concept of Milutin's portraits. However, as it is well known, events took a different turn.⁴² During the last years of Milutin's reign all possibilities of dynastic changes on the Serbian throne were entirely relinquished. Stefan was in Constantinople and, upon his return, isolated in Budimlja, so that Milutin's younger son Konstantin⁴³ appeared as his father's only possible heir. The earliest precisely determined mention of him dates from 1319 when king Milutin endowed the cathedral of Bari with a silver altar on which Konstantin's name appears in an inscription. There are certain indications that during the last years of his father's life parts of Zeta and territories in the vicinity of Skadar, previously controlled by his older brother Stefan and earlier still by queen Jelena, were signed over to his administration. An enthroned image of *Dominus Rex Constantinus* with crown and sceptre from a preserved silver dinar minted in Skadar can, most probably, be identified as that of Milutin's son Konstantin.⁴⁴ Alt-

hough he did not bear the title of young king, his image, insignia and location next to king Milutin in the Nemanjid family tree in Gračanica speak in favor of the hypothesis that around 1319–1320 the king had designated Konstantin as his heir.

In those years, answering the plea of Danilo, bishop of Hum, Milutin restored the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim and had it decorated with frescoes. At that time, the original ktetor's composition, located in the lowest register of the west wall of the narthex and showing prince Miroslav and St. Peter, was repainted. The north-east corner was decorated with royal portraits of which only meagre fragments remain today.⁴⁵ The figure of the ruler was painted at the very end of the north wall and it seems that he was facing a younger person painted to his right. This figure is in an even worse state of preservation and displays a man turning towards the ruler. Next to him, on the east wall, there stood a figure of a queen. Only her open crown adorned with pearls and precious stones is to be seen today as well as a halo behind her head and, in the lower portions, a yellow divetesion with a red loros and pearls. Her feet rested on a red pillow.

In the years around 1320 these figures could only have been the images of king Milutin, queen Simonida and the young prince Konstantin. It is almost certain that the remains of the queen figure represent Simonida because she is regularly shown with such an open, jagged crown, divetesion, robe and red pillow (Nagoričino, Kraljeva crkva and Gračanica). Milutin's dress, however, is not typical of his portraits. It is more like the attire of Stefan Prvovenčani in Bogorodica Ljeviška and that of prince Miroslav in his ktetor's composition in the same church of Sts. Peter and Paul. In the Nemanjid family tree in Gračanica Konstantin is also shown wearing a tunic and cloak. Should our assumption concerning the identity of the figures depicted here prove to be correct, we must point out that the pair of images of Konstantin and king Milutin stand out as a special entity and that, for those reasons, the figure of Simonida was transferred to the east wall. The assumed stance of the young prince turning towards the king, and it is probable that Milutin was depicted in a frontal position, could indicate that the two were shown facing one another, in a manner which had originally been envisaged for the composition on the east wall of the narthex in Gračanica. Of course, all this remains in the domain of speculation because the actual state of preservation of the portraits offers no ground for decided conclusions.



The above mentioned composition from Gračanica (1319–1321) was accomplished only in the form of a drawing produced in ochre paint, visible enough beneath the coat of blue which immediately covered it.⁴⁶ The central part was occupied by two figures which can be identified as king Milutin and prince Konstantin. Flanking them were frontal figures of the king's parents in monastic habits, St. Jelena and St. Uroš (Symeon), with their secular names and royal titles, including a minor mistake in Uroš's case. Formally, this painting generally emulated the model of royal compositions of parents and children receiving their celestial benediction from Christ.⁴⁷ On the Gračanica fresco divine investiture was directed only to Milutin and Konstantin. Indirectly, through their

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Gračanica, Queen Jelena as a nun, prince Konstantin and king Milutin below Christ Emmanuel, Uroš I as a monk, 1319–1321

presence and their titles, Uroš and Jelena also took part in it. Elements of such an iconography entered Serbian art precisely during the age of king Milutin. We have already seen that on the icon from Rome he and his brother are shown in supplicatory address while receiving blessings from Christ, in the same manner as Dragutin's sons were blessed in Arilje. The fact that in Gračanica Uroš and Jelena are shown in monastic habits while being identified by their secular names and titles which point out their royal authority, can be explained by the original concept of this composition which also included the portraits of king Milutin and his son Konstantin. Simultaneously, this painting represented their investiture and established the continuity of royal rule, from the first through the second up to the third generation of the same family. The same idea had already been conveyed in the narthex of Sopoćani (1263–1268) in one and in Dragutin's chapel (around 1283–1285) in another manner. A different iconographic model, although with the same meaning, was planned for Gračanica. The reason for the alteration of this fresco in the course of its painting remains unknown. Could it be, perhaps, that the Nemanjid family tree was devised as a solution better suited to represent the divine investiture of king Milutin and his heir and convey the order of inheritance of the Serbian throne and did that make the composition on the north part of the wall dispensable? Whatever the reasons, the original concept remains only in the form of drawing because its central part, with the figures of Milutin and Konstantin, was immediately covered with a layer of blue background paint while the crowns in Christ Emmanuel's hands – intended originally for the Serbian king and his son – were replaced with the monastic habits that he now hands to the holy nun and monk, Jelena and Uroš.

His rightful claims of the Serbian throne, the divine origin of his power and the contingency that his son was to inherit them – these ideas king Milutin displayed most clearly through the Nemanjid family tree, a composition which made its first appearance in Gračanica.⁴⁸ It is located on the east wall of the narthex, opposite a representation of Paradise painted as a part of the Last Judgement. From Stefan Nemanja, dressed in royal robes and placed at the bottom of the painting, there stems a stylised vine, branching out as it grows in height and enveloping a large number of figures of his descendants. Portraits of Nemanja's sons, St. Sava and Vukan, appear on either side of the progenitor and that of Stefan

Prvovenčani directly above him. The First-Crowned king is, in turn, flanked by Stefan Radoslav, archbishop Sava II, Vladislav and Stefan, Vukan's son. King Uroš I is given a central position in the third row accompanied, on either side, by Dragutin, Prnjača, Milutin's sister, and Dragutin's sons Urošić and Vladislav. The top register is reserved for king Milutin surrounded by his son Konstantin and daughter Carica, with two insignia bearing angels hovering beside him while Christ blesses them all with both hands from on high.

In the sphere of royal ideology, the Nemanjid family tree from Gračanica earlier is based on representations of the Nemanjids painted in the narthex of the Prizren church, but in the domain of iconography it introduces a new image. Quite in harmony with the general taste of the Serbian milieu, it is based on Old Testament models as they appear in both their liturgical and hymnographical versions. In both Prizren and Gračanica, the family progenitor, Stefan Nemanja, is shown with his arms raised in a gesture of prayer and intercession while the central part of the painting is taken up by figures of representatives of direct royal lineage painted one above the other (Stefan Prvovenčani, Uroš I and king Milutin). As in Ljeviška, those are the only figures with halos – apart, of course, from Sava I and Sava II. Finally, they are all dressed in royal robes and bear the symbols of royal authority. Other family members were also introduced to this Nemanjid family tree but they are neither dressed in royal costumes (*diveteson* and *loros*) nor do they sport royal insignia (*stemma*, *akakia* and cross-shaped staff). Regardless of the fact that some of them – Radoslav, Vladislav and Dragutin – ruled the sovereign Serbian state at one point in history, they are not even signed as rulers. On the contrary, they all have the appearance of princes, dressed in tunics and cloaks, with ring-shaped crowns on their heads and rods in their hands. Even the accompanying inscriptions mention only their familial relations with king Milutin or his ancestors. For those reasons Dragutin had is signed only as "the brother of the King" (i.e. Milutin) and his sons, Vladislav and Urošić, as "sons of Stefan". Apparently, the Deževno agreement was long forgotten. It also seems that, as an outcome of the hostilities between the two brothers, Dragutin definitely lost his royal title. We can therefore say that the Nemanjid family tree in Gračanica does have ideological overtones because it is focused on glorifying king Milutin, stressing the legitimacy of his authority and demonstrating his son's right to

inherit the throne of his father. On the one hand, personages considered insignificant in confirming this line of succession were relegated to the lateral branches of this family tree while, on the other, Konstantin's portrait was mindfully positioned on his father's right-hand side, the place usually reserved for crown princes. Meanwhile, the portrait of the king's elder son, Stefan, still unforgiven for his attempt to overthrow his father, was left out of the painting all together. Apart from the new forms and personages it displays, the novel quality of the Nemanjid family tree in Gračanica lies mostly in the fact that its ideological content is more precisely defined than ever before: of all the Nemanjid family trees this is the only one showing Stefan Nemanja in royal robes and wearing a crown and presenting king Milutin as the one chosen by the Lord to be the heir of his forefathers not only through the blessings of Christ, which he had already been given on earlier portraits, but also through the divine nature of the insignia brought to him by angels from the heavens.

Finally, we must mention that this period also marks the appearance of images of Milutin's ancestors, St. Symeon and St. Sava, not as mediators or figures dependent on the figure of the ktetor but within a composition which was going to survive in its original form until the late Middle Ages. In the course of the previous century, images of Symeon Nemanja and Sava were painted either unrelated to each other or, in cases when they were painted together, within compositions suggesting mediation or intercession. Preparatory steps for their joint representation, as it appears in St. Nikita in its earliest preserved example (around 1320), go back to portraits of Sava and Nemanja found in places especially devoted to their cult – in Studenica and Hilandar. In both these instances, however, they are still deeply involved in interceding before Christ on Milutin's behalf, as attested by the position of their hands raised in prayer.⁴⁹ So far as we know, this function of St. Symeon and St. Sava in relation to the ktetor disappears, for the first time, on their portraits from the church of St. Nikita near Skoplje. They were painted side by side on the north wall, next to a line of other celebrated monks, Symeon Nemanja in his habit of megaloschimonos and with an unrolled scroll inscribed with the words of Psalm 33, 11 and St. Sava "Sava arhiepi(sko)p' pr'vi srpski" (Sava the first Serbian archbishop) in his sakkos. Both figures are shown frontally and in the act of benediction.⁵⁰ It is by no means accidental that such a joint representation of

theirs appeared for the first time in a metoch church of Hilandar because it was on Mount Athos, as shown also by the works of Domentijan and Teodosije, that their joint cult was nurtured with special devotion.

In the art of Milutin's age, there is only one portrait of St. Sava as a single figure, without his father or other Serbian archbishops, and it was painted in Gračanica between 1319 and 1321. He is shown wearing a sakkos, with a closed gospel in one hand and a decorated cross and handkerchief in the other, in a strict frontal stance, very much like the other saints painted in this zone. A simple inscription stands by his figure: "S(ve)ti Sava arhiepi(sko)p'" (St. Sava the archbishop). It is surely no accident that he was painted right next to Sts. Constantine and Helena because of the analogies to be drawn between the first Christian emperor and the first Serbian archbishop.⁵¹

Portraits of Milutin, the Sovereign King

From the moment he ascended the Serbian throne king Milutin was always portrayed in a representative stance, previously seen only on portraits of king Dragutin, with insignia and in dress of the Byzantine emperors, a fashion introduced to the Serbian royal costume by Uroš I, the father of the two kings. Apart from the icon from the Vatican, portraits of Milutin from the first phase of his rule are preserved only in churches raised by his brother. Therefore, they entail all sorts of connotations – legitimacy, order and harmony of power as agreed in Deževno – which certainly do not diminish his role as the sovereign but limit its historical importance. The changes which took place around the year 1300, marked by the break with Dragutin, the breach of the 1282 contract as well as the newly established ties with the court at Constantinople, also changed the way Milutin was portrayed. Between 1309 and 1313 a new image of the Serbian sovereign king emerged in Bogorodica Ljeviška while old notions of legitimacy and succession were expressed in a new iconographic language, closer to Byzantine understandings of the origin and nature of royal authority. King Milutin was painted against a solemn red background, in a rigid, representative stance and wearing true Byzantine imperial robes. The dark blue, almost black sakkos with a maniakis, peribrachia and cuffs, as well as the insignia – crown, sceptre and loros – are typical of the dress and symbols of power of Byzantine emperors of the





19
Gračanica, St. Sava the Serbian and the holy emperor Constantine, 1319–1321

XIII and XIV centuries. Milutin's ideology and the place he holds within it are expressed equally successfully through both his pictorial representation and the accompanying inscription. He is the blessed king of holy lineage, great grandson of St. Symeon Nemanja, grandson of the First-Crowned king Stefan and son of the great king Uroš. He is surrounded by the figures of all these ancestors for not only was he an offspring of the hallowed root but also a legitimate heir of their power. He is the God devout king and is thus shown receiving his authority directly from Christ, with his blessings. Although this aspect of the portrait is similar to the way the king was portrayed in Arilje, in Ljeviška he no longer shares his authority with his brother but rather inherits it from his father. He is the sovereign king and, although he had already used this qualification in legal documents before, this is the first time he is portrayed and signed in this guise, as the legitimate heir of his father. Meanwhile, there is no sign of Dragutin or his sons on this painting. Finally, Milutin is the son-in-law of the great Greek emperor, Palaiologos kyr Andronikos, a fact which assures his rise as a sovereign and lies behind his identification with the Byzantine ruler on the pictorial plane. Even if it had originally been intended for king Milutin to be represented as a ktetor, only a note of that idea actually remains in the closing words of the inscription. What's more, his figure is a part of the solemn, ceremonial scene showing the bestowal and confirmation of his authority and sovereign position.⁵²

This analysis of the inscription written out by the figure of king Milutin could indicate that in Prizren each of its elements received an adequate pictorial representation: the idea of sovereignty is expressed through Milutin's appearance and his insignia, the divine origin of his power through the blessings of Christ, his holy roots through the images of St. Symeon Nemanja and St. Sava, the legitimacy of his rule through the chosen genealogy and the position of his portrait to the right side of a figure of his father. The prominent place accorded in the inscription to his family ties with the Byzantine emperor is reason enough to assume that a portrait of queen Simonida once stood by his own, occupying the space where the fresco decoration is now damaged.

In accordance with the new spirit of royal portraits and ktetors' compositions, imbued with late Byzantine concepts of the nature of the ruler and the donor, in the church of St. George in Staro Nagoričino king Milutin and queen Simonida were painted (1315–

1317) dressed in the representative robes of a Byzantine imperial couple. King Milutin still holds a model of the church and a scroll (*akakia*) in his left hand while gesturing towards St. George and Christ with his right. These portraits of king Milutin and queen Simonida from Nagoričino are almost literally identical with all their other portraits as a couple, especially those from Kraljeva crkva in Studenica, while the figure of Milutin, viewed separately, is even closer to his portrait from Bogorodica Ljeviška. The element which sets the Nagoričino portraits apart is the manner in which the accompanying inscriptions are written. In content they resemble those of Studenica, although here the king's name is written out in Greek and his title in Serbian: "ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΟΥΠΕΣΙΣ v' H(rist)a B(og)a bl(a)goveren' kral' vseh' sr'psk'ih zem'l' i pomor'skjuh'" (Stefan Uroš in Christ God faithful King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral). Simonida is referred to as the most majestic queen and Komnene only in Greek: ΣΥΜΟΝΙΔΑ Η ΠΑΝΥΨΗΛΟΤΑΤΗ ΚΡΑΛΕΣΣΑ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΗ. The use of this language next to the images of the royal couple could be explained by a desire to respect the local tradition of the recently conquered regions (Nagoričino being located in one of them). However, one should not easily discard the assumption that it was Milutin's new policy toward Byzantium, with plans entailing an heir from Constantinople, which conditioned the use of the Greek language in writing out the names of the Serbian king and queen. It is also striking that none of his Nemanjid ancestors, and surely none of his sons, were painted by his side.⁵³

Quite the contrary, on one side of queen Simonida and king Milutin we see the holy emperor Constantine and his mother Helena while the other is taken up by a figure of St. George handing over a sword to the king. Representations of rulers being invested with swords and other insignia, a part of symbolic divine investitures, are very common in medieval art. This scene from Nagoričino has an additional explanation found in one particular historical event: the victory of Milutin's troops over the Turks in Asia Minor in 1313, as indicated by the inscription carved into the lintel of the west portal of this church.⁵⁴ In order to understand this representation even better it is important to note that, beside him and his wife, this painting also includes the figures of St. Constantine and Helena. Namely, comparisons with Constantine the Great had a very specific role in the ideology of Byzantine emperors: the Byzantine emperor is always the heir of the first Christian emperor, he is the "new

Constantine". It is obvious that king Milutin adopted this idea from Byzantine royal ideology. On this fresco it is he who is represented as an heir of emperor Constantine and defender of the faith: he is the perpetrator of the deeds of the first Christian emperor shown holding a cross by his side – a symbol of his role in the apostolic Christian mission. As a ktetor, Milutin is the one who strengthens and spreads the faith, as attested by a model of the church in his hands. On the other hand, as a king he is the one who also defends the faith in battle. The sword handed over to him by St. George confirms the divine nature of his victories, such as the one against the infidels in Asia Minor which took place in 1313. St. George is a mediator between God and the Serbian king, it was with his help that the battle was won and the church is accordingly dedicated to the memory of St. George Tropaioforos.⁵⁵

In a manner similar to the painting in Nagoričino, king Milutin and queen Simonida were also portrayed in a frontal stance in Kraljeva crkva in Studenica. The king holds a model of his endowment with both hands while offering it, at the same time, with a gesture of his left hand to the patrons, Sts. Joachim and Anne, who intercede on his behalf before Christ. The Lord, in turn, gives the king his blessings. Again, Milutin is represented in the posture and with all the symbols of a Byzantine emperor. The inscription beside him contains a title most often found in official documents: Stefan Uroš, by the grace of God king and sovereign of all Serbian lands and the littoral. Queen Simonida stands to the left of her husband bearing a staff in her hands. She is wearing a robe with wide sleeves, decorated with beautiful floral motifs, while her maniakis and loros are covered with precious stones, pearls and golden straps. Here, too, on her head we find an open, jagged crown, also decorated with pearls and precious stones, and large prependoulia with strings of pearls. Her face is similar to that painted in Nagoričino. According to Byzantine fashion of the day, seen in Serbian art for the first time on the portrait of Dragutin's wife Katelina in Arilje, her countenance is entirely idealised, a perfect oval shape without any shading or modelling. As in Nagoričino, apart from noting her name, the inscription stresses her Komnenian and Palaiologan lineage. King Milutin was obviously pleased to be related through marriage to these two famous Byzantine families.⁵⁶

The ktetor's composition in Gračanica is the last in the line of representations stressing the divine cha-





racter of Milutin's authority and its legitimacy. It is rendered in a form which had never before been seen in Serbian art. This fresco is located in the passageway connecting the narthex and the naos, with king Milutin on the south and queen Simonida on the north side. From the soffit of the vault above them, Christ, in half-figure and surrounded by cherubim, sends them his blessings while two crown bearing angels descend from on high towards the royal couple.⁵⁷ The king is represented in a solemn, frontal position, wearing a black sakkos, a loros and a true Byzantine kamelaukion as insignia while Simonida sports a lavish dress and cloak, an open crown with large prependoulia on her head, and holds a staff in her left hand. Beside ktetor-related connotations – king Milutin holds a model of the church with both hands – this Gračanica fresco also includes the motif of the symbolic investiture of the ruler, well known in Byzantine art and certainly adopted from its heritage.⁵⁸ The image of Christ above Milutin, rendered in half-figure which actually reaches a little below the waist is enclosed in a rhomboid frame and surrounded by cherubim and could well be the image of Christ from the vision of Isaiah (Isaiah 6, 2–3), implying ideas of the throne of the Lord and of heaven. According to Byzantine views, best expressed by Constantine Porphyrogenitos, imperial insignia are of divine origin, they are heaven sent.⁵⁹ The painting from Gračanica proves that, in the age of king Milutin, the Serbian milieu had adopted those ideas in such a measure that even the iconography of Serbian royal portraits had become almost identical with that developed for centuries in Constantinople. The figure of Milutin is supplemented by his full title: he is Stefan Uroš, faithful to God and by the mercy of God sovereign King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral. The inscription by his wife no longer mentions her Komnenian roots, as it did in Nagoričino and Studenica, while placing greater emphasis on her relations with the Palaiologoi than the inscription from Studenica: Simonida is the queen Palaiologina, daughter of emperor Andronikos Palaiologos.

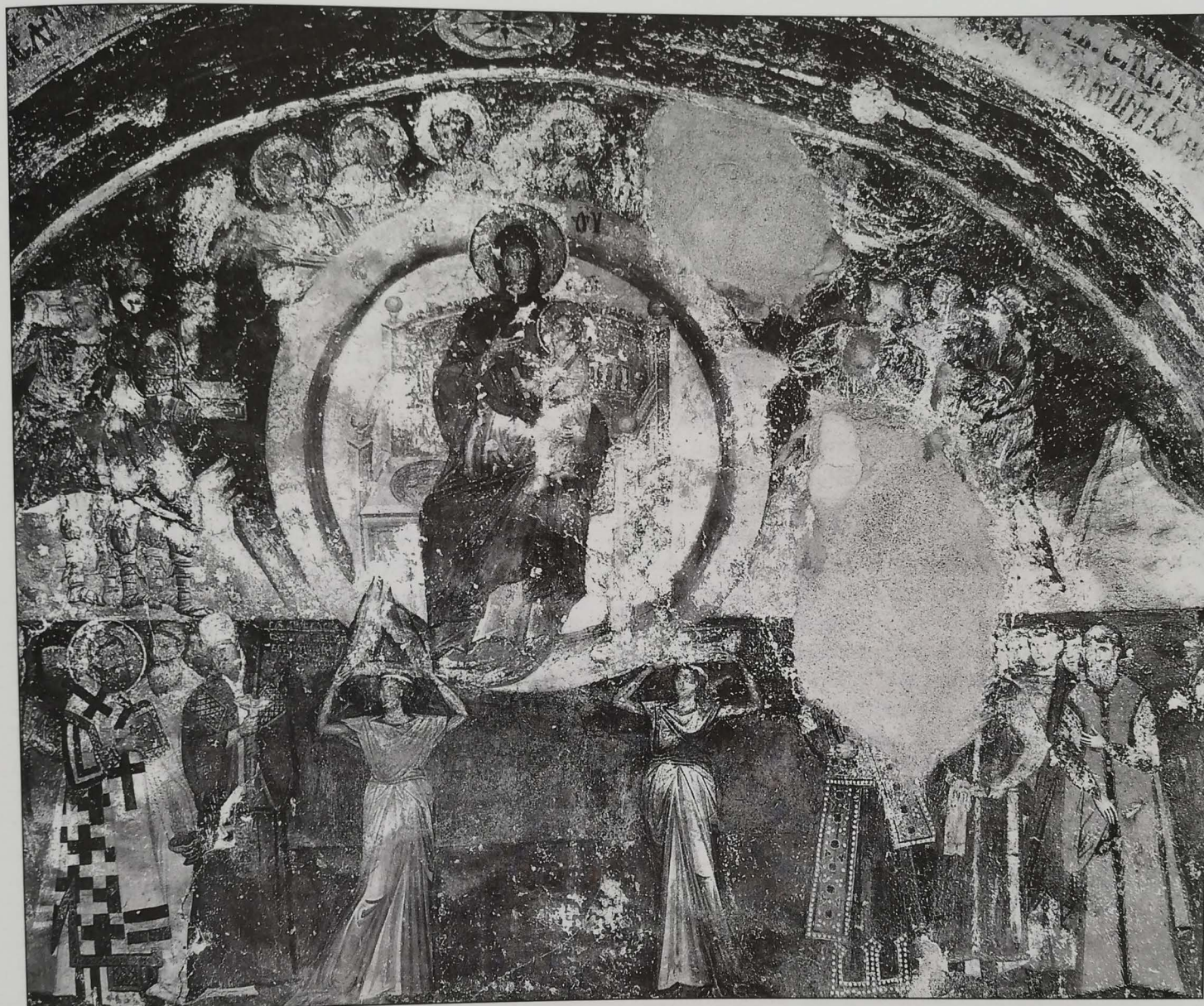
Gračanica and the frescoes painted at the same time in the katholikon of Chilandar (1320–1321) display the final form of the image of history as it was seen by king Milutin. It summarises his attempts of many years to secure his reign and render that in pictorial form, to convey its divine nature, its holy roots, the right of his son to inherit it and, finally, his own relations with the Byzantine emperor. In Gračanica emphasis is placed on local Nemanjid traditions while



in Hilandar the image of history is imbued with meanings of universal power as well as with intentions to point out the place of the Serbian king within its hierarchy. The recently cleaned and deciphered frescoes on the east wall of the narthex of Hilandar, displaying portraits of Byzantine and Serbian rulers,⁶⁰ are more direct than any other monument in displaying Milutin's relation to Hilandar and, more still, his royal ideology. The centre of the painted programme of the space above the entrance to the naos of Hilandar's katholikon is reserved for an enthroned figure of the Virgin, with Christ on her lap, being addressed in supplication by the first ktetors of

22
Hilandar, Katholikon, narthex, Emperor Andronikos II,
king Milutin and St. Stephen the Protomartyr, 1320–1321

23
Žiča, Christmas hymn, 1309–1316



Chilandar, St. Symeon and St. Sava, painted on the front faces of the pilasters (all this still lies under a layer of painting dating from the XIX century). Their position and stance indicates that they are still playing the role of intercessors but at the same time underlines their importance in founding the Serbian monastic community on Mount Athos. Other personages who directly influenced the fate of Chilandar at the beginning of the XIV century are organised into two groups of figures painted on the east wall, to the left and right of the Virgin: those on the south side represent emperor Andronikos II and king Milutin accompanied by St. Stephen the Protomartyr, protec-

tor of the Serbian state and Milutin's personal guardian saint, and those on the north side the young coregent Andronikos III, Stefan Uroš III and probably his son Dušan (repainted in the XIX century), the last two figures painted at a somewhat later date. The dark red sakkos of king Milutin is almost identical to that of Andronikos II (although his is black), decorated with pearls and golden applications and with a yellow loros hanging over his left hand. Both rulers have identical kamelaukia on their heads and both stand on identical scarlet pillows embroidered with two-headed eagles. The Greek inscription beside Milutin presents him as Stefan in Christ God faithful

King Uroš, and most beloved son-in-law of the mighty and Holy Emperor Andronikos Palaiologos and ktetor of this holy monastery: ΣΤΕΦΑΝ ΕΝ Χ(ΡΙΣΤ)Ω ΤΩ Θ(Ε)Ω ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΟΥΡΕΣΙΣ ΚΡΑΛΗΣ Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΕΡΙΠΟΘΗΤΟΣ ΓΑΜΒΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΡΑΤΕΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ΑΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓ[ΟΥ] Κ[ΑΙ] ΚΤΗΤΩΡ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ. Being the ktetor, with a gesture of his left hand the king addresses the Byzantine emperor, and through him the Virgin with Christ, while Andronikos II appears in a motionless frontal stance, a large cross-shaped staff in his right hand. The element which connects the figures of the two rulers and, at the same time, indicates their hierarchical standing in relation to each other is the scroll of rolled up charters which they hold together so that king Milutin is shown offering them by holding them up and Andronikos accepting them by gripping them from the top. This particularity stresses the legal relations between a foreign ruler-ktetor (Milutin) and a sovereign ruler (Andronikos) on whose territory the monastery is located. Although emperor Andronikos issued independent charters to Chilandar, those confirming the gifts given to the monastery by of his son-in-law, the Serbian king, are much more numerous. That is why, on the fresco in question, only king Milutin is signed as ktetor and represented as the one patronisingly recommended by St. Stephen to Christ in the Virgin's arms. Judging by the layer of wall paintings from 1803, the surrounding scenes, and especially that of the Wisdom Hath Builded Her House (Proverbs 9, 1–18), were meant to exalt Milutin's renovation of the Chilandar katholikon as an act of Divine Wisdom, thus comparing the Serbian king to Solomon. Moreover, the extensive inscription under Milutin's figure, displaying a number of elements usually found in charters, celebrates in writing the ktetor and his deed, represented here in a pictorial form full of allusions and easily comprehensible messages.

The absence of the figure of Simonida by that of Milutin in Chilandar is not surprising because even representations of women saints were restricted in the Athonite milieu. Milutin was portrayed without Simonida only once more, in Žiča, in 1309–1316, within a composition of liturgical character. Figures of king Milutin (signed as Stefan king Uroš sovereign of all Serbian land and the littoral), in the company of his courtiers, dressed in a purple divetesion with a decorated loros and holding an akakia in his hand (the upper part of his figure is damaged), and archbishop Sava III (Sava the Right Reverend archbishop of all

Serbian land and the littoral, as it says in the inscription beside him), wearing a polystaurion, sakkos and omophorion, with a gospel in one and a censer in the other hand, followed by what appears to be the hegoumenos of Žiča, monks, singers and a candle-bearer, appear at the bottom of the representation of the Christmas hymn painted above the entrance to Žiča. Although this well known Christmas sticheron was often rendered in painting during the XIII and XIV centuries, as well as in later times, Žiča is the first church in which contemporary figures, such as the Serbian archbishop and king with his retinue, are shown taking part in the Christmas liturgy. Their presence within this scene is explained by the inscribed words of Anatolios's, sticheron sung at matins. It celebrates Christ who is born in Bethlehem while heavenly powers and the earth with man rejoice; the wise men offer their gifts, the shepherds adore him and "we constantly cry: Glory to God on high and peace on Earth, good will among men". This verse of the sticheron indicates that the fresco shows the arrival of the Serbian king to the service and the archbishop greeting him. This could be seen as proof that the Constantinopolitan type of Christmas procession, which included the most prominent members of the Church and the Court, had become customary in Serbia. The Serbian milieu left its own imprint on representations of such ceremonies, in particular through the appearance of secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries, as attested by the Matejič fresco (around 1350) of the Christmas hymn which includes figures probably representing tsar Dušan and the current patriarch Joanikije.⁶¹

Repainting the Images of the First Kteters

King Dragutin's extensive activities as a ktetor, and even more so those of king Milutin were also characterised by the fact that they were entirely focused on renovating old shrines — as we can learn from the charters they issued to the restored monasteries or the preserved paintings and the architectural and pictorial characteristics of the monuments.⁶² Examples of renovation or enlargement of endowments raised by the ancestors of these two rulers are a point of special interest for this study. By the end of the XIII and the beginning of the XIV century Serbian art had already experienced more than a hundred years of continual activity in the field of architecture and painting when the new circumstances called for the renewal of the

old, already weathered edifices and the enlargement of those which no longer satisfied the changed requirements as well as for the construction of larger and more beautiful structures. Sometimes, in the course of these undertakings, images of previous ktetors would either be repainted, with or without the models of their endowments, or just mentioned in inscriptions. On the other hand, records of ktetors from the pre-Nemanjid era were preserved only in the charters issued by the new ktetors.

According to one interpretation, royal portraits painted close to the entrance, even in cases when the depicted personages lived in entirely different epochs, speak of joint ktetorship. This would explain the portraits of Stefan Prvovenčani and king Radoslav in Žiča (1309–1316) or those of king Uroš I and king Milutin in Bogorodica Ljeviška (1309–1313).⁶³ The frescoes in the entrance portico of the church in Žiča are strongly coloured with the idea of establishing the Church on Earth and it is, therefore, for a good reason that the portraits of the first ktetors of Žiča, king Stefan Prvovenčani and his son king Radoslav, are located close to the entrance while the charters they issued to the monastery are written out on the vault. Their images stand directly beneath the portraits of the new ktetors, king Milutin and archbishop Sava III, taking part in the liturgical celebration of Christmas. Only the inscription by the figure of king Radoslav survives today. However, despite the indisputable fact that the exonarthex was built during his time, this inscription does not mention the fact that he, too, was a ktetor. Despite of the existence of reliable written testimonies speaking of his undertakings as ktetor, the figure of Stefan Provenčani was, most probably, also left without this qualification. Nonetheless, their role as ktetors is indicated clearly enough in the founding charters written out in their vicinity. This definitely calls to mind Byzantine chrisobuls with portraits of donors and their projection on church walls in exactly the form observed in Žiča. It is possible that the portraits of these Serbian kings were originally located on this spot. Namely, both rulers are portrayed in a frontal stance, the gesticulation of their hands is not clear (they could either be addressing Christ and the Virgin of the Christmas hymn or pointing towards their own charters), they wear cloaks decorated with two-headed eagles, just as they did on the portraits painted during their lifetime (in Mileševa in 1222–1228 and Radoslav's chapel in Studenica in 1234–1235) and those made posthumously (portrait of Prvovenčani in Bogorodica Ljeviška, 1309–1313). The

stemmas on their heads, introduced to Serbian regalia only after the middle of the XIII century, are a novelty.⁶⁴

This sort of treatment of existing representations of previous ktetors in the course of their renovation, including alterations of their insignia, attire and inscription and the addition of new personages, seems to have begun with king Dragutin and his restoration of Nemanja's Djurdjevi Stupovi carried out between 1276 and 1282.⁶⁵ During the last years of Milutin's life, at the time the restored katholikon of Hilandar was being decorated with new frescoes, portraits of the first ktetors of this monastery, St. Symeon Nemanja and St. Sava, were painted above the original tomb of Nemanja. They appear as mediators between the new ktetor, king Milutin, and Christ, but in an iconographic form which could certainly not be seen in the older church. Sava is shown as an archbishop, which he had become only after 1219, and it is interesting to note that he is the only one of the two signed as a ktetor.⁶⁶ We also believe that figures of St. Symeon Nemanja and St. Sava are shown in Kraljeva crkva (1318–1319) because of their ties with Studenica although there, too, Nemanja is not marked as a ktetor.

Around 1320, in the course of restoration of the cathedral of Hum dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul, the ktetor's composition on the west wall, including the figure of the first ktetor, prince Miroslav, was repainted. He is wearing a long dark red hiton and a cloak decorated with medallions showing two-headed eagles. Facing St. Peter, prince Miroslav holds up the model of the church with his help while the saint gives him his benediction. This ktetor's composition probably owes its appearance to the original XII century fresco. Proof of this is found in the fact that the only saint receiving the church is apostle Peter, its sole patron until the XIV century. Only in Milutin's charter to the cathedral of Hum (1317–1321) do we find mention of the fact that this church is dedicated to two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. However, there is a certain measure of hesitation as to the literal imitation of the original fresco in the XIV century because of the iconographic similarities between this composition and the ktetor's composition from the church of the Virgin in Peć (1330–1337), showing archbishop Danilo II, the acting bishop of Hum at the time of the restoration of the frescoes in the church of St. Peter and Paul, and his holy guardian, prophet Daniel. It is not impossible that, as an adherent of traditional iconography, Danilo insisted that in both churches

entrusted to his care the holy patron of the donor be given a more prominent role in scenes showing the offering of these shrines to Christ.⁶⁷

The Continuity of the Serbian Archbishopric and its Bishoprics

Since the ideologies of the Serbian court and the Serbian church were closely related and tightly interwoven and their continuance, accordingly, represented in similar iconographic forms, the image of history of Milutin's age would be incomplete without the figures of archbishops and bishops.⁶⁸ The fact that, in Serbia, both the founding of the sovereign kingdom and the establishment of the autocephalous church were the doing of members of the same family and that these two events took place at practically the same time, resulted in the appearance of matching portraits of both rulers and prelates or even their group portraits. In Serbian art, beginning with Mileševa (1222–1228) and Studenica (1234–1235), the unity of church and state was expressed through a particular choice and distribution of figures, in a variation of forms. In the age of king Milutin the presence of this idea is discerned in Dragutin's chapel in representations of assemblies where the participation of the archbishops gives a canonical form to the enthronement of the rulers, in Bogorodica Ljeviška where the proximity of the figures of St. Sava I (and probably Sava II) to those of the kings displays the harmony of the church and the state in matters concerning the succession of the throne and finally in Žiča where both the acting archbishop, Sava III, and king Milutin are a part of the representation of the liturgical celebration of Christmas.

Among the frescoes painted after Studenica and throughout the XIII century there are no joint portraits of rulers and Serbian prelates. The former usually appear in ktetors' compositions (Sopoćani, Voljavac, Gradac) while the latter take part in liturgical scenes painted in the altar space (Sopoćani, Holy Apostles in Peć). Arilje (1295/6) was going to be the first to make use of the model formulated in Radoslav's narthex in Studenica, although in a considerably altered and enlarged variation. There, in the cathedral of the bishops of Moravica, the north and the west wall of the naos were decorated with figures of St. Sava, the first Serbian archbishop, and, next to him, those of St. Arsenije, St. Sava II, St. Joanikije, St. Jevstatije I and the current archbishop Jevstatije II

with the full, official title written out as follows: "Iev'statije arhiepiskup' v'se srp'skije zemle" (Jevstatije archbishop of all Serbian land). Although this fresco does not show all the prelates of the Serbian church who had occupied the throne of St. Sava before 1296, the representative figures of archbishops – frontally positioned, uniformly dressed and accompanied by identical – inscriptions display the continuity of the Serbian autocephalous church, from its founder to the person currently at its head.⁶⁹ The link between this representation and the tradition of the first half of the century is recognised in the unusual positioning of the figures of church prelates, directly opposite those of Nemanjid monks standing before Christ, just so that the image of St. Sava could be placed next to St. Symeon Nemanja who appears there, among other things, to introduce the highest prelates of the Serbian church to Christ. It is futile to search for elements of portraiture on the faces of Serbian church dignitaries, except in the case of the contemporary archbishop Jevstatije II, because we don't believe that an artist working at the close of the XIII century could evoke the appearance of persons who lived long before his day unless their portraits had been preserved on some older works of art. In any case, on a painting such as this one, the purpose of which was to underline the perseverance of the Serbian church and its keeping of canonical principles, that was not of primary interest nor was it intended for this painting to render the images of each and every representative of the church. Their positioning, the identical iconographic treatment of each image, the inscriptions and the disregard of distinct features were simply means of making this objective more persuasive. Apart from archbishop Jevstatije II, the frescoes of Arilje also display the images of Jevseviije ("Ev'sevije jepiskup' moraviski" – Jevseviije bishop of Moravica) the current bishop of Moravica, and his two predecessors, Gerasim and Merkuriije, depicted in the narthex. The latter is shown on his death bed and not in a solemn stance. Thus, unless there were some older examples of which we know nothing today, the custom of portraying bishops in their pertaining cathedrals, with the aim of displaying the ancient origins and perseverance of those sees, was first introduced in Arilje.

Frescoes from another cathedral church dating from the age of king Milutin express the same ideas as those of Arilje. In the exonarthex of Bogorodica Ljeviška, the see of the bishops of Prizren, we see the portraits of Serbian archbishops, Arsenije, Sava II,

Joanikije, Jevstatije I, Jakov and Jevstatije II, in the order of their succession on the archbishop's throne. Here, too, we note that the list is not entirely complete and it is particularly striking that Sava I is missing from the beginning of this line and Sava III, the actual archbishop at the time these frescoes were being painted, from its end. Explanation of this phenomenon is found in the fact that St. Sava, the first Serbian archbishop, already appears in the inner narthex (dressed in a luxurious sakkos and accompanied by a candle-bearer), together with Symeon Nemanja and the other Nemanjids, while the image of archbishop Sava III could have been painted on some other, more prominent location in the church. Most important, however, is the fact that all the archbishops of this group are depicted in representative and therefore frontal stances, there is uniformity in their attire consisting of polystauria and an omophoria, they all carry gospel books in one hand and bear the same title of Right Reverend archbishop (only Arsenije, the first in line, bears the full title – he is "the Right Reverend archbishop of all Serbian land and the liturgical Arsenije"). All this emphasises the longevity of the autocephalous Serbian church and stresses the striving of each archbishop in the task of keeping canon laws and purity of the faith. On the north part of the west wall of the exonarthex of this Prizren church we see the portraits of different bishops of Prizren, Ilarije, Amvrosije, Varlaam, Jovan, Damjan and, probably, Ilija. All the mentioned bishops are well known historical figures. From the moment when the Greek bishop was ousted from Prizren in 1219, the bishopric joined the Serbian church and its see was occupied by a line of Serbian prelates. As in Arilje, there is a certain ideological overtone to this line of bishops of Prizren, painted in representative stances and bearing the insignia of their rank and gospel books, because it stresses only the Serbian period in the history of the Prizren bishopric. In that way, it becomes a part of the broader picture of the Serbian church, represented through the images of its archbishops on the south part of the same wall in the narthex of Ljeviška.⁷⁰

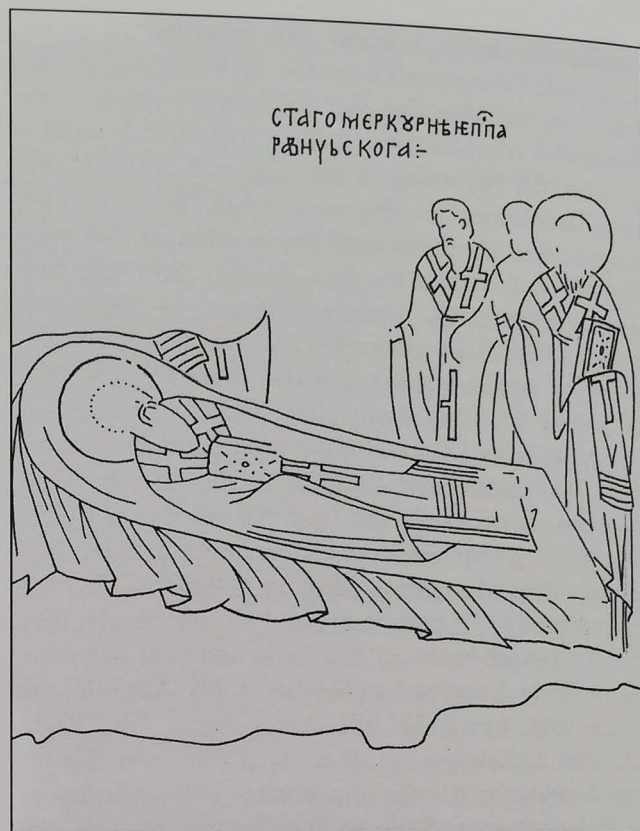
At the time of the restoration of the fresco decoration in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim, the see of the bishopric of Hum transferred there around the middle of the XIII century, figures of Serbian archbishops were painted in the narthex. We do not now exactly how many figures were painted nor do we have an idea which of the long list of bishops of Hum might have been represented there beca-

use the frescoes of the south-west corner of the narthex have suffered extensive damage. Due to spatial restrictions, it seems that the choice of personages was considerably abridged. Judging by the location of Jevstatije II in Arilje, the portion of the wall close to the entrance was probably decorated with the figure of the contemporary Serbian archbishop, Nikodim (1317–1324). However, his head and the accompanying inscription have not been preserved. This figure is dressed in the usual white sticharion, epitachelion and omophorion, but instead of a polystaurion we see a ceremonial sakkos with short and wide sleeves, decorated with large crosses, pearls and precious stones. It is robes such as these that prove the archbishopric rank of the figure because in Serbia, beginning with the XIV century, the sakkos was reserved only for members of the highest ecclesiastical hierarchy. The figure next to this one is in an even worse state of preservation. Only a part of a white sticharion, a white phelonion with "streams" and an omophorion with crosses remain. Judging by these elements, we are dealing with another figure of a bishop. Relying again on analogies with Arilje (the figure of Jevsevije, the bishop of Moravica), could be identified as Danilo, the contemporary bishop of Hum and the future archbishop of Serbia. Finally, yet another bishop was represented in this group, but his figure is damaged to an extent which prevents us from saying anything at all about his identity. Nevertheless, even these modest remains prove that the tradition of portraying the highest dignitaries of the Serbian church and its regional bishoprics in cathedral churches, wherever that was possible, was indeed observed in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim.⁷¹

All of the above mentioned portraits of Serbian prelates appear in cathedral churches located on ancient state territories. Because of the loss of many monuments in its southern regions, annexed by king Milutin after 1282, we do not know whether their walls, above all those of the church of the Virgin Tricheiroussa in Skoplje, the see of the local bishop, were also decorated with images of Serbian bishops and archbishops. We know that the Serbian church spread its jurisdiction over these regions immediately after their conquest and the somewhat younger frescoes from Lesnovo, dating from 1346, with portraits of bishops of Zletovo, indicate the possible existence of such representations in some of Milutin's endowments.

Funeral Scenes

The large number of images of bishops painted during the late XIII and early XIV century spoke of the long history of certain episcopal centres and was based on the right of high ecclesiastical dignitaries to be portrayed in their cathedral churches. According to Byzantine customs which was adopted in Serbia, bishops could also be buried in their cathedrals, usually in the narthex or in a parekklesion. As was the custom with tombs of rulers or those of venerated monks, the wall above their final resting place was decorated with the image of their last rite. Several such scenes have been preserved in Serbian art but only one dates from the age of king Milutin. The north wall of the narthex of the church of St. Achilleios in Arilje is taken up by a scene representing the death of Merkurije, a bishop of Moravica, located directly above his tomb. Although quite damaged, its basic contents are still clearly visible: the body of Merkurije, with all the signs of his episcopal rank (dressed in a white phelonion, sticharion and omophorion and a gospel book on his chest) and a halo around his head, lies in state on a high bier. One group of bishops, almost entirely damaged, stands by his head and another two figures of the same rank, with a deacon, at the foot of the bier. The inscription is partly preserved: "(Uspenije) s(ve)tago Merkurija jep(i)s(ko)pa (Mo)ravič'skoga" (the dormition of St. Merkurije bishop of Moravica). This is obviously a commemorative scene meant to be an authentic representation of the last rites performed over the body of Merkurije. Because we know that Merkurije sat on the throne of the bishops of Moravica before Gerasim (whose portrait stands adjacent to this scene), and he in turn before Jevseviije, whose portrait as a contemporary of the fresco decoration of this church is located in the naos, next to Jevstatije II, the acting archbishop at that time, and since we are sure that he was buried in Arilje, this scene has certain documentary values. However, these values are considerably diminished by the fact that the event represented took place at least ten years before it was painted, certainly after the construction of the church. In any case, the painter relied on well known models from Byzantine art which were used time and again in manuscripts and on church walls to depict death scenes of holy bishops or laymen. Except for a single mention of his name in one textual source nothing is known of Merkurije. It could be that his efforts in the task of raising of Dragutin's endowment



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Arilje, Death scene of bishop Merkurije,
1295/1296

were by no means inconsiderable. That is why Merkurije was buried in this church with a sarcophagus raised above the tomb to mark his resting place while his death was recorded in fresco on the wall above. However, it is interesting to note that on this wall painting he is referred to as a saint, an unusual phenomenon which could speak of the early origins and short duration of his cult.⁷²

Guardian saints

Not every bishop used his right to be portrayed in his cathedral church; some probably left out their images out of modesty and had portraits of their holy patrons, usually their name-sakes, intercessors before Christ or the Virgin, painted in places of honour. The case of bishop Ignjatije from the bishopric of Lipljan during whose episcopate Gračanica was raised and decorated, mentioned by king Milutin in the charter issued to this monastery, is one example of expressing patron saint veneration in such a manner. This bishop seems to have had plans of being buried in



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Gračanica, *The Virgin Mediatrix and St. Ignatios Theophoros*, 1319–1321

an arcosolium in the south parekklesion of this church, as attested by the fresco decoration of this space: all the other arcosolia are decorated with leaved crosses while this is the only one with figures of two bishops on its vault, one of them being St. Ignatios of Antioch, the name-sake of the bishop of Lipljan. However, for reasons unknown, this bishop was never buried here. Another bishop, Teodor, was laid to rest in this spot only after 1321 and an illustration of his funeral rite is depicted therein. Bishop Ignjatije also had the figure of his holy patron painted on a prominent location in the naos, on the south pier, next to the figure of the Virgin Mediatrix and his episcopal throne. This figure is additionally set apart from those surrounding it by the treatment of its halo which bishop Ignjatije had gilded.⁷³

In Staro Nagoričino, hegoumenos Venjamin relied on similar means (not counting the inscription) of recording his presence and the care he devoted to the decoration of the church. The martyr Benjamin, a saint otherwise rarely represented, appears here surely as a name-sake and patron saint of the hegoumenos of Nagoričino. He stands on the east wall of the narthex

next to the figure of Christ the Saviour being addressed by the ktetor through a series of mediators. The hegoumenos also expressed special reverence for the patron of the church, St. George. One of his images painted as a fresco icon framed by a special arch in relief and bearing an inscription in Serbian is located in the south part of the naos, next to the see of hegoumenos Venjamin, certainly by his commission.⁷⁴

A choice of otherwise rarely represented saints, their unexpected location or their specific iconographic and artistic treatment were usually signs of special reverence. Thus, in Arilje, archbishop Jevstatije II left a clear testimony of his rather pronounced attachment to this church – despite of the fact that available sources disclose nothing of the extent of his involvement in its construction and decoration. It is not impossible that he was even its second ktetor because in the ktetor's composition king Dragutin is marked, uncommonly, as the first ktetor. Jevstatije's portrait is located in the naos, he is the last in a row of Serbian archbishops, a part of a group of scenes which have nothing to do with questions of ktetorship but rather convey messages of the long and uninterrupted duration of the Serbian autocephalous church. Moreover, a half-figure of St. Eustathios is painted in the immediate midst of the ktetor's composition, above the doorway leading from the narthex to the exonarthex. This is an uncommon location for a warrior saint and an invaluable sign that archbishop Jevstatije did have some say in the choice of scenes painted in Arilje.⁷⁵

The practice of depicting distinctly marked figures of venerated saints on prominent locations in church interiors is a custom adopted from Byzantine art and developed in Serbia from the beginning of the XIII century on. We should recall the fact that already in Studenica (1208/1209) and Žiča (around 1220) saints who were important to the ktetors were singled out by their position and artistic treatment.⁷⁶ In Žiča, in the days of king Milutin, the figures of St. Stephen the Protomartyr and St. Sabas of Jerusalem, located by the iconostasis, were repainted. Moreover, each saint had a separate parekklesion dedicated to his memory and placed respectively on the north and south side of the church, thus reflecting the location of the two figures in the naos. Both saints were holy patrons and namesakes of the first ktetors, king Stefan Prvovenčani and his brother, archbishop Sava. Because his cult was nurtured only during the brief period of activity of archbishop Sava I and had become considerably weaker in later times, the

appearance of the figure of St. Sabas of Jerusalem in Žiča should be viewed primarily as a result of a literal emulation of the older layer of frescoes and in connection with the continuity of dedication of the north parekklesion. The cult of St. Stephen, on the other hand, was constantly developed because it was tied to the holy protector of the Serbian state and its rulers.⁷⁷ It even grew stronger in the age of king Milutin, as demonstrated by this king's decision to dedicate his sepulchral church in Banjska to this particular saint. In Serbian churches, the custom of painting figures of St. Stephen close to iconostasis, established in Studenica and Žiča, was observed until the very end of the XIII century. This saint is regularly dressed in a hiton and himation and his figure is either larger than those of other saints or displays all the traits of a fresco-icon. At times, he appears in this particular spot even in church interiors decorated as late as the period around the year 1300: in Arilje, next to the figure of the Virgin with her arms stretched out in prayer, in Žiča, in Gračanica, again to the left of the iconostasis and within a row of specially chosen saints, as well as in the church of St. Nikita.⁷⁸ Another tradition established in Studenica⁷⁹ was also going to find its continuation only in the churches of king Milutin: once again, in the naos of Chilandar, St. Stephen was going to be depicted next to the king and in the act of blessing the ruler while on the east wall of the narthex of the same church the gesture of his hand was going to recommend the sovereign to Christ and the Virgin.⁸⁰

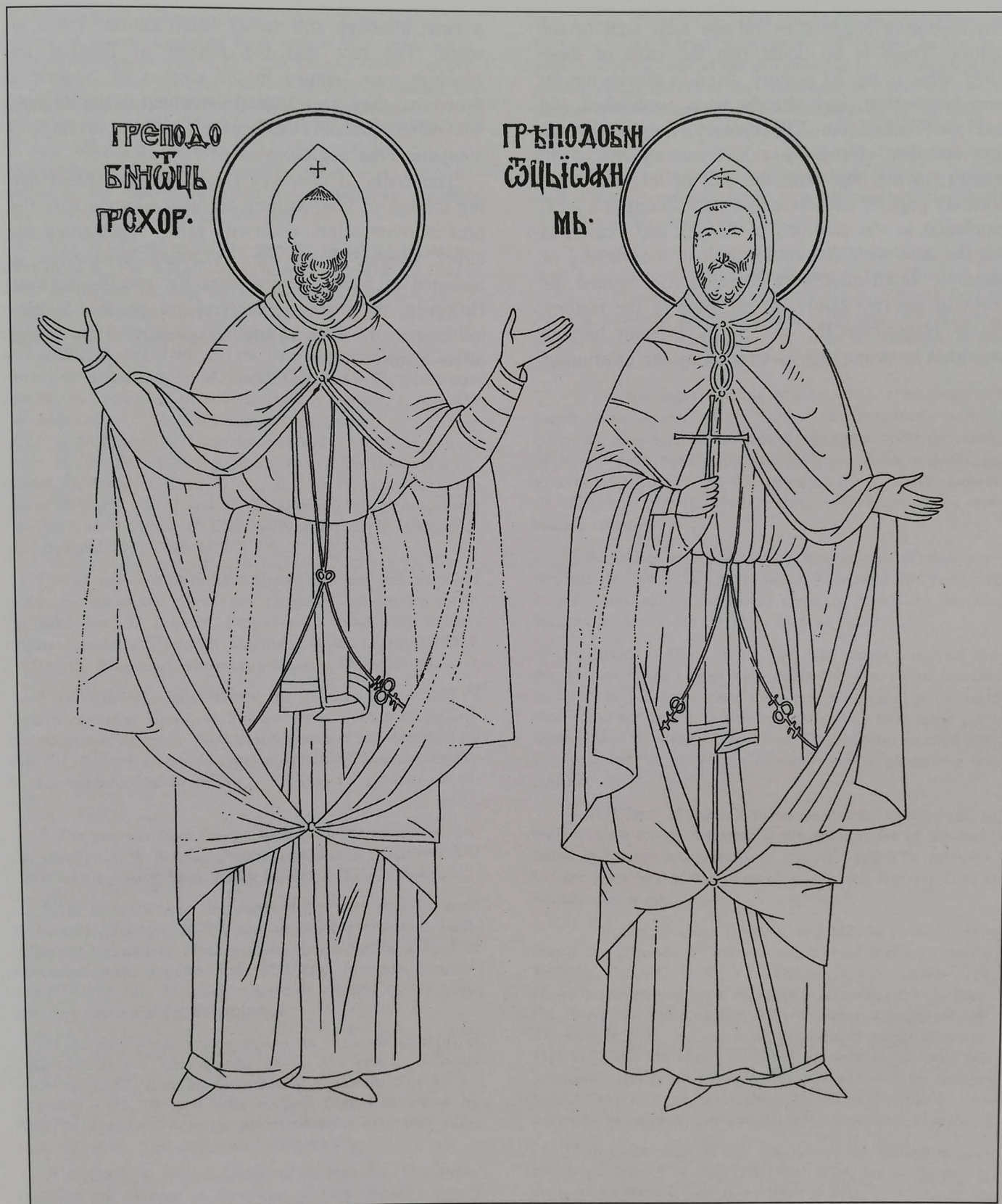
St. Stephen was depicted as the mediator between king Milutin and Christ once more in Nagoričino, in an extensive scene showing Milutin offering his endowment to Christ in which the Virgin and St. Georgios Gorgos also appear as the king's mediators before Christ.⁸¹ Christ is marked as the Saviour and depicted in an upright stance holding a gospel book displaying the passage promising eternal life to all those who follow him, Christ, the Light of the World (John 8, 12; 12, 46–48).⁸² In effect, this is a sort of Deesis with St. Benjamin, the name-sake and patron saint of the hegoumenos of Nagoričino, approaching Christ from his left side. The carefully chosen characters, probably commissioned by the ktetor and the monastery hegoumenos, render a special air to this scene. The personal interest of the Serbian society and the Nagoričino monastic community for paintings of this sort is also transparent in the fact that all the scrolls and books depicted in this composition were inscribed with texts written out in the Serbian language.

Cults and Images of Local Saints

In the art of king Milutin's age certain saints were held in especially high veneration and their images were created as an expression of personal desires of the ktetors or other persons who were in the position to influence the making of programmes of fresco paintings in the churches in question. Equal attention was also devoted to the cults of Serbian saints, above all to those of Symeon Nemanja and Sava. The appearance of their images in churches of this period was almost exclusively tied to the complex of ideas related to the holy dynasty and the ideology of the Court and the Church: they were used to point out the longevity of the sovereign secular and spiritual powers in the country and their unity. At times, these images also reflected some of the contemporary, quite substantial events of Serbian history from around the year 1300. It is important to note that in those days the erection of parekklesia dedicated to St. Symeon, a common feature of churches from the first half of the XIII century, had almost entirely ceased along with the painting of cycles dedicated to him which were usually found therein. Saint Symeon and Sava are now seen as acclaimed and venerated saints whose images grew in numbers on church walls. Apart from the already existing texts, new hagiographies and new services dedicated to them were being written while entire new churches, and no longer only parekklesia, were being raised in their honour.⁸³

The southward expansion of the Serbian state resulted in the adoption of some local cults as well as those observed by the Archbishopric of Ohrid. Proof of this is found above all in Nagoričino, a church raised on the territory which became a part of the Serbian state in 1282–1284. In the prothesis, at the end of a line of bishops celebrating the Divine Liturgy we see the figures of St. Constantine Kabasilas and St. Clement of Ohrid. As opposed to St. Clement, whose cult already had a long history on the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid and whose portraits had already been painted in the churches of this diocese, before Nagoričino St. Constantine Kabasilas appears only in the church of St. John Kaneo in Ohrid (end of the XIII century), within the same scene as in Nagoričino, while in the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (1295) the two saints appear side by side on the north wall of the naos in a representative, frontal stance.⁸⁴

The figures of Sts. Prochor of Pčinja and Joachim of Osogovo dressed in the habits of megaloschimnoi



also appear in Nagoričino, on the west wall of the narthex. There is no doubt that the cults of these saints, who, in the XI century, lived in asceticism not far from Nagoričino, had already been established and developed before the XIV century. Judging by the form and data offered by a XIII century *vita* of St. Prochor, in the beginning the cult of this saint was modestly popular and dispersed only among the local population in the environs of Kozjak and Pčinja, as was the case with that of Joachim in the vicinity of Osogovo. Small monastery churches rose around the tombs of the two saints. At the time of the restoration of Nagoričino the cult of St. Prochor became somewhat more popular as attested by the erection of

a new, although still rather small church above his tomb. The fact that the figures of Prochor and Joachim were painted in the narthex of Nagoričino prove that they were indeed venerated in the Žegligovo region, probably as a result of the strivings of Venjamin, the hegoumenos of Nagoričino.⁸⁵

The walls of churches raised and decorated during the age of king Milutin are also adorned with figures of other saints, otherwise rarely represented and either adopted from the Byzantine synaxarion or included in fresco programmes for specific reasons. However, they are neither related to the Serbian milieu nor are they in any way a part of the image of its history.

¹ Studeis of these portraits as a part of the overall programme of church decoration have already been published in monographs: Okunev, *Aril'e*, 237–239; Mijović, *Žiča*, 190–198; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 58–64; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 84; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 182–191; Todić, *Gračanica*, 170–178; Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 126; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 117–126. Cf. also Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60–61, 67–74, with bibliographical information regarding other works and discourses on the historical portraits and compositions and their relation with the surrounding frescoes.

² The basic sources on the transfer of power in Deževu are: Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 73–75; *Georgii Pachymeris de Michaela et Andronico Palaeologis libri XIII*, rec. J. Bekkerus, I, Bonnae 1835, 353; II, 273–274 and an Anonymous from the beginning of the XIV century (*Spomenici na Makedonija*, II, 474–746), and the most important study on the agreement is still that by M. Dinić, *Odnos*, 49–52; minor corrections and additions in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 437–439 (Lj. Maksimović); L. Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'Empire serbe. Le kralj Milutin*, Thessalonique 1978, 15–28; *Vizantijski izvori*, VI, 28–29, 44–45 (Lj. Maksimović). On Dragutin's territories cf. Dinić, *Oblast*, 61–80, and on the state of queen Jelena on 'pages 70–73 and M. Blagojević, *Srpsko kraljevstvo i države u delu Danila II*, L'archevêque Danilo II et son époque, Beograd 1991, 142–145.

³ More recent studies have shown that the wall paintings in the narthex of the church and Dragutin's chapel are not of the same date: Z. Zeković, *Konzervacija zidnih slika manastirskog kompleksa Djurdjevi Stupovi u Rasu*, Glasnik DKS 5 (1981), 45; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarske insignije*, 50.

⁴ All those who have studied the frescoes and portraits of Serbian rulers in Djurdjevi Stupovi have identified correctly this portrait of Dragutin (best description and interpretation by Radojčić, *Portreti*, 28 and Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarske insignije*, 50; reproduction in Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, I, pl. 30/3).

⁵ The portraits from Gradac have been the subject of special attention of R. Nikolić, *Prilozi proučavanju živopisa iz XIII i XIV veka u oblasti Rasa*, Raška baština 2 (1980), 86–88.

⁶ The portraits from Dragutin's chapel were first discussed by Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27–28, and his observations were usually simply repeated by other authors; they were the subject of somewhat greater attention only of Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 135–136. Although thoroughly cleaned twenty years ago, they are not even all published.

⁷ The inscriptions accompanying the historical portraits in Dragutin's chapel were copied by A. Gil'ferding, *Sobranie sočinenij, t. III, Bosnija, Gercegovina i Staraja Srbija*, S.-Peterburg 1873, 97, and were adopted from that source by Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27. In the meantime some have been damaged and others have completely disappeared.

⁸ According to the investigation of M. Purković (*Was Stefan Dečanski the Younger or the Elder of King Milutin's Sons?*, *The Slavonic and European Review* 29, 1951, 545–549), Stefan was born around 1275. According to this author (*Prilošci srp-*

skoj istoriji, GSND XIX, 1938, 244–245), the figure next to Dragutin is not that of his younger son because he was not even born at the time of the decoration of this parekklesion. In general, during the era of the Palaiologoi, in Byzantium and its cultural sphere, images of ktetors accompanied by members of their families were not rare (Velmans, *Le portrait*, 97–98). The sovereign, in case he was not the actual ktetor, was usually represented alone or in the company of his wife (Velmans, *Le portrait*, 107–108), and sometimes, as is the case with tsar Dušan in Serbia, in the company of his heir.

⁹ Based on the reading offered by Hilferding, the first who made a wrong identification of this wife of king Milutin's portrayed in Dragutin's chapel was I. Ruvarac (*Zbornik Ilariona Ruvarca. Odabrani istorijski radovi*, I, Beograd 1934, 17), and, after him, also Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27, while this identification was rejected by M. Dinić, *Comes Constantinus*, ZRVI 7 (1961), 2.

¹⁰ The marriages of king Milutin, their chronology, the names of his wives and his children, as particularly intricate questions, have been the subject of numerous works the results of which have been critically reviewed most recently in: *Vizantijski izvori*, VI, 38–43, notes 80–83 (Lj. Maksimović), 137–139, note 109 (I. Djurić), along with insufficiently convincing solutions.

¹¹ According to the studies of M. Purković (*Prilošci srpskoj istoriji*, 244–245), Urošić was born around this year. Had he been born earlier, he would certainly have been depicted here, as he was some ten years later in Arilje.

¹² Djurić, *Deževski sabor*, 192. The author's opinion that the frescoes in the chapel were painted in two stages can not, however, be accepted. Since they were all created at the same time – and we have seen that this could only have taken place after 1282 – only the wives whom king Milutin married after that year can be taken into consideration in identifying this portrait.

¹³ This form of Jelena's name, as it was "transcribed" by Hilferding, is utterly disparate in the orthography of this name found in Serbian monuments of the XIII and XIV centuries. We are not aware of any other case in which Jelena's name is written with a *iat*.

¹⁴ Portraits of kings Dragutin and Milutin in Arilje have drawn the attention of many scholars, best text on them by Radojčić, *Portreti*, 30–32. V. J. Djurić (*Istorijske kompozicije, II*, 135) noticed that their appearance resembles that of imperial co-regents; more on that subject Grabar, *L'empereur*, 26–27, who believes that adjoining portraits of emperors always express "l'idée du règne simultanée de deux ou de trois personages". Numerous examples indicate that such an arrangement of two or three rulers always indicates the rank of their authority, in cases of both parallel rule, co-regency or regency.

¹⁵ In cases, such as this one, where the number of portrayed personages is even, the first ruler, the sovereign, is depicted on the left side (the viewer's left); for examples on coins as the most official form of royal ideology cf. Grierson, *Catalogue*, II/1, 69–70 et passim, with numerous examples.

¹⁶ About the extent of Milutin's rule over his brother's territories cf. Dinić, *Odnos*, 54. In inscriptions and elsewhere – in Arilje in 1295/96, in the Pljevlja euchologion from 1286–1292, the nomokanon of 1294/95, the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus from 1290, on an icon from Bari – king Milutin is always mentioned first. Although scholars have accepted the opinion that Arilje was located on Dragutin's territory, owing primarily to the discourse by Dinić, *Oblast*, 78–79, there are simply no such indications in the sources. As far as the question of Dragutin raising his endowment on his brother's land is concerned, an answer has already been offered in the form of a convincing assumption that Arilje was raised during the period of Dragutin's independent rule (M. Čanak-Medić, *Iz istorije Arilja*, Saopštenja XIV, 1982, 38–41), in the same manner as Djurdjevi Stupovi which were completed later, during the period of harmonious relations between the two brothers.

¹⁷ *Vizantijski izvori*, 38, note 80 (Lj. Maksimović). M. Purković assumed that Milutin divorced Ana before 1296, but did not have any evidence to confirm such an assumption, cf. M. Purković, *Prilošci srpskoj istoriji*, 160, note 33; id., *Princeze iz kuće Nemanjića*, Vindzor 1956, 39.

¹⁸ The inscription from the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus has been published several times already, cf. G. Subotić, *Kraljica Jelena Anžujska*, 142–143; Beatillo's description of the icon from Bari has been published by V. Tomić-De Muro, *Srpske ikone u crkvi Sv. Nikole u Bariju*, Zbornik LU (1966), 113; about the icon from the Vatican cf. Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona apostola Petra i Pavla*, 9–16.

¹⁹ Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 115.

²⁰ It is well known, for example, that Galla Placidia commissioned an entire gallery of imperial portraits, from Constantine to Theodosius II, for the decoration of the apse of the church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna (Grabar, *L'empereur*, 28–29), at Çavusin in Capadoccia Nikephoros Phokas is depicted with his ancestors and relatives (Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres*, I/2, 523–524, pl. 139/2, 143/2), and, according to the textual sources, there were similar portraits of Komnenoi emperors (Grabar, *L'empereur*, 29–30). The same disposition of several figures of emperors from the same dynasty has been preserved in Georgian painting from the XIII and XIV centuries (Velmans, *Le portrait*, 109–112; G. Alibegashvili, *Svetskij portret v gruzinskoj srednevekovoj monumental'noj živopisi*, Tbilisi 1979, 12–29). A similar phenomenon has been observed on the coins of several Byzantine emperors organised by F. Grierson into the Family Coinage group (Grierson, *Catalogue*, II/1, 68).

²¹ About this "horizontal family tree of the Nemanjids" cf. Radojčić, *Portreti*, 16–17, 20–21, 22–23, 28; Winfield, *Four Historical Compositions*, 261–263; Čorović-Ljubinković, *Uz problem*, 77–78; Grabar, *Un pyxide en ivoire*, 131–133; Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIII^e siècle*, 164–165; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 48, 57, 60, 61; Haustein, *Der Nemanjidenstammbaum*, 193–201; Djurić, *Slika i istorija*, 129.

²² Grabar, *L'empereur*, 29; A. Grabar, *Les témoignages écrits et graphiques relatifs à trois groupes de portraits d'em-*

pereurs et de leurs familles, Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France (1952–1953), 161–162; Grabar, *Une pyxide en ivoire*, 121–146; C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire (312–1453)*, New Jersey 1972, 226–227; K. Wessel, *Kaiserbild*, RBK, III (1973), 779–784; Haustein, *Der Nemanjidenstammbaum*, 158–177; cf. also note 20.

²³ About the ktetor's composition in Radoslav's narthex in Studenica cf. Radojčić, *Portreti*, 16; about that of Sopoćani V. J. Djurić, *Sopoćani*, Beograd 1991, 157; and that of Gradac R. Nikolić, *Prilozi proučavanju živopisa iz XIII i XIV veka u oblasti Rasa*, 86–88. Cf. also Čorović-Ljubinković, *Uz problem*, 77–78.

²⁴ The ktetor's composition from Petrova crkva has been described in detail by Čorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*, 44 and Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*, 90–91.

²⁵ Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 117. On Nemanjid monks in Dragutin's chapel, briefly, with their accompanying inscriptions, Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27; Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 135–136.

²⁶ In Arilje St. Symeon is depicted as the advocate but also as the intercessor and the role-model and teacher. At around the same time Teodosije wrote the following lines: "Let us follow Symeon, the spiritual beacon, having him as the reliable guide, him who cried: Come, my children, listen to me, imbued with the fear of the Lord and love, to receive indulgence for the sins you have committed", *Srbljak*, I, Beograd 1970, 333. Much has been written about the figures of Nemanjid monks in Arilje, for example, by Okunev, *Portrety korolej ktitorov*, 82–85 and Djurić, *Slika i istorija*, 129 et passim.

²⁷ The last to write about these personages was Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 121, 126, who also published reproductions of them, pl. 75. About the possible appearance of the original representation and its XVII century alterations cf. B. Todić, *Patrijarh Joanikije – ktitor fresaka u crkvi Sv. apostola u Peći*, Zbornik LU 16 (1980), 86–87.

²⁸ Cf. F. Miklosich, *Monumenta serbica*, Wien 1858, 65–66, 71, 74, 78; *Svetostefanska hrisovulja*, Spomenik SKA IV (1890), 2; S. Stanojević, *Studije o srpskoj diplomaciji*, Glas SKA 92 (1913), 146–148.

²⁹ A good description of St. Sava and St. Symeon found in this church in Studenica is offered by Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 183–190. A somewhat different interpretation of their images is offered by S. Čurčić, *The Nemanjić Family Tree in the Light of the Ancestral Cult in the Church of Joachim and Anna at Studenica*, ZRVI 14–15 (1973), 191–195.

³⁰ These figures from Chilandar which were not repainted were published by Millet, *Athos*, pl. 59–61, and discussed by Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 180; Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 73–74, 77–78; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 84 and B. Todić, *Freska sv. Nikodima iz Hilandara i problem datiranja slikarstva katolikona*, Zbornik LU 21 (1985), 92–94.

³¹ Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski hrisovulji, akti, biografije, le-topisi, tipici, pomenici, zapisi i dr.*, Spomenik SKA III (1890), 14.

³² This observation was made quite some time ago by Gordana Babić who concluded that the choice of themes in Dragutin's chapel is close to that found in nartheces (Babić, *Les chapelles*, 168–169).

³³ Representations of assemblies were identified and studied in detail by Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 131–137. They are only generally similar to representations of Ecumenical councils and other assemblies presided over by the ruler (Grabar, *L'empereur*, 90–92; Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 183–184), the iconography of which goes back to ancient Roman imperial art (cf. A. Alföldi, *Insignien und Tracht des Römischen Kaisers*, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Römische Abteilung 50, 1935, 36, 60, Abb. 2, 7). The akakia which the kings hold in their left hand is certainly related to the symbolism of power, because it reminded them of humility and death (cf. J. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des offices*, Paris 1966, 202).

³⁴ The Sopoćani fresco is only named precisely but not studied in greater detail: V. J. Djurić, *Sopoćani*, figs. 22–23, while the one in Arilje was the subject of several studies, the most thorough are those of Radojčić, *Portreti*, 33 and Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 137–141. In greater detail on the subject of these Serbian assemblies in mediaeval painting Todić, *Portraits des saints Siméon et Sava*, 137–139.

³⁵ L. Mirković, *Heortologija*, Beograd 1961, 148; on this subject, inspired by the example from Sopoćani, B. Todić, *L'influence de la liturgie sur la décoration peinte du narthex de Sopoćani*, Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo, Moskva 1997, 52–53, 55.

³⁶ On the portrait of Vladislav, next to his mother, queen Katelina, Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27–28. On the portraits from Sopoćani Radojčić, *Portreti*, 23 and V. J. Djurić, *Sopoćani*, 28, figs. 4–5, and on those from Apollonia H. und H. Buschhausen, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien*, Wien 1976, 143–182, 239–241, Fig. 16–19, Taf. 101–107. In Byzantium and its cultural sphere frontal representations of rulers and members of their families are much more common, except in Georgia, where processions similar to those seen in Serbian art of the XIII century are predominant (G. Alibegashvili, *Svetskij portret v gruzinskoj srednevekovoj monumental'noj živopisi*, 20–22, 41 et passim, pls. 10, 24–26, 36, 42).

³⁷ About their portraits cf., apart from others, Okunev, *Portrety korolej ktitorov*, 85, pl. V; Radojčić, *Portreti*, 33–34; Todić, *Kralj Milutin sa sinom Konstantinom*, 16. On this representation as an example of heavenly investiture Babić, *O jednom vidu investiture vladara*, 158. On this problem in general cf. R. Nikolić, *Zašto se kralj Milutin kao ktitor nije slikao sa sinovima?*, Raška baština 2 (1980), 94–98.

³⁸ The testimonies of Georgios Pachimer and Theodoros Metochites have recently been reevaluated with great attention, taking into consideration other sources, too, related to Milutin's negotiations concerning his marriage with Simonida: *Vizantijski izvori*, VI, 34–55, 77–143 (Lj. Maksimović and I. Djurić).

³⁹ New readings of the inscription accompanying the portraits in Mileševa have been published only recently: Dj. Trifunović, *Natpis uz portrete u manastiru Mileševi*, Književ-

nost i jezik XXXIX (1992), 91–100; V. J. Djurić, *Srpska dinastija i Vizantija na freskama u manastiru Mileševi*, Zograf 22 (1992), 17–18, fig. 2. As the son-in-law of emperor Alexios (Komnenos Angelos) Stefan is also mentioned in other written sources and on other paintings, what's more, long after he divorced Eudokia.

⁴⁰ For the first mention of Stefan in the charter of Ratac cf. F. Miklosich, *Monumenta serbica*, 67–69; Mošin, *Povelje kralja Milutina*, 63. The question of Stefan's birth, his mother and western sources related to him was most recently reviewed by Lj. Maksimović, *Vizantijski izvori*, VI, 40–42, note 82. On Stefan's administration in Zeta and his "royal" title cf. *Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, 60 (S. Ćirković).

⁴¹ The bibliography on the portraits of the Nemanjids in Bogorodica Ljeviška is vast: Radojčić, *Portreti*, 34; S. Mandić, *Jedan vladarski lik u Bogorodici Ljeviškoj*, Zograf 1 (1966), 24–27; Radovanović, *Portreti Nemanjića*; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 58–64; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68, 259–260 (with an extensive bibliography); Todić, *Kralj Milutin sa sinom Konstantinom*, 18; drawings of all the portraits have been published in the meantime, B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1991, 50–51.

⁴² On Serbian history during the last decade of Milutin's reign cf. *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 462–475 (S. Ćirković).

⁴³ Very little is known about this son of Milutin's, cf. M. Purković, *Two Notes on Medieval Serbian History*, 547–549; I. Božić, *Dominus Rex Constantinus*, Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta XII/1 (1974), 434; Todić, *Kralj Milutin sa sinom Konstantinom*, 18–20; M. Milović-Djurić, *Konstantin – sin kralja Milutina*, Istorijski zapisi, XXXVIII/3–4 (1985), 67–75.

⁴⁴ C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, I, Gotha 1911, 353–354; V. Tomić-De Muro, *Srpske ikone u crkvi Sv. Nikole u Bariju*, 112 (on Milutin's unpreserved altar from Bari); *Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, 66 (S. Ćirković); *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 496 (S. Ćirković) (on Konstantin's administration in Zeta); I. Božić, *Dominus Rex Constantinus*, 433–440 (on coinage with Konstantin's image). This is contested by M. Milović-Djurić (cf. previous note).

⁴⁵ The damaged charter of king Milutin issued to the church of Sts. Peter and Paul was published by Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, 597–598 (about it also Mošin, *Povelje kralja Milutina*, 66–67); on the restoration of the church during the age of king Milutin D. Nagorni, *Die Kirche Sv. Petar in Bijelo Polje (Montenegro)*, München 1978, 49–50; on the dating of the frescoes *Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, 260 (P. Mijović) and Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74, 265; the remains of ruler figures were described, not entirely precisely, by Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetoga Petra u Bijelom Polju*, 119, fig. 23.

⁴⁶ The fresco with the portraits on the north part of the east wall attracted the attention of numerous scholars; most recently of Todić, *Kralj Milutin sa sinom Konstantinom*, 7–22 (including all previous bibliography).

⁴⁷ Cf. Grabar, *L'empereur*, 98–100; I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden 1976, 194–195; Todić, *Kralj Milutin sa sinom Konstantinom*, 15–16.

⁴⁸ The Nemanjid family tree in Gračanica has been thoroughly studied: V. R. Petković, "Loza Nemanjića" u starom živopisu srpskom, *Narodna starina* 5 (1923), 97–100; Radojčić, *Portreti*, 38–44; V. J. Djurić, *Loza Nemanjića u starom srpskom slikarstvu*, Zbornik radova I kongresa Saveza društava istoričara umetnosti SFRJ, Ohrid 1976, 53–55; Haustein, *Der Nemanjidenstammbaum*, 20–43, 302–210 et passim; Todić, *Gračanica*, 173–178; Todić, *Kralj Milutin sa sinom Konstantinom*, 20–21.

⁴⁹ Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 186–190, pls. XXXI–XXXII, with bibliography (on Studenica); Millet, *Athos*, pl. 59–61 (on Chilandar). Because they were repainted, we still do not know what the representations of St. Symeon and St. Sava on the east wall of the Chilandar narthex looked like originally but it seems that they, too, were of an intercessory nature.

⁵⁰ Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 49/3. On these double portraits of Sava and Nemanja and their textual sources cf. Milošević, *Srbi svetitelji*, 178–186.

⁵¹ Todić, *Gračanica*, 177–178, t. XIV; B. Todić, *Reprezentativni portreti svetog Save u srednjovekovnoj umetnosti*, Sveti Sava u srpskoj istoriji i tradiciji, Beograd, 1998, 236–239.

⁵² Cf. note 41. On Milutin as sovereign king cf. G. Ostrogorski, *Avtokrator i samodržac. Prilog za istoriju vladalačke titulature u Vizantiji i u južnih Slovena*, Glas SKA CLXIV (1935), 150–151.

⁵³ On the portraits of queen Simonida and king Milutin in Nagoričino cf. Radojčić, *Portreti*, 37–38; Djurić, *Tri dogadjaja*, 68–76; Velmans, *Le portrait*, 112–113; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 118–122. On the parallel use of Serbian and Greek in the newly conquered regions Djurić, *L'art des Paléologues et l'Etat serbe*, 179–191, and on the inscriptions accompanying Milutin and Simonida in Nagoričino V. J. Djurić, *Povodom knjige Staro Nagoričino Branislava Todića*, Saopštenja XXVI (1994), 196.

⁵⁴ Djurić, *Tri dogadjaja*, 68–76. On Byzantine parallels for the composition from Nagoričino Todić, *Nagoričino*, 119.

⁵⁵ Todić, *Nagoričino*, 121. On the Byzantine emperor as the New Constantine cf. *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild*, Darmstadt 1975, 133–145; *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries*, Belfast 1994, and on Milutin as the new Constantine Djurić, *Slika i istorija*, 124–125, 130–131.

⁵⁶ Most thoroughly on the portraits of king Milutin and queen Simonida in Studenica Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 182–186; cf. also Radojčić, *Portreti*, 35–37. On the titles of king Milutin, similar to that from Studenica, cf. Mošin, *Povelje kralja Milutina*, 59–60, 65, 66, the closest being that stated in the charter of Banjska (*Svetostefanska hrisovulja*, 15–17) as well as his title from the charter and on the portrait in Gračanica, Todić, *Gračanica*, 68, 108.

⁵⁷ This composition has drawn the attention of a number of authors: Radojčić, *Portreti*, 44–45; Dj. Bošković, *Deux "couronnes de vie" à Gračanica*, SK XI (1940), 63–64; Mijović, *Caraska ikonografija (I)*, 104–107; Ch. Walter, *The Icono-*

graphical Sources for the Coronation of Milutin and Simonida at Gračanica, Symposium de Gračanica, 183–200; Todić, *Gračanica*, 170–173.

⁵⁸ Cf. Grabar, *L'empereur*, 112–122; J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople*, London 1961, figs. 79, 80, 101, 122, 135, 151; I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, figs. 7–8, 11, 14, 46, 62, 66, 70; Ch. Walter, *The Iconographical Sources for the Coronation of Milutin and Simonida at Gračanica*, 186–198; Haustein, *Der Nemanjidenstammbaum*, 103–117; Todić, *Gračanica*, 171.

⁵⁹ Cf. Constantin Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* (ed. Gy. Moravcsik), Washington 1967, 66.

⁶⁰ The as yet uncleaned frescoes were published long ago by Millet, *Athos*, pl. 79–80, and analysed in depth after the removal of the XIX century layer by Djurić, *Narthex de Chilandar*, 105–121, fig. 1–13.

⁶¹ On the iconography of this theme cf. Millet, *Recherches*, 163–169; Stefanescu, *Liturgie dans l'art*, 504–506; Orlova, "Čto Ti prinesem, Hriste", 127–140; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 189–193; Djurić, *Portrety*, 244–255. About the fresco from Žiča and the portrait of king Milutin cf. Petković, *Spasova crkva u Žiči*, 79; Radojčić, *Portreti*, 34–35; Mijović, *Žiča*, 190–196; Djurić, *Portrety*, 247–248; Velmans, *Le portrait*, 120; N. K. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting*, Leiden 1986, 125. The inscriptions accompanying king Milutin and archbishop Sava III are published in Lj. Kovačević, *Beleške i natpisi*, GSUD LVI (1884), 360 and SSZN, III, 75–76. On the fresco from Mateič N. Okunjev, *Gradja za istoriju srpske umetnosti*, 2. *Crkva Svete Bogorodice – Mateič*, GSND VII–VIII (1929–1930), 99; Djurić, *Portrety*, 248–249. On Christmas processions in Constantinople M. Αχειράστου-Ποταμιάνου, *Η ερμινεία μίας τοιχογραφίας στη Μονή της Βλαχέρνας κοντά στην Άρτα*, ΔΧΑΕ 14 (1985–1986), 301–305.

⁶² Moreover, in the biography of king Milutin Danilo II explicitly writes about his restoration of churches: "And in his fatherland he raised many holy monasteries from the ground and invested himself with the glory that, having been renewed by the Holy Spirit, he restored the ancient endowments of his fathers and forefathers and did even more of what is pleasing to the Lord than the root from which he stemmed", Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 180–181.

⁶³ S. Mandić, *Drevnik*, Beograd 1975, 146–154.

⁶⁴ The iconography of the portraits from Žiča was studied by Radojčić, *Portreti*, 35; Mijović, *Žiča*, 196–197; S. Mandić, *Drevnik*, 147–148 et passim; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 260–261 (including bibliography); P. Ivić – V. J. Djurić – S. Čirković, *Esfigmenska povelja despota Djurdja*, Beograd 1989, 40, figs. 22–25.

⁶⁵ G. Muir-Mackenzie and A. P. Irby saw and described the portraits and copied the accompanying inscriptions, *Putovanje po slovenskim zemljama Turske u Evropi*, Beograd 1868, 232. The same also applies to A. Gil'ferding, *Sobranie sočinenij*, t. III. *Bosnija, Gercegovina i Staraja Srbija*, 96–97.

⁶⁶ Cf. note 30. The fact that a portrait of Nemanja did exist in the old church is attested by Domentijan (*Životi svetoga Save i svetoga Simeona*, Beograd 1938, 87, 293, 294) and Teodosije (*Žitije svetog Save*, Beograd 1984, 73). Although there is no such information about Sava's portrait, he was probably depicted next to his father. On the layer of frescoes visible today they are marked as "the first Serbian Archbishop and ktetor of this holy family" (Sava) and "the hosios Symeon the myroblytos and ktetor" (Symeon Nemanja), probably in the role of advocates before Christ of the new ktetor, Milutin.

⁶⁷ The ktetor's composition in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim has attracted the attention of several scholars: A. Solovjev, *Les emblèmes de Byzance et les Slaves*, SK VII (1935), 138; Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja*, 28–29; G. Millet, *Etudes sur les églises de Rascie*, L'art byzantin chez les Slaves. Les Balkans, I, Paris 1930, 150; Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetog Petra u Bijelom Polju*, 115–119; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74, 265; cf. also our note 45. The iconography of ktetors' portraits similar to that seen in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul is studied by Grabar, *L'empereur*, 54–57, 131–135; cf. also H. and H. Buschhausen, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia*, Taf. 101–107; K. Valter, *Značenje portreta Danila II kao kćitora u Bogorodičinoj crkvi u Peći*, L'archevêque Danilo II et son époque, 357–358.

⁶⁸ Babić, *Nizovi portreta*, 319–340. The author took into consideration numerous sources (pp. 335–339) and concluded that the origins of the representation showing a procession of bishops of a given church or bishopric, thus expressing their continuity, are Byzantine while similar examples displaying the unbroken continuity of papal authority and certain ecclesiastical centres exist also in the art of the West.

⁶⁹ Okunev, *Aril'e*, 248, 251–252; M. Purković, *Srpski episkopi i mitropoliti srednjega veka*, Hrišćansko delo III/4–6 (1937), 29–31; Babić, *Nizovi portreta*, 322–323; Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije*, 157.

⁷⁰ Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 43, 66; Babić, *Nizovi portreta*, 324–328; drawings of their images are published by B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, *Les dessins des fresques*, 78–79; about them cf. Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije*, 143–144.

⁷¹ The frescoes including the portraits of Serbian bishops were described in detail by Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetoga Petra u Bijelom Polju*, 115–119; they were identified and explained by Babić, *Nizovi portreta*, 328–329 and D. Nagorni, *Die Kirche Sv. Petar in Bijelo Polje*, Abb. 383.

⁷² Merkurije is mentioned only in the Pljevlja euchologion (Lj. Stojanović, "Trebnik" manastira Sv. Trojice kod Pljevalja, Spomenik SKA LVI, 1922, 25) as the predecessor of Gerasim. On Merkurije cf. also Babić, *Nizovi portreta*, 323–324 and Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije*, 157, 182; on his tomb M. Čanak-Medić, *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju*, Beograd 1982, 8; on his funeral scene Okunev, *Aril'e*, 251–252, pl. XII/4; Djurić, *Isto-rijske kompozicije* (III), 107.

⁷³ In greater detail on this subject in Todić, *Gračanica*, 70–71 (on the merits of bishop Ignjatije for the construction and decoration of Gračanica), 168–169 (on the decoration of

the arcosolium and the image of St. Ignatios), fig. 109 (the representation of St. Ignatios Theophoros in the arcosolium).

⁷⁴ More on the subject Todić, *Nagoričino*, 122–123, figs. 8, 14.

⁷⁵ The image of St. Eustathios is published by Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 90/4.

⁷⁶ Cf. Djurić, *La peinture serbe au XIII^e siècle*, 151–153; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 43; V. J. Djurić, *Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba*, Sava Nemanjić – saint Sava. Histoire et tradition, Beograd 1979, 247–252; Djordjević, *O fresko-ikonama*, 90–91.

⁷⁷ The first study dedicated to the representations of St. Stephen in Serbian art is that by Čorović-Ljubinković, *Odras kulta sv. Stefana*, 45–46, and a much more thorough one by D. Vojvodić, *Prilog poznavanju ikonografije i kulta sv. Stefana u Vizantiji i Srbiji*, Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani. Material and Studies, Belgrade 1995, 537–563.

⁷⁸ On these representations of St. Stephen Okunev, *Aril'e*, 237; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 37; Čorović-Ljubinković, *Odras kulta sv. Stefana*, 53–54; Mijović, *Žiča*, 160–163; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 25–27; Todić, *Gračanica*, 127–128.

⁷⁹ A figure of St. Stephen was painted in 1208/1209 among the personages whose images decorated the entrance to Studenica monastery (probably close to Symeon Nemanja): *Blago manastira Studenice*, Beograd 1988, fig. 127, printed in reverse and identified as an archangel. This identification is corrected by D. Vojvodić, *Prilog poznavanju ikonografije i kulta sv. Stefana*, 553 and note 138.

⁸⁰ Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 73–74; Djurić, *Narthex de Chilandar*, 106, fig. 10.

⁸¹ The entire composition or just some of its parts were the object of interest of numerous scholars who wrote extensively on this subject: Djurić, *Tri događaja*, 68–76; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 31; Kisas, *Solun*, 38–39; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 118–122.

⁸² St. Georgios Gorgos was depicted quite seldom – except for Nagoričino, we find him also in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos (around 1320) and the Holy Archangels in Kastoria (1359–1360), endowments of Serbian ktetors, so that it is possible that his cult was widespread among the Serbs and especially venerated by king Milutin. This is also attested by the history of the monastery of St. Georgios Gorgos in Skoplje, provided for by Nemanja and renovated by king Milutin (*Spo-menici na Makedonija*, I, 93–247). On this type of St. Georgios and his cult cf. Dj. Bošković, *Problem manastira Sv. Djordja-Gorga na Seravi*, *Starinar* V–VI (1954–1955), 73–82; Τσιτουρίδου, Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ὁρφανός, 41–42; Kisas, *Solun*, 35–39. Above the figures of Milutin and Simonida in Gračanica, on the east wall of the narthex, Christ the Terrible Judge holds an open gospel book with the same text as in Nagoričino (Todić, *Gračanica*, 164, fig. 98); slightly earlier, this text was also inscribed on the open book in the hands of Christ appearing in the ktetor's composition in Ras, S. Mandić, *Drevnik*, 44–45.

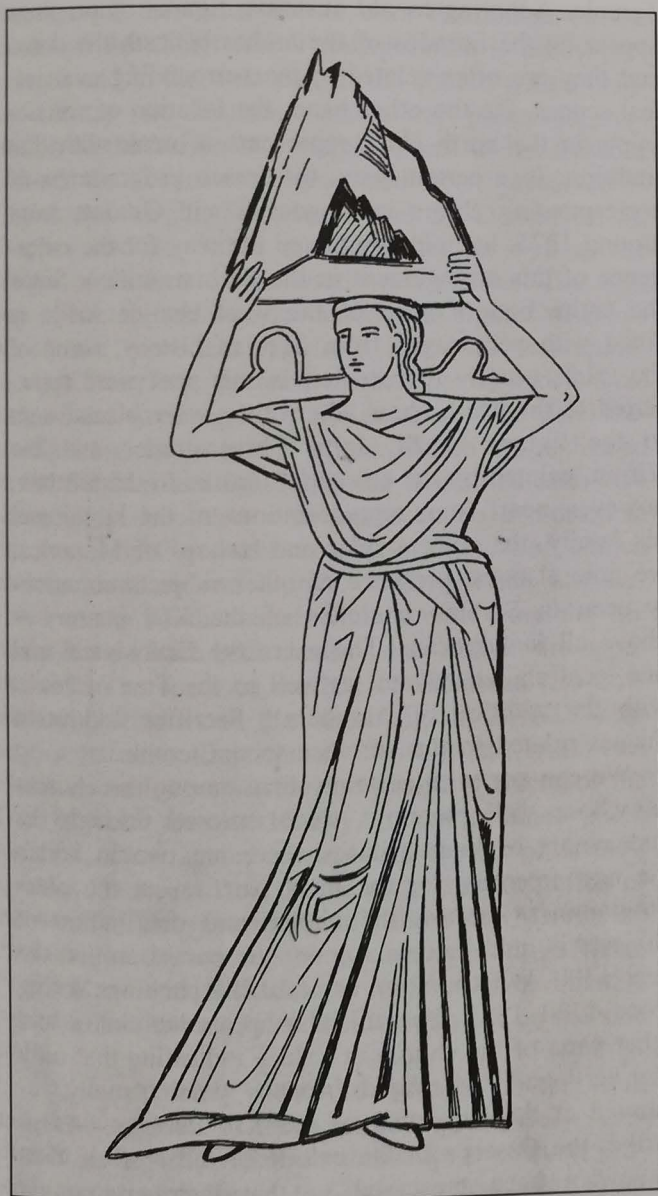
⁸³ On literary texts written in honour of Sts. Symeon and Sava in those days cf. D. Bogdanović, *Istorija stare srpske književnosti*, 169–175. The church dedicated to St. Sava in Lizica was raised by archbishop Nikodim (Arhiepiskop Danilo, *Životi*, 286).

⁸⁴ On the adoption of cults nurtured by the archbishopric of Ohrid Djurić, *L'art des Paléologues et l'Etat serbe*, 187–188; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 66; on the images of St. Clement and St. Constantine Kabasilas in Nagoričino, Todić,

Nagoričino, 126; C. Grozdanov, *Pojava i prodor portreta Klimenta Ohridskog u srednjovekovnoj umetnosti*, Zbornik LU 3, 1967, 49–64; Grozdanov, *Portreti*, 38–55. It is assumed that images of St. Clement of Ohrid appeared also in Mušutište and Kraljeva crkva, which can not be accepted unconditionally.

⁸⁵ Frescoes with the images of Prochor of Pčinja and Joachim of Osogovo are explained by Grozdanov, *Portreti*, 159–180 and Todić, *Nagoričino*, 25, 118.

THE IMAGE OF SACRED HISTORY



There is a pretty clear connection between XIII century painting and the tradition of the previous century, in programmes as well as in the domain of subject matter and iconography. Those solutions, ready made or somewhat reworked, were the heritage which the leading painters working around the middle of the XIII century passed on to the next generation of artists who carried out the great transformations in the art of the transition period around the year 1300. Painters working in the 1280's in Constantinople (St. Euphemia), Serbia (Gradac) or the provinces of Macedonia and Greece (Manastir near Prilep, St. John Kaneo in Ohrid, the monuments in Epirus, on the Aegean islands and on Peloponnesos), were still closely related to the art of the previous decades, although, at times, signs of a new art appeared even in their work, displayed through the introduction of rarely represented subjects or their different iconographic treatment. In several churches decorated towards the very end of the XIII century (St. Demetrios in Mistra, the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid or the Protaton on Mount Athos), the experience of earlier times was transformed into a new, different expression, fresh and appealing in the visual sense and with all the characteristics of an accomplished programmatic and iconographic whole. New themes appear in it, strongly imbued with poetic and liturgical influence. Already during the following decades, in the churches of Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Veria, Mount Athos and Serbia, it received its final classicist shape, with themes organised into distinct and discernible cycles. At the same time, this was one of the last great epochs of Byzantine art, open to new subjects and shapes and thus extremely creative.

Fresco Programmes

Serbian monuments decorated at the close of the XIII century hardly disclose anything of that new spirit, on the one hand because their frescoes are poorly preserved and on the other because of the small dimensions and the atypical architectural forms of these churches with specific programmes of decoration. Hence, the entire vault of Dragutin's modest chapel was reserved for representations of Serbian state assemblies while the bottom zone was signed over to the ktetor, his family and the reigning monarch, Milutin, with his wife and their ancestors. Thus, not enough free space remained for figures of saints or scenes: there is only one – the Holy Trinity – and even this one could in fact be associated with the assemblies and the royal portraits.¹ It seems that the programme of the third layer of frescoes in Petrova crkva, partly preserved as it is, owes its formulation to the presence of certain scenes on the older layer of wall paintings dating from XII century. Thus, figures of prophets and angels appear below Christ Pantokrator in the dome, a feature typical of XI–XII century art, while the upper zones of the naos are reserved strictly for representations of the Feasts. Apart from the old fashioned ktetor's composition, the lowest zone contains figures of holy monks, martyrs and doctors as well as a figure of St. John the Merciful, located above what may once have been the episcopal throne.²

The well preserved frescoes of Arilje (1295/1296) indicate that in Serbia, at the close of the XIII century, the standard programme was expanded with new subjects and solutions which were soon to become predominant in mural painting.³ In the altar, beside the standing figures of the bishops, we see the Communion of the Apostles, the Celebration of Holy Liturgy and several Feasts. The prothesis and the diaconicon served also as parekklesia with dedications of their own so that the one on the south has a well preserved cycle of St. Nicholas. The mixture of old and new elements is best represented in the naos. Figures of Old Testament prophets are painted between the windows in the drum of the dome but it is interesting to note that this group is reserved exclusively for the high priests. Generally speaking, figures of prophets assumed an important role in the churches of Milutin's era because they appear in the proximity of the altar, or within the sanctuary, as archetypes of New Testament ecclesiastics. They were also assigned a prominent role in announcing the coming of Christ,

so that, at times, they hold objects which symbolise the events to come. In Arilje, the so-called minor prophets were transferred to the lower zone of the drum, reduced only to half-figures, with the usual inscribed scrolls in their hands. As in other Serbian XIII century monuments, the ktetor's inscription is written out around the perimeter of the base of the dome. Apart from the date of painting of the frescoes, it also offers testimony that the Arilje church was decorated in the days of king Milutin and owing to the care of king Dragutin. Further down, below the pendentives decorated with images of the evangelists, there were scenes of the Feasts and Passion of Christ, along with two of the most significant scenes from the cycle of the Virgin, her Birth and Presentation in the Temple. Adhering to old customs, figures of prophets appear on the intrados of the arches beneath the dome and they are often related to the surrounding evangelical scenes. On the other hand, the location of warrior saints in the north choir represents a break with that tradition. In a certain way, the fresco programmes of corresponding choirs in Bogdašići and Gradac, from around 1275, had already paved the way for the emergence of this arrangement in the Serbian milieu. Since the entire bottom zone of the west bay of Arilje is filled with personages from Serbian history, some of the saints usually represented in this spot were transferred to the south choir where they were placed next to the figures of St. John Chrysostomos and the Virgin, painted by the episcopal throne. In the narthex, however, apart from representations of the ktetor and his family, the current ruler and bishops of Moravica, we note also the presence of other subjects commonly seen in Serbian churches of the XIII century – above all in Sopoćani. Those are the Ecumenical and one local church council as well as the Tree of Jesse, with the addition of Abraham's Sacrifice and other themes related to the entrance to the temple.

We can say with certainty that, among the churches whose wall paintings were restored through the endeavours of king Milutin, there are two in which the new frescoes, for the most part, repeat the older programmes because the choice and distribution of subjects is quite uncommon for the period around the year 1300. What's more, some of the paintings dating from 1220–1221 are still visible in the choirs and other parts of the church in Žiča – indicating that only the very badly damaged frescoes were actually repainted at the beginning of the XIV century.⁴ As in Arilje, the frescoes in the calotte of the apse of Žiča have not been preserved so that their programme remains unknown. Half-figures of church fathers in

the form of fresco-icons and figures of bishops celebrating the Holy Liturgy with angel-deacons accompanying them have remained in the lower parts. There were no scenes on the walls of the altar space but only single figures of bishops, two stylites by the apse and Old Testament high priests near the iconostasis. The subjects found in the space beneath the dome were certainly repeated from the older layer as, probably, were those of the dome with traces of the Ascension still visible. A rare choice of scenes appears below the pendentives: the Annunciation, Annunciation to Zachary, Last Supper, Mission of the Apostles (not preserved), Incredulity of Thomas and the Pentecost, as well as the figures of prophets which could not fit into the dome because of the Ascension. The rest of the Great Feasts were distributed on the vaults of the choirs (the Transfiguration is partly preserved) and in the west part of the church with a damaged Entry into Jerusalem and a well preserved Dormition of the Virgin still visible. Some of the frescoes around the iconostasis have also been preserved – Christ, the Virgin, St. George and St. Demetrios, St. Stephen and St. Sabas the Sanctified as well as the Virgin of Passion on the south-west pilaster. The west bay of the church was decorated with figures of saints which are more-less regularly found in that space: martyrs, warriors, doctors, monks, poets, and a Synaxis of the Archangels by the entrance. The parekklesia flanking the west end of the church are dedicated to St. Stephen and St. Sabas the Sanctified and were accordingly decorated with fresco cycles dedicated to the two saints as well as single figures of church prelates, martyrs and monks. A Crucifixion has survived in the south chapel while scenes from the life of the Virgin have been destroyed in that on the opposite side. The spacious narthex of Žiča was also covered with frescoes at the beginning of the XIV century; a narrative Baptism of Christ in the south-east corner is no longer visible, only modest traces of the Tree of Jesse remain. Finally, in the entrance porch we find, once again, an unusual choice of scenes: apostles Peter and Paul on the arch, the illustration of the parable "Be ye as children", the Forty Martyrs on the lake, the Christmas hymn, portraits of kings Stefan Prvovenčani and Radoslav as well as their charters issued to the monastery of Žiča written out on the side walls.

The incompletely preserved frescoes on the vault and the west wall of the west bay of the Holy Apostles in Peć, partly repainted in the XVII century, probably repeated those of the older cycle, dating from the second half of the XIII century, based on Passion

lections. Because this space was initially formed as a narthex, the distribution of scenes of Christ's Passion in it was not an uncommon thing at all. However, in Palaiologan art, this cycle was transferred to the naos, along with other cycles related to the gospels and liturgy, while the narthex was dominated by images based on poetic works tied to the feasts of Nativity and Resurrection and the services which preceded them. Therefore, scenes of Christ's Passion in the west bay of the church in Peć seem pretty archaic in the art of king Milutin's age. The large fresco-icons of the Virgin and St. Nicholas on the west wall are presumably related to the dedications of the former lateral parekklesia.⁵ On the other hand, although the figures of St. Constantine and Helena holding a cross between them kept their place on the west wall, due to a lack of space they were raised above the entrance and reduced only to half-figures. The group of Nemanjic monks located in the bottom zone of frescoes on the south wall is the last example of these figures being painted in a single line, one by the other.

The new choice and distribution of subjects were also adopted in the decoration of churches of small dimensions and simple spatial disposition. Judging by the very modest number of preserved frescoes in the church of the Virgin Hodegetria in Mušutište, we can only conclude that figures of the holy fathers of the church appeared in the altar space and those of holy women, doctors and warriors in the west part of the church.⁶ The still visible original frescoes from the church of St. Prochor of Pčinja show that, as usual, warriors were painted on the north wall of the naos, the Celebration of Holy Liturgy in the apse and an angel next to the iconostasis, indicating the initial dedication of the church. It seems that the more recent layer of frescoes dating from 1488/9 repeated literally the original early XIV century cycles of the Great Feasts, Passion and Miracles of Christ. This means that the small church of St. Prochor of Pčinja must have had quite an extensive programme.⁷ The original frescoes of the church of the Virgin in Sušica near Skoplje, single-naved and without a dome, are somewhat better preserved and they indicate that their programme was simple: the Virgin of Signs is located in the apse and below her is the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, with figures of church fathers spreading over to the altar walls as well; the Great Feasts were located on the vault and the upper parts of the walls while the lower zones were taken up by an extensive cycle dedicated to the Virgin. Standing figures appeared in the lowest zone, distributed according to a system devised in the early XIV century – holy bishops were

painted in the altar, warriors on the side walls of the naos and holy healers together with Constantine and Helena on the west wall.⁸ The novelty of Sušica has to do with the fact that the cycle dedicated to the patron saint of the church entered the naos, spreading all the way to the apse. There is also a sporadic appearance of medallions filled with half-figures of saints and connected by floral decoration. Seen already in earlier Byzantine art, such strings of medallions emerge again in the first decades of the XIV century, for example, in the church of the Chora in Constantinople. Practically the only surviving fragments of the entire decoration of Milutin's largest church, St. Stephen in Banjska, are medallions with half-figures of saints, mutually connected by a band forming the figure eight, located on the intrados of an arch on the west side of the space beneath the dome.⁹ The fresco decoration of the Annunciation church in Chilandar also reached us in an incomplete state of preservation which makes it difficult to reconstruct its initial contents. The programme of the altar space is easiest to perceive: apart from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, we see here a large number of half-figures and frontally positioned standing figures of church fathers, two angels on the arch in front of the apse (similar to the Chilandar katholikon) and an Ascension on the vault above the altar bay. The choice of frescoes surrounding the iconostasis is very interesting. We see the figures of apostles Peter and Paul beneath an Annunciation scene and that of St. Demetrios above it. John the Prodromos and St. Theodore of Stoudios appear on the walls. The bottom zone of the naos is preserved to a measure which just allows us to discern the presence of figures of holy monks, anchorites and poets, as well as an absence of other personages usually painted in this space.¹⁰

Following the first monuments decorated in the new fashion, in which the new subjects appeared only sporadically, new ideas emerged in full glow between 1309 and 1313 in Bogorodica Ljeviška and introduced great conceptual changes to the programmes of Serbian churches. Even the standard subjects in the altar and the naos, where changes were usually more scarce and more carefully performed, now received many new forms. Painters put in great efforts and knowledge, both personal and that based on experiences of their predecessors and contemporaries, in order to unfold an extensive programme on the walls of this Prizren church.¹¹ They decorated the apse with a solitary figure of the Virgin and placed below her the central part of the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. They transferred the subjects characteristic of apsidal

decoration – angels bearing spheres and liturgical objects, the Communion of the Apostles, church fathers with unfolded scrolls and candle bearing deacons – into the deep altar space. The diaconicon apse was filled with a half-figure of John the Prodromos, that of the prothesis with an image of Jesus Christ, while the upper parts of the altar were reserved for the Ascension and parts of liturgical cycles dedicated to the Passion, miracles and resurrection appearances of Christ. Alongside the scenes of the Great Feasts, all these cycles extended into the naos. The five domes are decorated with half-figures of Christ and below them those of angels, prophets and the Old Testament righteous. The evangelists on the pendentives beneath the central dome are deeply engrossed in the writing of their texts and inspired by Divine Wisdom, represented in the guise of an angel. The piers in the naos are covered with numerous images of Christ and the Virgin, at times with very interesting epithets, as well as with figures of holy women, doctors, martyrs. The passage leading into the narthex is taken up by the apostles Peter and Paul with Christ Emmanuel blessing them from above. The wide aisles were also decorated with frescoes and the better preserved ones in the south aisle show that, originally, Bogorodica Ljeviška must have been decorated with an exceptionally large number of scenes. That part of the church formed a separate parekklesion – just as the one on the north must have had its own patron saint, too. Therefore, it was decorated in an appropriate manner, especially its altar space: the Virgin of Signs was placed in the top register of the apse, the Celebration of Holy Liturgy below it, while the bay preceding the altar was filled with scenes from the cycle of St. Nicholas. Further west, the vaults were covered with representations of Ecumenical Councils and single figures of saints. Of the decoration of the north aisle only the figures of the lowest zone remain today. Those of holy monks are predominant among them while figures of warriors, holy women or the Virgin with Christ are not as numerous. The entire narthex is covered with portraits of the Nemanjids so that some of the themes usually found in this space (Ecumenical Councils) have been transferred to the south aisle or the open exonarthex. There we find the Last Judgement with many details, an equally extensive Baptism of Christ and themes related to the celebration of the Virgin: "The Prophets from Above", Damascene's Kanon of the Dormition and the Tree of Jesse. The bottom zone is reserved for images of Serbian archbishops and local bishops of Prizren. Personifications of the Old and the New Church at the entrance consti-

tute a prologue to this complex programme, never before seen in ancient Serbian or even Byzantine art. It continues on the floor above the narthex with numerous images of Christ, the Virgin, angels, martyrs, stylites and illustrations of didactic stories adopted from literary works. The programmes of the parekklesia of St. Demetrios and St. George create the true impression of small-scale churches, complete with eucharistic themes, cycles of their holy patrons and the figures of these saints above the entrances as well as a number of figures of other saints on their walls.

Such a number of subjects, distributed with utmost care and imbued with a sophisticated iconography, is a conspicuous manifestation of the new art which was gaining in predominance in both Byzantium and Serbia at the beginning of the XIV century. After Bogorodica Ljeviška, it continued to spread and grow ever richer in iconography in the other endowments of king Milutin. The frescoes of the church of St. George in Staro Nagoričino, painted between 1315 and 1317, offer the same narrative and complex image of Christian history based on liturgical rites and theological writings. Perfect order, systematic exposition and fine blending between subjects grace a large number of Nagoričino frescoes.¹² The importance and mystique of the altar space is underlined not only by the large number of images of holy bishops but also by those of the Virgin with Christ and the angels, the Communion of the Apostles and Celebration of Holy Liturgy as well as the opening and closing scenes of liturgical cycles from the naos. The image of heaven is conveyed by Christ Pantokrator supported by angles and the Celestial Liturgy in the calotte of the dome, the prophets in the drum and the evangelists inspired by personifications of Divine Wisdom on the pendentives. Apart from images of Old Testament prophets, high priests and righteous men, the naos also contains New Testament cycles of the Great Feasts, Christ's Miracles and Parables, Resurrection Appearances and Passion. As opposed to these, the cycle of the patron saint, St. George, was restricted only to the naos, another novelty of early XIV century art. The lowest zone is filled with figures of apostles, holy warriors and other martyrs, while the space surrounding the iconostasis with its fresco icons of the Virgin and St. George shows a specific choice of subjects tied to the Virgin, Christ, the archangels, St. John the Prodromos and St. Nicholas, the Annunciation and Old Testament prophets who heralded the coming of Christ into this world. The programmes of the small corner domes differ from those of Bogorodica Ljeviška: the two eastern domes are filled with half-figures of the four evangelists and

figures of the holy fathers of the church below them while the Old Testament righteous and kings, Christ's ancestors in the flesh, appear in the two domes above the west end of the church. Compared to the Prizren church, the narthex is also different: all of its vaults and upper parts of the walls are covered with representations of the fixed feasts of the ecclesiastical calendar. Underneath the Dormition of the Virgin we find the usual figures of holy doctors, monks, poets, Constantine and Helena as well as a multitude of the ktetor's intercessors before Christ. The diaconicon and prothesis served also as parekklesia, dedicated to St. Nicholas and the Virgin, and were decorated, accordingly, with their cycles. The prothesis also displays a Celebration of Holy Liturgy while many figures of holy monks appear in the diaconicon.

The fresco decoration of the Annunciation church in Gračanica is accomplished entirely in the new spirit of extensive rendering of the story of the coming of Christ into this world, the Old Testament prophecies of that event, Christ's Ministry and the Passion he suffered on earth, his Resurrection and Second Coming, and of the numerous images of his followers who built themselves into the new Church through their deeds or by the blood of their martyrdom. All this is mostly based on solutions devised in Nagoričino and even Bogorodica Ljeviška. Nevertheless, the novelties which Gračanica brings are not inconsiderable at all and, in fact, they seem to round off the great wealth of subjects rendered in Milutin's churches. The choir is filled with familiar scenes – the Virgin with angles and Christ Emmanuel, too, surrounded by seraphims hovering above her, the Communion of the Apostles, Celebration of Holy Liturgy as well as a series of whole and half-figures of church fathers and scenes tied to Old Testament archetypes of the Church and the Virgin as well as those of the Virgin's life before and ending with the Annunciation. While there were no particular novelties in the decoration of the main dome (Christ Pantokrator, Celestial Liturgy, prophets, evangelists), and the smaller domes repeated the programmes of corner domes of Nagoričino, although with a somewhat more differentiated choice of Old Testament patriarchs and kings, new scenes and numerous iconographic additions appeared in the already well known cycles of the Great Feasts, ministry of Christ, his Miracles and Parables as well as his Passion and Resurrection Appearances. The calendar cycle of fixed feasts spread from the narthex into the naos, and the number of Old Testament personages was suddenly enlarged, too. The entire church interior is encircled with a row half-figures of saints





among whom those of the forty martyrs of Sebastea are singled out in the nave. The bottom zone of this space is taken up by holy warriors, who appear on the lateral walls, and figures of holy doctors, Constantine and Helena and St. Sava the Serbian on the west wall. The space surrounding the iconostasis and the supposed episcopal throne displays an interesting choice of holy personages. Together with several calendar scenes, most of the wall space in the narrow narthex is reserved for the Last Judgement and portraits of the ktetor, king Milutin, and his ancestors. Two Old Testament scenes are also found in this space – Job on the dump and prophet Elijah Killing the Priests of Baal – as well as half-figures of monks. Images of martyrs and holy women appear in the two lateral passages. Of the two parekklesia flanking the altar, the one on the north is dedicated to St. Nicholas, decorated with a befitting cycle of this saint, while that on the south, in which we find the Vision of Peter of Alexandria, displays quite an unusual choice of Old and New Testament scenes. The apses of both parekklesia are decorated with representations of Celebration of Holy Liturgy, surmounted by images of the Virgin (south) and John the Prodromos (north), while their walls are covered with a large number of figures of the most venerated monks who could not fit into the narthex or the western part of the naos. The programme of the space above the narthex is only partly preserved: apart from the Presentation of Christ (?) and the Virgin in the Temple, we find the figures of Old Testament high priests, Moses, Aaron, Zachary and Samuel, those of stylites and monks. In this multitude of representations in Gračanica it is still possible to discern the subjects which served as the kernels around which the single figures of saints were grouped, precisely those which were the focus of interest of the painters, the ktetors and their counselors not only in Serbia but in contemporary Byzantine churches as well. This shows how open the Serbian milieu was to Byzantine trends and how ready it was to embrace novelties arriving from Constantinople and Thessaloniki, undoubtedly the leading cultural centres of the Orthodox world in the first decades of the XIV century.¹³

The programme of the katholikon of Hilandar, the frescoes of which are of the same date as those of Gračanica, is quite similar to the programmes of other leading monuments of the age while its own idiosyncrasies are expressed only through the appearance of somewhat uncommon scenes and saints. By comparing the frescoes of Hilandar with the well preserved decoration of Vatopedi (1313) or the somewhat older

paintings of the Protaton (around 1300), we can conclude that the Athonite milieu did not formulate its own particular programme of church decoration. The art cultivated in its monasteries at the beginning of the XIV century is only a part of the general artistic trend present throughout the Orthodox world, probably as a result of the crucial impulses disseminated from Constantinople and Thessaloniki. The appearance of local characteristics in any given milieu was natural and so it happened that in Athonite churches images of holy monks and their cycles, especially those of the holy men of Mount Athos which were otherwise far less often represented outside its reaches, were given a very prominent place. Although the fresco decoration of Hilandar was almost entirely covered by a new layer of wall paintings in 1803, the random spots cleaned in our time show that its programme, and often also the composition of the scenes and the appearance of figures, did not undergo any changes at that time.¹⁴ The apse is dominated by a figure of the Virgin Platytera while the arch in front of the apse is taken up by Christ Emmanuel and two archangels, as in the Hilandar church of the Annunciation. The apse also contains a Communion of the Apostles and two forms of Celebration of Holy Liturgy as well as a Mission of the Apostles and Christ parting from the apostles on the Mount of Olives. This heralds the appearance of a considerably enlarged number of scenes in the altar of Hilandar: apart from the Ascension of Christ on the vault, the north and south wall were decorated respectively with representations of the Last Supper and Washing of the Feet while, in addition to those found in the apse, five more scenes based on Passion lections appeared in the altar space. Numerous images of holy fathers of the church were included in the programme of the prothesis along with the Celebration of Holy Liturgy and two Old Testament scenes of eucharistic nature: the righteous Abraham Welcomes the Three Angels and the Hospitality of Abraham (Holy Trinity). The diaconicon is decorated with mostly frontally positioned figures of holy bishops, a Celebration of Holy Liturgy, Vision of Peter of Alexandria and two New Testament scenes: Road to Emmaus and Supper in Emmaus, the latter deliberately placed in the apse. The naos is surmounted by a dome with an image of Christ Pantokrator in its summit, surrounded by representations of celestial powers and a Celestial Liturgy, while twelve prophets stand between the windows of the drum. Evangelists were painted on the pendentives and Great Feasts on the vaults of the arms of the cross. Old Testament prophets, the Annunciation, the Anapason and one of Christ's sermons were

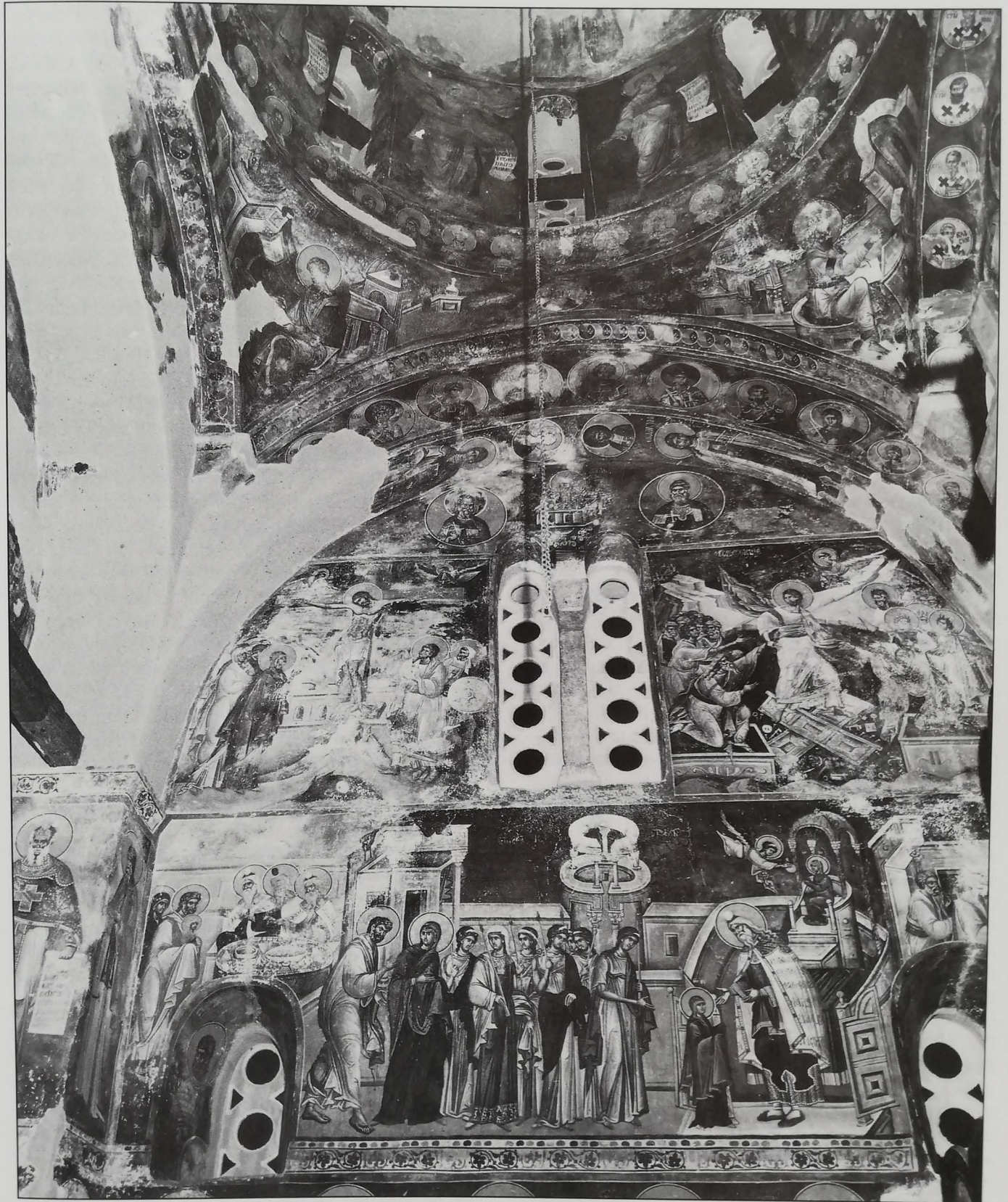
represented around the iconostasis. The uppermost parts of the lateral conchs are taken up by the Baptism and the Lamentation, while the uppermost zones of the naos walls are reserved for scenes of Passion which – in the north-east corner – blend into scenes of the Passion lections spreading all the way to the altar. On the lateral walls, the zone decorated with illustrations of the miracles, sermons and parables of Christ is interrupted by the two most important scenes from the cycle of the Virgin, her Birth and Presentation in the Temple, located in the north and south conch. The Dormition is located on the west wall of the naos and below it are depictions of events from the Virgin's childhood and youth. In the lowest zone of the naos we see a somewhat greater number of holy monks so that the companies of holy warriors had to be moved into the east part of the choirs. Together with the figures of apostles Peter and Paul, Constantine and Helena and the Synaxis of the Archangels, the space around the entrance is dominated by a large half-figure of Christ the Gate painted above the central doorway. Finally, in the space surrounding Nemanja's original tomb we find a gathering of the ktetors of Chilandar, St. Symeon, St. Sava and king Milutin, with St. Stephen the Protomartyr blessing this procession. The representation most important for the ktetor is located on the east wall of the narthex: the Virgin with Christ on her lap, surrounded by angels, being addressed by St. Symeon Nemanja and St. Sava with king Milutin, blessed by St. Stephen, offering her the donor's chrysobuls through the intercession of the Byzantine emperor, Andronikos II. On the opposite wall, we find a portrait of Andronikos III, painted immediately after he had become his grandfather's co-regent in 1320. Soon after Milutin's death (October 29th, 1321), a portrait of his son Stephen and apparently that of Dušan were painted on a new layer of mortar. Other scenes on this wall were chosen with equal care: Wisdom Hath Builded Her House (probably an allusion to Milutin's construction of the Chilandar church), the Crucifixion and the Prayer of St. John Chrysostomos. Another significant subject, the Incarnation of Christ, was illustrated through a series of its Old Testament archetypes, either in the guise of the deeds or simply the single figures of his forefathers, located in and beneath the domes raised above the west part of the narthex. All the vaults were covered with scenes from the lives of celebrated monks, primarily those of their miracles, while the walls were taken up by the holy martyrs, doctors and monks, including those who lived in asceticism in the monasteries and deserts of Mount Athos.

The extent of fresco programmes from the first decades of the XIV century and their dependence on liturgical lections is exemplified also by the well preserved wall paintings of the more modest churches raised by king Milutin. The tiny Kraljeva crkva in Studenica, dedicated to Sts. Joachim and Anne, with its simple and harmonious architecture, contains an exceptionally rich and interesting programme of frescoes.¹⁵ Its apse is taken up by three compositions: the enthroned Virgin with Christ and the angels, the Communion of the Apostles and the Celebration of Holy Liturgy (the most significant part of which, the Amnos, was singled out within a separate apsidal niche), and throughout the altar space there are figures of church fathers with or without their unrolled scrolls. In Studenica, too, parts of cycles dedicated to the Great Feasts and the Virgin, which took up most of the naos space, made an incursion into the sanctuary. Going a step further from Nagoričino, the Pantokrator in the dome is surrounded not by angels but by presentations of powers from the vision of Ezekiel, along with the Celestial Liturgy and the prophets between the window openings in the drum. Below them, however, stand the half-figures of the Virgin's ancestors, beginning with Adam and Eve and ending with king Manasseh. Because of the restricted space, the choice of figures in the bottom zone had to be considerably abridged while, at the same time, the entire south wall was reserved for the representation of Milutin offering his church to Christ and the north for those of St. Symeon and St. Sava, the king's intercessors before the Virgin and Christ. For those reasons even the smallest bit of wall space was filled with half or full-length figures of apostles, martyrs, stylites, doctors and poets.

The church of St. Nikita near Skoplje has an even more extensive programme of fresco decoration, less dedicated to the celebration of the Virgin but, nonetheless, just as involved in the progressive currents of contemporary Serbian and Byzantine art. Most of the new frescoes painted in this church in 1484 did not disturb the original programme for, regardless of the wall spaces still covered with paintings of this later date, it is still easily discernible.¹⁶ Subjects tied to the Eucharist are singled out in the altar space, where the standing figure of the Virgin flanked by two angels is accompanied by a Communion of the Apostles and Celebration of Holy Liturgy – with a large number of church fathers, even those who are otherwise rarely represented in this composition, taking part in it – as well as a number of Old Testament scenes and high priests and the Vision of Peter of Alexandria. As in a



29
Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, Frescoes in the south part of the church, 1318–1319



number of other contemporary churches, scenes related to Passion lections also appear in the altar space. Of the older frescoes in the dome, only some of the prophets and evangelists below them remain, again not all, as well as the Mandelion and Keramion. The vaults were covered with scenes of the Feasts and the walls, going from top to bottom, with cycles related to Christ, his Passion, Miracles and other deeds on earth. The fresco decoration around the iconostasis is rather similar to that of the Chilandar katholikon. One of Christ's sermons and an Anapeson take up the front faces of the two piers while the lowest zone is reserved for Christ the Merciful and the Virgin Suppliant. In their immediate midst we find the patron saint of the church singled out under a painted arch. Beside him, in the space beneath the dome, we find the figures of other holy warriors not only on this but on the opposite, south wall as well. In the west part of the church, the zone closest to the ground is filled with images of holy monks, including those of St. Symeon Nemanja and St. Sava. The archangels Michael and Gabriel and apostles Peter and Paul, usually represented around entrances, have been moved deeper into the naos and placed on the piers.

The well known programme of fresco decoration of domed churches, distributed with a rarely disregarded regularity, underwent a number of alterations when applied to structures without domes such as the church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki and that of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim, where the miniature dome above the transverse vault is extremely small and unusual in appearance. The distribution of frescoes in the central part of the church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos is similar to that of the Saviour's church in Veria (1315) but also has its isiosyncrasies.¹⁷ The Virgin, bearing the epithet *Acheiropoiitos*, and the archangels surrounding her filled the apse so that the remaining space below them could only hold the Celebration of Holy Liturgy while the Communion of the Apostles was moved to the walls flanking the apse. The altar space was also decorated with a rather large number of evangelical scenes related to Christ's Nativity and his Passion while the walls of the naos were designated for scenes of the Great Feasts, Christ's Passion, representations of the evangelists, painted on the intrados of arches opening towards the side aisles, and half-figures of holy doctors and warriors in the bottom zone. As in Chilandar, apart from Christ and the Virgin, the walls surrounding the iconostasis are decorated with figures of John the Prodromos and John the Theologian. The miracles of Christ were placed in the south aisle, together with

Old Testament archetypes of the Virgin and a cycle of St. Gerasimos. Apart from representations of holy women, the north aisle is dominated by the Akathistos of the Virgin, a new subject in Byzantine wall painting. The cycle of the patron saint, St. Nicholas, is located in the narthex the programme of which was originally dominated by illustrations of the calendar. Images of holy monks were also painted here while St. Nicholas, the Virgin with Christ and apostles Peter and Paul were represented around the entrance. While most of the frescoes in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos follow the familiar solutions of Byzantine and Serbian early XIV century church art, their distribution and iconography is quite specific in many respects.

Although badly damaged, the frescoes in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim River still allow us to note that the vaults and walls of this small building were originally decorated only with scenes of the Great Feasts and that their content was imbued with a new spirit. The altar space was covered with a choice of representations conformed to its symbolic meaning and significance while all the others were located in the naos of the church. The apse also received a figure of the Virgin with Christ surrounded by angels and figures of church fathers from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy in its lowest zone. The cycle of Christ's Passion on the walls of the narthex probably owes its location in this space to an older layer of frescoes of identical contents, as is the case with the repainted ktetor's composition. On the other hand, portraits of bishops of Hum and heads of the Serbian church and state, archbishop Nikodim and king Milutin with members of his family, make their first appearance on the walls of the narthex only at this point in time.¹⁸

Even this brief canvass of fresco programmes found churches of Milutin's age reveals how extended their range of subjects is when compared to that found in Serbian art of the first half and middle of the XIII century. It is also obvious that the period around the turn of the XIV century was precisely the turning point in the quest for new solutions, a phenomenon parallel to contemporary currents in Byzantine art. Although Arilje was still tied to the traditions of the XIII century, the transfer of illustrations of Passion lections to the space beneath the dome in the naos announced the introduction of other cycles to this part of the church. A departure from tradition is also sensed in the placing of figures of Old Testament high priests in the dome. True, their unusual location will not be repeated in subsequent monuments but these figures will regularly appear either in the proximity of

altar screens or in altar spaces of churches. Thus, knowing that one of the most important characteristics of XIV century painting is a frequent employ of Old Testament subjects in the function of "historiating" New Testament events and those tied to liturgical rites, their very appearance in Arilje can already be regarded as a significant novelty. The above mentioned Old Testament scenes were usually placed in the narthex (for example in Bogorodica Ljeviška, Žiča, Gračanica and Chilandar). At times they also appeared in other parts of the church, usually in the altar space, as in Gračanica, St. Nikita and elsewhere. Besides, the narthex was always open for the incursion of new subjects – those inspired by the Old and the New Testament, poetry, hagiography, history, eschatology – the didactic nature of which was more-less clearly expressed. They often served as an introduction to the liturgical paintings in the naos and the altar. The programmes of those spatial units usually held on to subjects already seen there in earlier times although some cycles previously rarely represented on those locations do emerge in these parts of the church. Apart from the Great Feasts, illustrations of Christ's Miracles, Parables, Sermons, Passion and Resurrection Appearances now become almost standard. They emerge already in Arilje and after that in Bogorodica Ljeviška, Nagoričino, Chilandar, Gračanica and St. Nikita. Hagiographic cycles are also included in the decoration of the naos (Sušica, Nagoričino, Kraljeva crkva, Chilandar) and the altar (Gračanica). They are also still frequently encountered in the parekklesia of Arilje, Žiča, Bogorodica Ljeviška, Nagoričino and Gračanica. Even those parts of the church which could hardly have been expected to adopt novelties were enriched with previously rarely represented subjects: the altar spaces of Gračanica and St. Nikita received a larger number of Old Testament scenes and the domes of Nagoričino, Kraljeva crkva, Gračanica and Chilandar were filled with liturgical subjects. Either under the influence of texts read during church services and the teachings of Byzantine and Serbian literature or as a result of emulation of far older works of art, some scenes were enlarged with extensive prologues, epilogues and other addenda. Because of all that, the art of this age was greatly changed, it became at once very narrative and laden with deeper meanings. However, this sort of broad elaboration was implemented with much care and harmony, usually by grouping scenes around several basic themes according to principles which were often determined by liturgical practices. Because of that, the number of subject was considerably enlarged, they were accom-

panied by long inscriptions, their iconography became more complex and they often blended into one another in order to convey the harmony of the Old and the New Testament and the two worlds, the celestial and the earthly, of Christ's Incarnation and his Sacrifice, of the mystery of the Eucharist and His Second Coming.

Representations of the Lord's Dwelling

From the art of earlier epochs, the painting of Milutin's age adopted and further developed the idea of the celestial world, depicting it most often in domes and expressing it through the employ of an iconography entirely imbued with liturgical meanings.¹⁹ The focal point of this formula was Christ Pantokrator surrounded by hosts of celestial powers, prophets and various saints. This pattern conveyed the image of Celestial Jerusalem and underlined the significance of Christ's Old and New Testament epiphany. That theme was predominant in Komnenian art and was adopted by Palaiologan painting from that source.

In each of king Milutin's churches, except Žiča, Christ Pantokrator, the image of eternal God constantly venerated by angles in heaven and by men on earth, the one who revealed Himself in the words or visions of the prophets and the one who at one point became Incarnated, is represented in the calotte of the central dome. Although the fresco decoration of their calottes is now missing, such images of Him must also have been painted in Arilje and St. Nikita. In churches with lateral domes, Christ was represented there as well: in Bogorodica Ljeviška he appears in the guise of Emmanuel, Ancient of Days, the Archpriest and "in his own age",²⁰ thus in forms in which He revealed Himself to men, either in their visions or in the flesh. According to medieval concepts best expressed by Pseudo-Dionysos the Areopagite, in his Dwelling, God is surrounded by nine angelic orders. This idea is reflected in the art of Milutin's age: in the church of the Virgin Parigoritissa in Arta (around 1290) and in the katholikon of Chilandar monastery the bust of Christ Pantokrator is surrounded by the different orders of angels.²¹ Emulating the model set by Bogorodica Ljeviška, the small domes of Gračanica retained their celestial connotation and had images of the Thrones, Seraphim and Angels painted on their pendentives while in Chilandar the total picture is lost due to the omission of the different guises of Christ and their replacement with images of the evangelists bearing written testimonies of His Incarnation.²² In some churches of Milutin's era, the simple images of

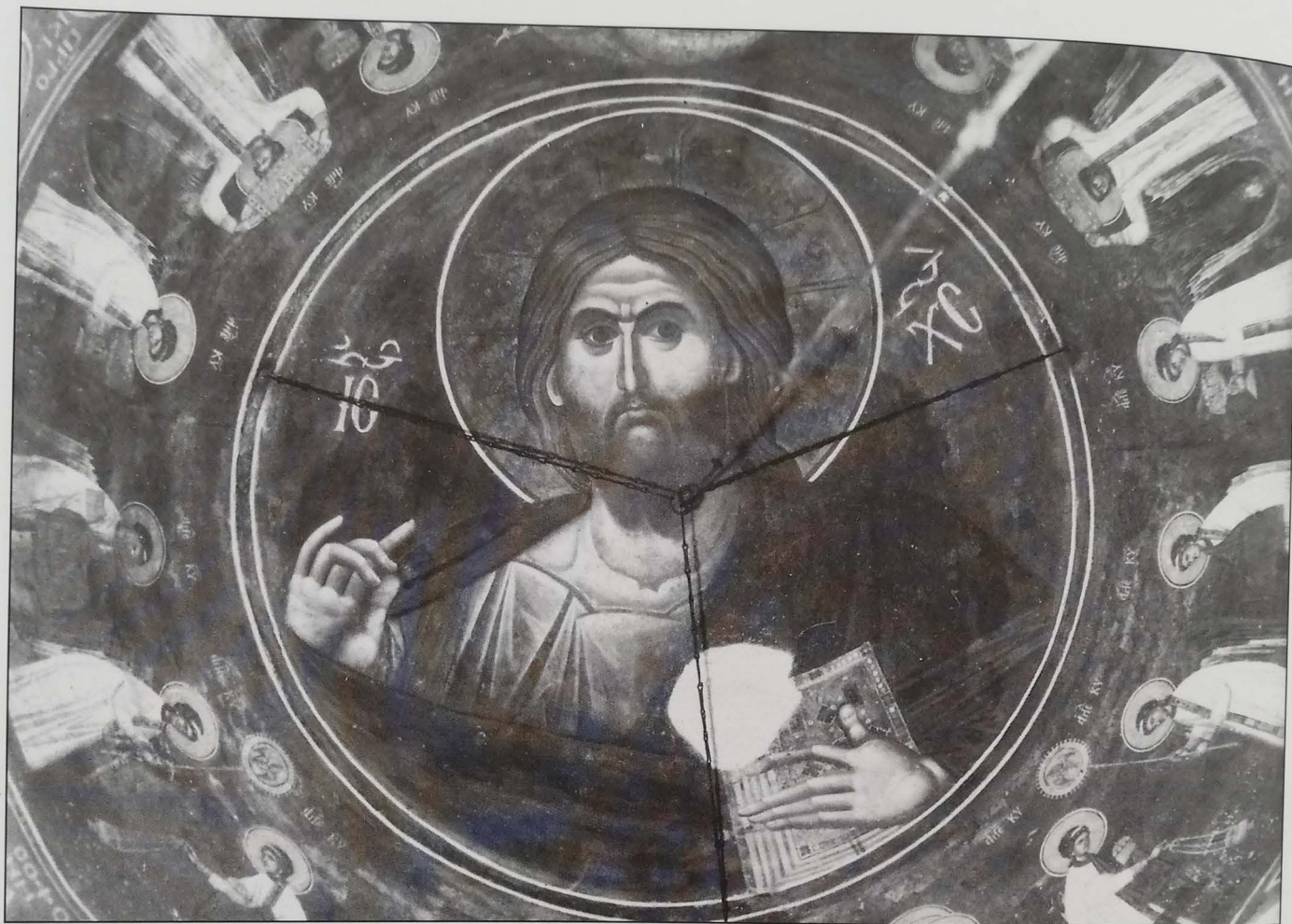




31
Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška,
Frescoes in the central dome, 1309–1313

32
Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Angel with a scroll
in the central dome, 1309–1313*

Christ set in medallions received significant additions which heralded His Cherubic throne, an idea certainly based on Old Testament visions. In Kraljeva crkva the Pantokrator is surrounded by the seraph, the angel and the eagle from Ezekiel's vision of God in heaven (Ezekiel 1, 4–11), the ox and the lion are damaged. Once books were placed in their hands they became the symbols of the evangelists for it was the celestial powers who transmitted the image of God to men before whom He was to appear Incarnate, as attested by the writings of the evangelists. In Bogorodica Ljeviška and Staro Nagoričino, Christ Pantokrator is surrounded by a divine blue light with angels hovering among its rays. In their flight they





33
Gračanica,
Christ Pantokrator and the Celestial Liturgy, 1319–1321

34
Gračanica, *Celestial Liturgy*, detail, 1319–1321

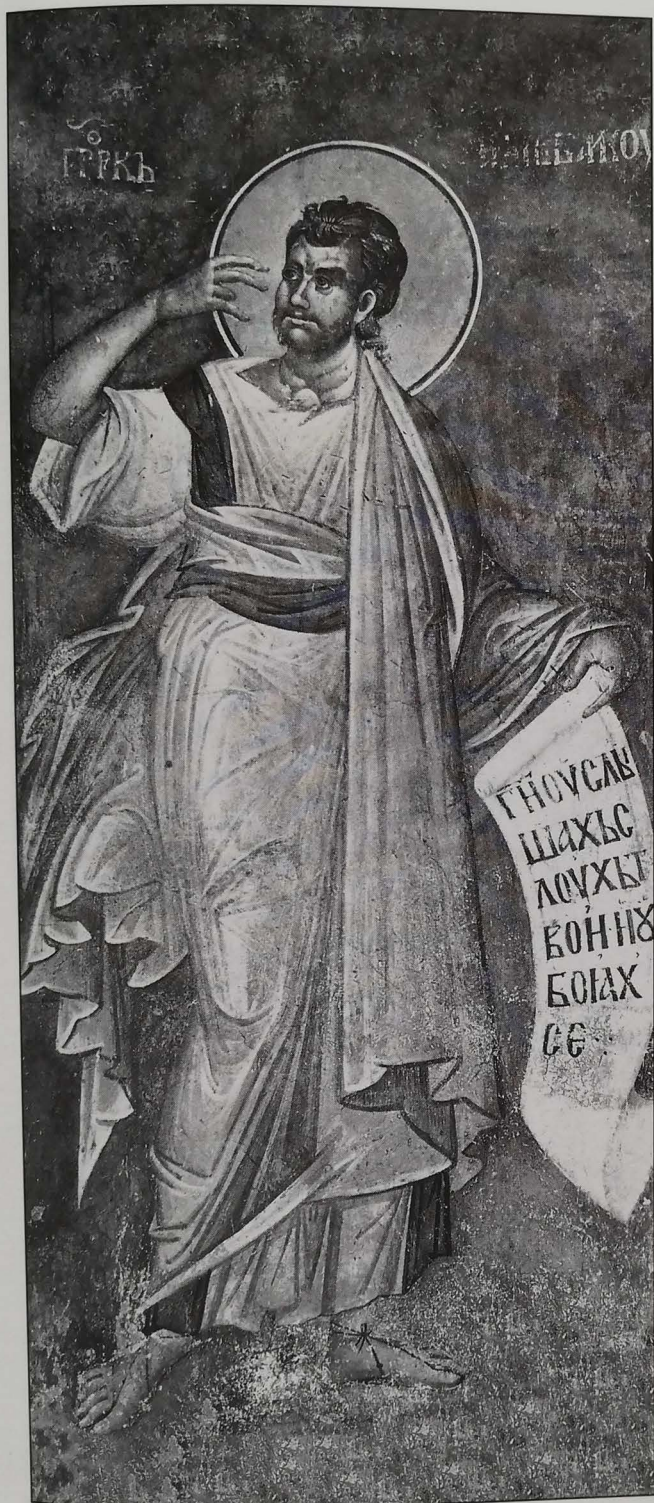
35
Gračanica, *Celestial Liturgy*, detail, 1319–1321

celebrate the Lord and pass on to the prophets the words which they proclaim to the people.³³ During this age, the image of Christ on His Cherubic throne, adopted from prophetic visions (Isaiah 6, 2–3), is going to appear several times: twice in Gračanica, in the apex of the apse and in the ktetor's composition, as well as in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, as a part of the illustration of the Akathistos of the Virgin (verse 15) and certainly inspired by the verses of this hymn. In Arilje, the bright red colour surrounding Christ in the Vision of Peter of Alexandria and in scenes of benediction of the ktetor and his children is a sign of his divine energy.³⁴

In conveying the celestial realm, the Serbian mil-

ieu was quick to adopt and develop with creativity the novelties reaching it from Byzantine cultural and spiritual centres. This is best observed in the case of the Celestial Liturgy, the oldest fresco representation of which has been preserved in Staro Nagoričino. Gradually but nonetheless promptly, from one monument to the next, it received new elements and deeper meanings.²⁵ It is well known that comparisons between earthly and celestial liturgy have a long history, the concordance of one and the other is underlined in words and church rites, priests are likened to angels and earthly rites seen only as a reflection, an "image" of those performed around the Throne of God in heaven.²⁶ The Celestial Liturgy in Staro Nagoričino is still without a representation of the Amnos on the altar and, what's more, it is actually based on older depictions of celestial powers gathered around the Pantokrator. However, the celestial duality of the event is underlined by the inclusion of the Cherubim and the Thrones in the procession of angel-deacons carrying liturgical objects, probably under direct influence of the Trisagion hymn in which the other celestial orders are mentioned alongside the angels who celebrate God: "O Holy God, who retest in the holies, unto whom the seraphim sing the thrice-holy song, whom the cherubim glorify, and all the heavenly hosts adore". In Kraljeva crkva the Celestial Liturgy is better preserved. The Amnos is still missing but we do see two groups of archangels and angel-deacons bearing rhyphidia and other liturgical instruments in their hands or above their heads as they approach the altar tables surmounted by baldachinos. As in Nagoričino, this scene is very similar to the Great Entrance, a liturgical rite during which the sacred offerings are carried in a solemn circular procession from the prothesis, through the naos, to the altar on which they are laid out. In Gračanica, the scene is even more like the actual rite performed in the church: here, too, we find two altar tables. One is empty and covered by a baldachino, reminiscent of that of the prothesis whence the sacred offerings had come from. They are now being carried in the hands or above the heads of angel-deacons greeted by censer bearing angels at the entrance to the altar. On the other altar table, however, we find the reclining figure of Amnos, surrounded by a multitude of angels and guarded by a labarum bearing cherub. In Chilandar, the Celestial Liturgy had a similar appearance. There, however, the Pantokrator was surrounded by all the angelic orders.²⁷ Thus, in less than a decade, in Serbian churches the image of angelic liturgy taking place in heaven was given its most important features and clear meanings.

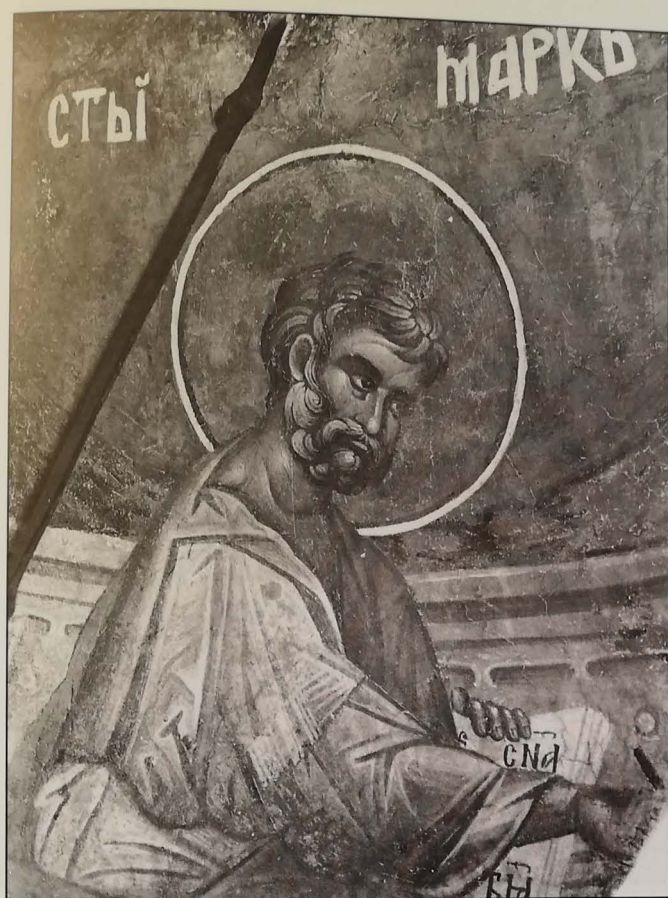




The learned counsellors of king Milutin who came from the highest ecclesiastical circles were responsible for this transformation of the old image of heaven achieved through an introduction of a series of novel elements. According to medieval concepts, before the coming of Christ into this world it was impossible for mankind, which had fallen into sin, to see and celebrate God. The only exceptions were the few elect righteous men or prophets who did see him in their visions, listened to him and passed on to other men his messages or the truth about him. Because of that, they were regularly represented below the Pantokrator in the dome, together with the texts of their prophecies or the objects which were the symbols of events to come. Most often, the churches of Milutin's age adopted this formula. Except for testimonies of divine epiphanies or messages, the texts written out on their scrolls rarely reveal any other specific intentions. On the other hand, it was precisely the desire to convey as much as possible through a given image, often in the language of symbols or personifications, that initiated the representation of prophets in the moment of reception of divine inspiration. At times, in Nagoričino for example, only the rays of light from Christ's mandorla stretch out in their direction. In other instances, in Bogorodica Ljeviška for example, angels surging forth from Christ land before the prophets handing them their inscribed scrolls, in fact, the very words which they must deliver to the people.²⁸ In this Prižren church, only prophet Isaiah is approached by a seraph offering him a spoon with live coals, as in his vision (Isaiah 6, 6–7), by which God purged him and made him fit to prophesise, so that his is the only figure raising its head up in great excitement.

The apostles were witnesses of the New Testament teophany and some of them – the evangelists – described in words the Incarnation of Christ, his sacrifice and foundation of the Church on earth. For those reasons, throughout time and, of course, in the days of king Milutin, too, they usually appear on pendentives, beneath the image of Christ Pantokrator, in the act of writing their gospels. Christ's epiphany before men in his carnal hypostasis was only a part of Divine Providence because through his Incarnation heaven and earth, the celestial and the earthly world, were united (Gregory of Nyssa, IV century) and, in the exegesis of Psuedo-Dionysos the Areopagite, the mystery of the Incarnation of Christ was announced first to the angels and through them delivered to the people.²⁹ Although the prophets saw this mystery only in its hidden form, XIV century painters, emulating Early Christian models, placed gospel books in the





hands of incorporeal beings thus uniting once again the two Testaments. The eagle and the angel surrounding the Pantokrator in Kraljeva crkva hold books and are thus transformed into symbols and Old Testament images of the evangelists. In some of the other churches, however, the divine inspiration of the evangelists is rendered in a more precisely defined manner, as an act of Divine Wisdom: in Bogorodica Ljeviška Divine Wisdom is represented in the form of angels landing before the evangelists and offering them scrolls, while in Staro Nagoričino and St. Nikita images of the Divine Wisdom herself are painted right by the figures of evangelists. Such a solution, used already so many times in more ancient art, and in this case adopted from X–XI century manuscripts, translated abstract ideas into easily recognisable visual forms.³⁰

Apart from these comprehensive solutions, Serbian churches of Milutin's age were also, and in fact more often, decorated with simple representations of the evangelists which, however, differ in location and appearance from monument to monument. In Arilje, for example, they are placed in interiors of buildings.

³⁸
Gračanica, *Prophet Ezekiel*, 1319–1321

³⁹
Gračanica, *Prophet Isaiah*, 1319–1321

⁴⁰
Gračanica, *Evangelist Mark*, 1319–1321

⁴¹
Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Prophet Zechariah*, 1309–1313

This is also the case in Bogorodica Ljeviška, Žiča, Kraljeva crkva, Gračanica and Chilandar. In Studenica, Chilandar and St. Nikita, the evangelist John is shown with his disciple Prochor. In Staro Nagoričino and Gračanica evangelists were painted in the calottes of the lateral domes, in place of the different guises of Christ depicted there in Bogorodica Ljeviška. Among representations of various types of Christ in that church – not free of influences of Old Testament visions and their liturgical variations – we discern the images of God the Eternal (Ancient of Days), the Incarnate (Emmanuel), the High Priest (Christ in another form) and the Ruler of the World (Pantokrator). In churches of a later date, the incarnated Christ is given a more prominent role, as indicated by the written testimonies of the four evangelists, in particular those from the two western domes of Nagoričino. Visible testimonies of the incarnated Christ – his images on the Mandelion and the Keramion – were regularly placed close to those provided by the evangelists, namely between the pendentives, on the east and west side. Only in cases where space was inadequate or the church had no dome at all, these images of Christ were moved into the sanctuary (Arilje) or, in Dragutin's chapel, Sušica and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, even as far as the apse itself.

The Theme of Incarnation

These images already belong to another group of themes tied to the Incarnation of Christ which, beyond any doubt, represent the most significant novelty in late Byzantine art. The mystery of Christ's conception and birth and the role of the Virgin in it were very important to early XIV century painters working in Serbia who adopted the most progressive solutions coming from Constantinople and other artistic centres, adapted them and, at times, even enhanced them with some previously unknown scenes. Gospel texts did not offer enough material for an extensive depiction of this theme so that parts of Old Testament prophetology lections, as well as poetic texts, were also taken into account, both genres in the form in which they were used at church services. In that way connections were established with ancient liturgical and literary sources and a series of almost forgotten symbols, allegories and personifications found their way back into the visual arts. Complex compositions filled with beautiful winged maidens with bare arms, angels and choirs of singers, all accompanied by long inscriptions, emerged on church walls. All that changed the

appearance of the scenes and the criteria for their painting in churches, especially within spaces programmatically less strictly subjected to liturgical requirements such as entrances, nartheces and lateral structures. At first glance, the transformation of the chosen subjects and the new iconography made painting very narrative but, in fact, it was full of hidden meanings. The Virgin played an especially prominent role and many churches were raised in her honour. In Byzantium, by special imperial decree, the entire month of August was dedicated to her.

At first, around the year 1300, it seemed that Serbian painting was lagging behind in showing an interest in this theme, so vehemently expressed in Byzantine art, and that, therefore, Serbian art was going to join the class of provincial works produced on the Greek islands and the distant regions of the Orthodox world. There was only an inkling of new developments in Dragutin's chapel where figures of the Virgin's parents, Joachim and Anne, do number among the few represented saints. What's more, they are painted close to the apse. In Arilje, they appear on the triumphal arch. Although much of the fresco programme of Arilje is tied to the middle of the XIII century, a short cycle of the Virgin does appear in its naos. At the same time, in the Protaton on Mount Athos, Christ's corporeal ancestors ("as was supposed", Luke 3, 23) were painted in the uppermost zone of the central nave in the order in which they are mentioned in the gospel (Luke 3, 23–27), starting with Adam and Eve. This is also related to the order in which they are mentioned in the services of the Week of the Forefathers before Christmas. As in Arilje, prophets carrying objects heralding the role of the Virgin in the Incarnation of Christ and his priesthood were represented in front of the sanctuary. There were still no images of the Virgin or Emmanuel which were to become standard in the course of the XIV century. In the prothesis of the Protaton we also find three Old Testament compositions which represent comprehensive archetypes of the Virgin: the Burning Bush, Jacob's Ladder and the Old Testament Tabernacle.³¹ In the decoration of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, comparison between Old Testament events and the Virgin is even more developed. They are revealed as archetypes of the mystery of Incarnation which, in turn, considerably enriches the iconography of this theme. The Virgin is especially celebrated in the decoration of the narthex which offers a series of her Old Testament archetypes. The east wall of this space was reserved for the Christmas Hymn, also related to the Incarnation of Christ. In Ohrid, this theme spreads



XI

Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *King Milutin*, 1309–1313



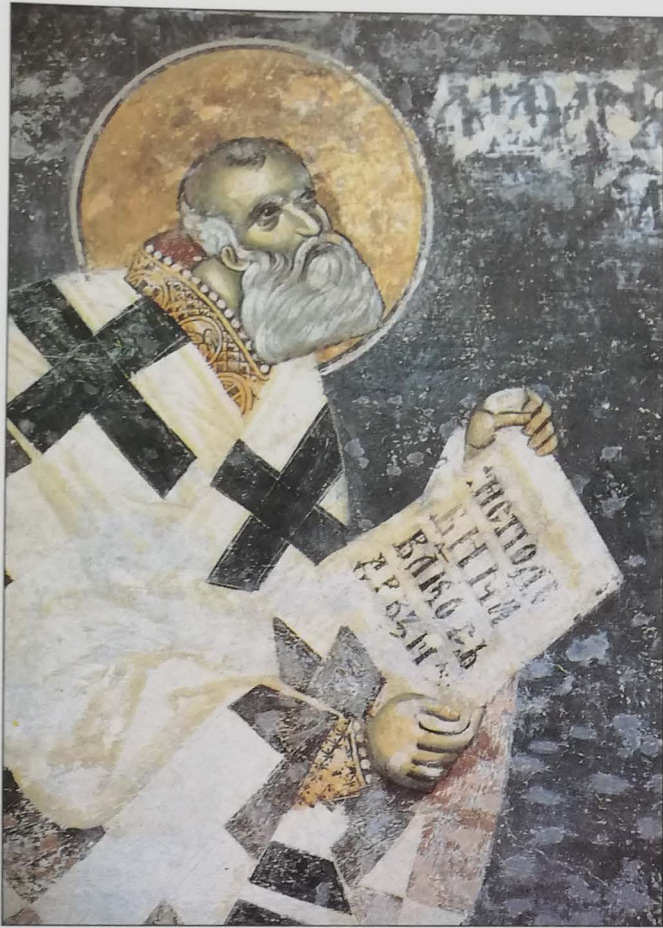
XII

Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Communion of the Apostles*, 1309–1313



XIII

Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Christ the Guardian of Prizren*, 1309–1313



XIV

Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška,
St. Athanasios the Great, 1309–1313

XV

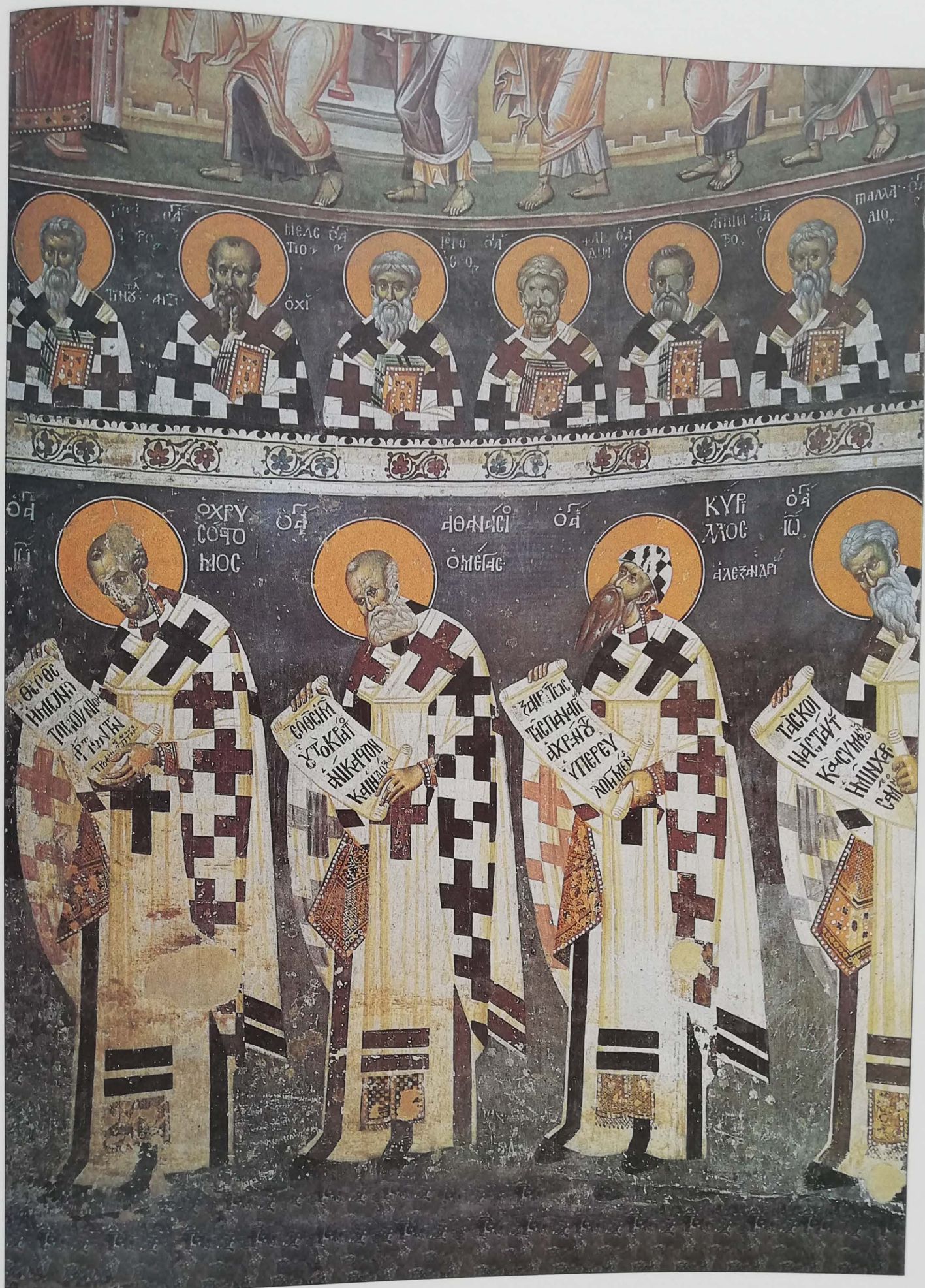
Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška,
The Virgin with Christ, 1308–1313

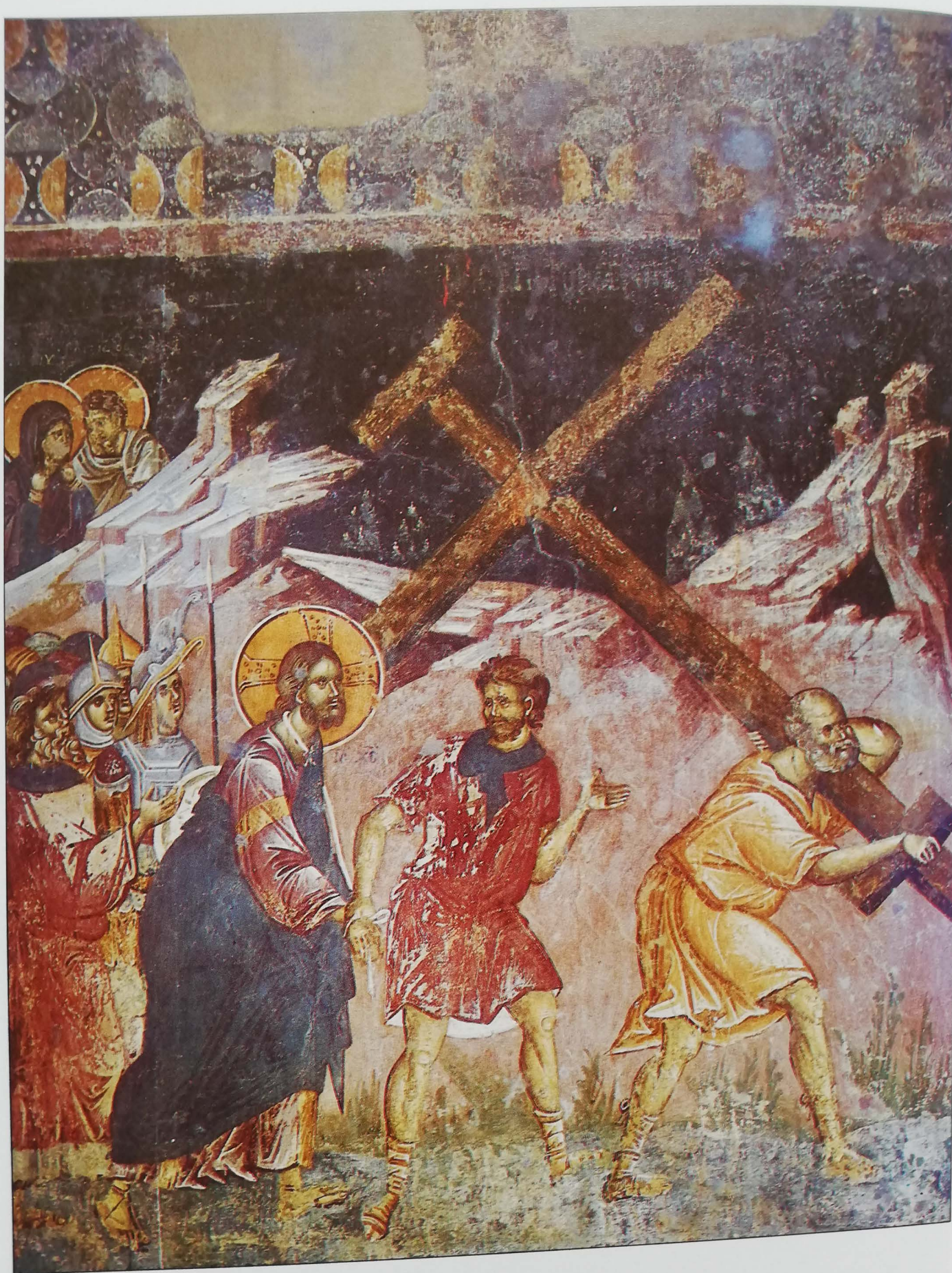
XVI

Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška,
Holy warrior, 1309–1313

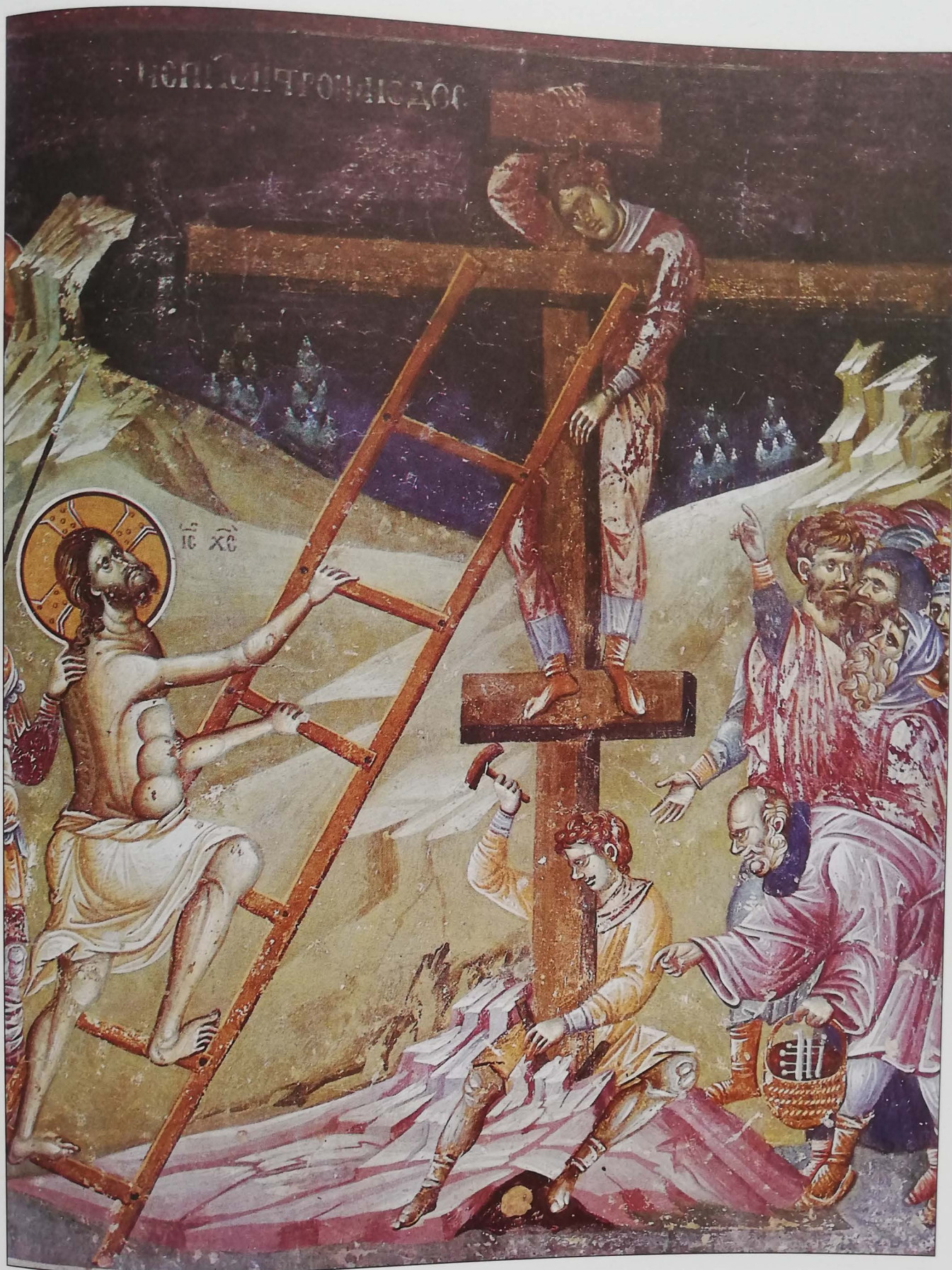
XVII

Staro Nagoričino, *Frescoes on the south wall
of the sanctuary*, 1315–1317





XVIII
Staro Nagoričino, *Road to Calvary*, 1315–1317

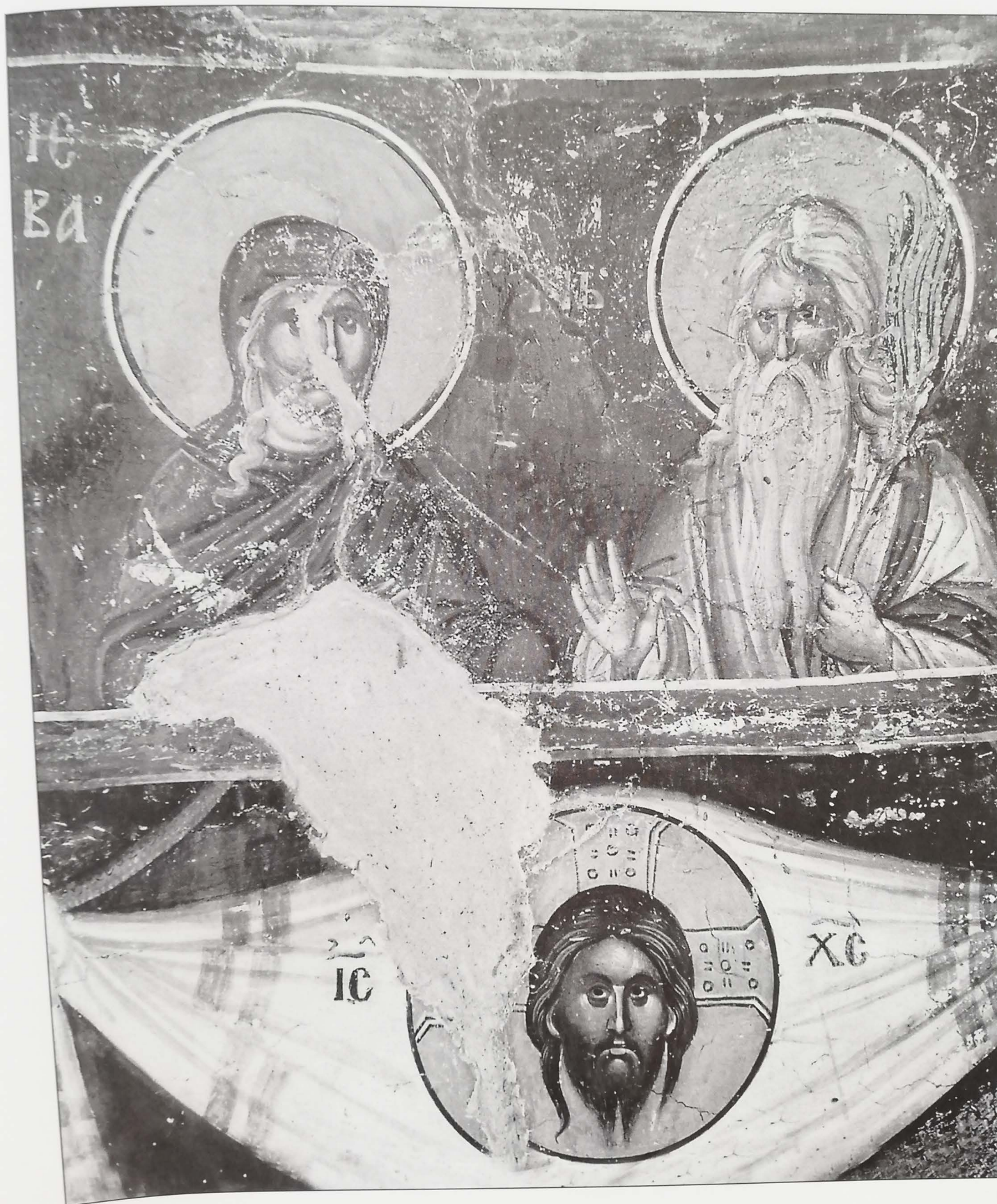


XIX

Staro Nagoričino, *Ascent of the Cross*, 1315–1317



XX
 Staro Nagoričino, *Frescoes on the north wall of the naos*, 1315–1317



⁴²
Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, Eve, Adam and the Mandelion, 1318–1319



43
Gračanica, Prophet Aaron, 1319–1321



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Gračanica, Prophet Moses, 1319–1321



also into the sanctuary so that a figure of the Virgin Platytera is shown in the apse. Above her is Christ Emmanuel in a medallion and surrounded by angels while images of Mary's Old Testament ancestors and righteous men appear on either side of the apse.³² The surviving churches of Constantinople show that themes related to the Virgin and the Incarnation of Christ held a prominent place in their programmes, whether in the form of Christ's corporeal ancestors, as they are mentioned in the gospels of Matthew and Luke, or in the guise of Old Testament archetypes of the Virgin. In Constantinople, Old Testament figures were painted in the narthex domes of Hagioi Theodoroi (Kilisise camii) and the Chora. Other Old Testament scenes were also located around entrances (St. Mary Pammakaristos) or in parekklesia (the Chora).³³ Certain solutions devised in Constantinople, more in the sense of their location than iconography, appeared in Serbian churches or those raised by king Milutin outside his fatherland.

An increased interest in the Virgin and the mystery of Christ's birth, as well as in offering proof that these events had been announced long before, focused the attention of the creators of iconographic programmes from around the year 1300 on solutions already formulated in XI and XII century art. One such image was the Tree of Jesse, a representation based on Old Testament texts speaking of Christ – the rod that shall come forth out of the stem of Jesse (Isaiah 11, 1–3), the father of king David and founder of the genealogical line that leads to Christ. Since Byzantine art was never tantamount to a simple illustration of a given text, the shaping of this theme was also inspired by Christmas tide liturgical lections and those related to the feasts of the Virgin. It is also rooted in prophetic texts, poetry and homilies which glorified the Virgin as the staff and Christ as the bloom that came from the tree of Jesse.³⁴ The Tree of Jesse in Arilje is different from all previous examples of this scene seen in the Virgin Mavriotissa, Sopoćani and Manastir near Prilep. Nevertheless, its iconography does entirely conform to the spirit of the new artistic tendencies of the second half of the XIII century. However, since most of the represented figures have no scrolls, or, in case they do, they are either rolled up or display only brief and illegible texts, it is difficult to ascertain all the sources which inspired this fresco from Arilje. The novelty of this Tree of Jesse lies in the fact that it consists of both Old and New Testament scenes (the angel halting Balaam's ass, Gideon's Fleece, Nativity of Christ with archangel Michael on horseback) which comple-

ment the prophecies of Christ's incarnation and link them with the moment in which they were actually realised. In Arilje we can also discern an attempt to include other wise men in this composition, not only those mentioned in the Old Testament, and, among them, a pagan sibyl, too.³⁵ This was even more pronounced in Žiča, where a group of ancient philosophers took up the entire bottom zone, and Bogorodica Ljeviška, where they appear on an arch located to the right of this composition.³⁶ Compared to older examples, the appearance of this Prizren Tree of Jesse is altogether different because it spreads across the entire vault of the north part of the exonarthex and includes tens of figures, half-figures and scenes in its foliage. Although nearly half of this fresco is damaged, it is beyond any doubt that Jesse was lying at the root of the tree and that images of prophets carrying texts of their visions of God were distributed among its branches. Only random traces of them remain today along with utterly abridged representations of the New Testament scenes which they prophesied – the Annunciation, Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Baptism, Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, Crucifixion and others – so that, in a way, this painting sums up Christ's entire life on earth. The Prizren Tree of Jesse offers another significant novelty, logical from the point of view of XIV century art which strove in every way to single out the corporeal ancestors of Christ. Under direct influence of the services preceding Christmas, all or almost all of Christ's ancestors from the genealogies found in the gospels of Matthew and Luke are found among the branches and flowers of this tree. Only traces of their names still remain: Zorobabel, Judah, Eliud, Joatham, Asher, Abiud, Esrom, Eleazar, Matthan, Aram... All these elements encumbered the composition and turned it into a complex representation of Old Testament prophecies of Christ, evangelical testimonies of his Incarnation and sacrifice supported by the words of the wise men of antiquity and deeply imbued with liturgical order. The purpose of this complexity is to point out the triumphant appearance of the enthroned Christ blessing with both hands his ancestors and all those who heralded his coming. Thus, the Tree of Jesse in Bogorodica Ljeviška represents a turning point in the iconographic development of this subject and a precursor of its extensive versions found in monuments from around the middle of the XIV century.³⁷

Images of Christ's ancestors, usually in some sort of relation with the Virgin or Christ Emmanuel, also assume places of honour in the Virgin Peribleptos, around the apse, in the Protaton, the top zone of frescoes in the naos, or in the Constantinopolitan church-

es of Hagioi Theodoroi and Christ of the Chora, in the narthex domes. In these two latter churches Old Testament kings are singled out from the other righteous and placed within separate domes. What's more, in the Chora each and every son of Jacob is also represented. This subject is probably of Constantinopolitan origin, born out of a desire to explain more persuasively the human nature of Christ and his role as high priest and king. Lined up side by side, Old Testament high priests and kings constituted a sort of horizontal genealogical tree and it is therefore not surprising that they were incorporated into the Tree of Jesse at the beginning of the XIV century, regardless of the fact that some of them actually lived before the days of David's father. These personages were also represented in Serbian churches of Milutin's age, sometimes in the manner of Constantinopolitan church art and at others with specific iconographic traits. In Serbian art they first appear in Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren, in the drums of the small domes, where they seem to mingle with other prophets: the south-east and south-west domes are taken up by prophets who do not belong to Christ's genealogy while the other two small domes, on the north side of the church, were apparently reserved for the eight sons of Jacob (the inscriptions by Naphtali, Gad, Asher and Zebulun are well preserved and it seems that Reuben and Issachar can be identified in the north-west dome). All this is in accordance with the Constantinopolitan manner of their representation. In the gospels they are not individually mentioned but they are all included in the Service of the Forefathers.³⁸ In other Serbian churches of this era, Old Testament righteous, patriarchs and kings were also painted in the uppermost zones. At the base of the dome in Kraljeva crkva their line begins with Eve and Adam and ends with king Manasseh, in the order in which they are listed in the Gospel of Matthew (Mt. 1, 1–16).³⁹

In Serbian churches, the detachment of Old Testament kings from the rest of the righteous into separate domes, as observed in Hagioi Theodoroi and the monastery of Christ of the Chora in Constantinople, first takes place in Staro Nagoričino. Five Old Testament kings, considerably damaged today, were painted in the drum of the small dome covering the south-west corner of the narthex. Figures of Old Testament righteous were located in the dome over the north-west corner. Regardless of the existence of significant differences (absence of the Virgin with Christ, a greatly reduced number of figures, Solomon represented with a scroll inscribed with the text of Proverbs 5, 1), Nagoričino is still linked with Constantinopolitan

churches by the same intention to "historiate" the genealogical tree of Christ through a long line of Old Testament prophets. The same intention is sensed also in the fact that the calottes of the small domes of Nagoričino are decorated with images of the evangelists with open gospels. A seemingly minor alteration of the evangelical text appears in the book held by Mark: it reads "Beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, son of David" instead of "son of God". Apart from the Gospel of Matthew (Mt. 1, 1), David is spoken of quite precisely as Christ's ancestor in the flesh in other New Testament texts (Acts of the Apostles 13, 22-23; Romans 1, 3; II Timothy 2, 8) and church poetry as well.⁴⁰

The two west domes of Gračanica were also decorated with images of members of the tribe of David, that is, the figures of Old Testament kings starting with David and ending with Hosea, the same personages which appear in the Chora. In the Constantinopolitan church their meaning is clearer due to an image of the Virgin with infant Christ which appears in the apex and indicates that they were meant to explain the royal lineage of the Virgin and the role of Christ King,⁴¹ just as the Supplicatory Kanon to the Virgin says.⁴¹ By exception, the line of Old Testament kings in the south dome over the narthex of Chilandar begins with Jesse (thus approaching in meaning the Tree of Jesse). In the other dome, on the north side, we see the first righteous men, ancestors of Christ, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Mt. 1, 2), as well as some of Jacob's sons: Levi, Dan, Gad, Zebulun and Asher.⁴² All twelve sons of Jacob were painted in the south dome of the Chora, below a line of the righteous which begins with Adam. Only some of them were depicted in Bogorodica Ljeviška. The choice of figures found in the north dome over the narthex of the katholikon of Chilandar is based on the opening lines of the Gospel of Matthew. In essence, however, it of the Gospel of Matthew. In essence, however, it emulates the division into groups of Old Testament patriarchs and kings seen in the Chora. In an abridged form, the same partition is also carried out in the west domes of Nagoričino, with an intention to point out the idea of Christ-Archpriest and Christ-King.

The strong influence of liturgy on Byzantine painting of the early XIV century, as well as on that of King Milutin's churches, is also recognised in the representation of other prophets, regardless of whether or not they are mentioned in Nativity services and synaxaria and whether or not they belong to the genealogy of Christ. Except for the dome, where they were depicted from the very beginning, other locations in the church were found for them — most often, the

upper parts of the naos. On the pilasters, piers and arches of Nagoričino we find thirteen Old Testament personages with unrolled scrolls or carrying objects by which they herald the events of the New Testament. In Gračanica, their number is even greater and, judging by the fact that some of them carry objects decorated with Mary's image, they were certainly meant to complement the theme of the Incarnation. Among them, the place of honour was accorded to Old Testament high priests or those who, at one point or another, had assumed that role: Aaron, Moses, Samuel, Melchizedek and Zachary. Those are the same characters who had already appeared in an unusual location in the dome of Arilje or directly beneath it in Petrova crkva and the parekklesia of Žiža. Even more often, they were painted near or within altar spaces, as in Žiža, Chilandar, St. Nikita. In Gračanica they also appear in the space above the narthex. The tablets of the laws, the candlestick, the vessel containing manna and the rod, the breads, the horn and the censer they carry are Old Testament prototypes of the New Testament,⁴³ as confirmed also by images of the Virgin on them.⁴³ In Gračanica, Mary is depicted only on the objects placed in the hands of Moses and Aaron and it is certainly no coincidence that their figures were painted in the vicinity of the Annunciation, close to the prophets David and Solomon.

In the first decades of the XIV century the Annunciation was a scene of great interest to liturgists and painters alike. Through it, they were able to express the rich scale of meanings, allusions and metaphors related to the Virgin and the coming of Christ into the world. In Staro Nagoričino, this theme drew around it the figures of David and Solomon and half-figures of prophet Daniel and patriarch Jacob: they both carry inscribed scrolls in their hands, a rock with an image of Christ Emmanuel is painted by Daniel while the star in Jacob's hand also encloses a representation of Emmanuel.⁴⁴ The iconography of these frescoes is borrowed from the hymn "The Prophets from Above" the illustration of which appeared for the first time in wall painting exactly at the beginning of the XIV century, in Bogorodica Ljeviška. In icon painting and book illumination it emerged at a considerably earlier date. The singling out of these two prophets carrying texts and prefigurations of the Incarnation in the vicinity of the Annunciation was unknown to earlier Byzantine art. However, it matches perfectly the early XIV century tendencies to enrich the standard iconographic solutions with combinations of images and matching texts, through the intercession of sacred poetry. Most popular were those passages based on the Old Testa-



ment which were implanted into the, in many respects, new scenes. Prophet Daniel and patriarch Jacob were especially frequently cited and interpreted in the process of proving the Old Testament annunciation of the coming of Christ into this world. In Nagoričino, as on the fresco illustrating "The Prophets from Above" hymn in Ljeviška, Daniel is depicted with a rock. Already in the poetry of St. John of Damascus and St. Andrew of Crete, as well as in that of other famous hymnographers, the Virgin is exalted as the spiritual mountain from the prophecy of Daniel and the motif of the rock detached from the mountain was favoured in hymns dedicated to the Virgin and often mentioned in church services.⁴⁵ In these times, the typological image of Christ's incarnation tied to Jacob was associated with his dream of the heavenly ladder (Genesis 28, 10–22) and represented in this guise in Bogorodica Ljeviška and Chilandar. The same motif is also included in the Prizren composition of "The Prophets from Above". In it, prophet Balaam is depicted holding a star because, although often associated with Jacob (Numbers 24, 17), the prophecy of the star is actually his. The subject of the star is often used in Byzantine homilies and poetry. St. Athanasios of Alexandria (IV century) included it in the Old Testament annunciation of future events and Anatolios (VII century), whose sticheron is incorporated in Nativity services, elaborated the motif of the star associating it with Christ, the all-enlightening light.⁴⁶

The starry sky behind the Virgin appears in two of king Milutin's churches, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and Gračanica. In Serbian churches dating from around 1300, the Virgin was always depicted in the uppermost zone of the apse, but in a series of different guises: as Platytera with (Gračanica, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, St. Nikita) or without angels (Chilandar katholikon), with an image of Christ in a medallion on her chest (Sušica) or signed as Acheiropoiitos (Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos). She was also represented as an enthroned figure with Christ on her lap and surrounded by archangels (Staro Nagoričino, Kraljeva crkva, Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim). From the moment she began to be painted in this spot the Virgin assumed the connotation of the Church on Earth and in the age of the Palaiologoi, when she was usually depicted enthroned, she became also an image of the Temple, i.e. the throne of the Logos.⁴⁷ The Virgin-Temple, new Tabernacle and Church, was often the subject of liturgical poetry and hymns sung on her feast days as a part of various church services.⁴⁸ Having given birth to the Son of God, the Virgin became the link between the separated, between God

and mankind, heaven and earth, the Creator and the creation, and, thus, she herself became the Church. On the fresco from Staro Nagoričino, the infant Christ in the Virgin's arms turns towards his mother and blesses her. Other parts of this composition are subordinated to this motif, beginning with the angels who bow to the Virgin to the imitation in grisaille of wood carving on the throne showing prophets carrying scrolls turning in her the direction. They, too, are certainly adopted from the iconography of the "The Prophets from Above" hymn.⁴⁹ In other Serbian churches the Virgin was also associated with the Incarnation of Christ. In Dragutin's chapel, Sušica and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, the Mandylinion is painted right above the apse, i.e. the figure of the Virgin, as a visual testimony of his Incarnation. Above the Virgin in Gračanica we find Christ Emmanuel, an image of the incarnated Logos, depicted in half-figure and surrounded by seraphim.⁵⁰ This iconographic peculiarity is related to the Akathistos of the Virgin which says that Christ sits on cherubim and that Mary is the dwelling place of Him who is above the seraphim.⁵¹ The entire firmament around Emmanuel is studded with stars and golden stars also surround the Virgin in the apse of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki. With the story of the star, the gospel text (Mt. 2, 2–10) laid down the basis for the growth and development of a comprehensive symbolism related to the mystery of Christ's birth which is associated with Old Testament visions of the star as an image of Christ and that of God resting on cherubim. In Staro Nagoričino, the choice fell on the prophecy of Balaam (Numbers 24, 17) and in Gračanica on that of prophet Isaiah (6, 2–3) which was more adequate for the sanctuary. A troparion based on the vision of Isaiah ("Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory, Hosanna on high, blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord") is sung at the beginning of the Anaphora with the deacon taking the asterisk off the diskos and making a sign of the cross above it. Emmanuel is an image of Him who will come, visible to corporeal eyes as a star (Romanos the Melodos) and epitomised by the liturgical asterisk.⁵²

The tendency to express the persuasiveness of dogma by translating the words read and sung at church services into images resulted in the appearance of many new and otherwise rarely represented subjects in Byzantine and Serbian art at the close of the XIII and during the first decades of the XIV century. Lessons of Old Testament prophetology read at services designated for the Virgin's and other feasts,



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Gračanica, Christ Emmanuel and the Virgin in the apse, 1319–1321

enhanced by adaptations of the same passages adopted from liturgical poetry, influenced the standard form of the scenes represented in the naos and the sanctuary of the church and inspired the depiction of certain Old Testament archetypes in the form of special representations located in various parts of the church. These pictures served to historiograph and explain certain subjects, especially those tied to the Incarnation of Christ and his sacrifice. At times, they were also imbued with other messages. Thus, the Sacrifice of Abraham could have both a didactic and an eucharistic meaning, the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace symbolised both the virginity of Mary and the sacrifice of Christ, the Old Testament Tabernacle was as much an image of the Virgin as of the New Church and so forth. In the fresco decoration of the churches raised by king Milutin and the contemporary churches of Byzantium, as well as those of other Orthodox lands, tens of scenes appeared based on Old Testament texts. Some of them were prototypes of Christ's Incarnation and were thus mostly found in churches dedicated to the Virgin: Ljeviška, Gračanica and Chilandar. At the beginning of the XIV century, with the standardisation of the popular corporeal archetypes which enable the perception of God, and the resulting use of Old Testament texts and images as prototypes of the coming of Christ to this earth as the Son of God, a great number of such representations were borrowed from more ancient art. Those tied to thelections and songs related to the feasts of the Virgin and the Nativity were especially beloved.⁵³ The righteous Jacob is particularly exalted in them, and not only as Christ's ancestor in the flesh. His visions were interpreted as archetypes of the Virgin and as such often represented in painting. This is especially true of his dream vision of a ladder connecting heaven and earth (Genesis 28, 11–17) and his wrestling with an angel (Genesis 32, 24) when he received the Lord's blessing. In Bogorodica Ljeviška, among other subjects related to the Old Testament, these two appear in the exonarthex and in Chilandar they are located in the narthex, on the pendentives of the north dome.⁵⁴

The katholikon of Chilandar was especially rich in Old Testament subjects which heralded the coming of the Messiah and they were all gathered beneath the narthex domes. Some of them are incomplete in the iconography and meaning, in particular those in the south-west bay: the visions of prophets Ezekiel (Ezekiel 10, 19) and Isaiah (Isaiah 6, 6–7) in the form of divine inspiration, with cherubim extending to the prophets either a scroll or a spoon full of live coals, prophets either a scroll or a spoon full of live coals, as in Ljeviška, or a rare scene of prophet Elisha cur-

ing the water with salt (II Kings 2, 20–22).⁵⁵ The Fleece of Gideon, Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace and Angel Announcing the Birth of Samson are, however, tied to the conception of the Virgin. The Fleece of Gideon (Judges 6, 36–40) appears also in the Tree of Jesse in Arilje and Bogorodica Ljeviška and, as an independent scene, in the altar space of Gračanica.⁵⁶ As opposed to the fresco from Chilandar, the one in Gračanica is more complex because Gideon is represented twice, at the threshing floor and in the act of wringing the dew into the bowl. The fleece represents the Virgin and the dew represents Christ, in the manner in which they are quite explicitly referred to in the verses of services tied to the Nativity, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and other feasts. As far as we know, the Angel Announcing the Birth of Samson was painted only in Chilandar. The repainted version of this scene follows the lengthy text from Judges (13, 2–21): we see Manoah and his wife as they bring their offering to the altar with an angel beside them. The angel appears once more, as he ascends to heaven in the flame of the altar after having prophesied to the parents that they shall beget a son. It is well known that Samson is an archetype of Christ for it is said in the Old Testament that he shall be the image of God from his mother's womb and that he shall save the people of Israel. In that sense he is interpreted by John Chrysostomos in his commentary of the Epistle to the Hebrews (7, 27).⁵⁷ The scene of the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace from Chilandar is a prototype of the Virgin and of her role in the Incarnation of Christ. In a very similar iconographic form this subject also appears in Gračanica, on the west wall of the south parekklesion.⁵⁸ The popular comparison of Mary, who remained a virgin although she carried Christ inside her, with the fiery furnace into which the three young Hebrews were cast and remained unharmed (Daniel 3, 1–30), was often repeated in services performed on various occasions and it often influenced the visual arts. The meaning of the picture, however, was not always the same as in Gračanica and Chilandar because the three youths in Gračanica and Chilandar because the three youths could also be an archetype of Christ's sacrifice, especially when this scene was placed within the sanctuary. It seems possible, therefore, that this was precisely the meaning of the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace in the church of St. Nikita near Skoplje. The Old Testament scene of Wisdom Hath Built Her House in Gračanica (in the sanctuary) and Chilandar (in the narthex) also has a two-fold meaning.⁵⁹ In its vicinity in Gračanica is the cycle of the Virgin and

some other Old Testament scenes while in Chilandar we find near it the Virgin enthroned with Christ in her arms and surrounded by angels. We can thus presume that this image can be linked to prophetologion lections from Proverbs 9, 1–16 read on the feasts of the Virgin and around Christmas.⁶⁰ It is more probable, however, that the above mentioned examples of this scene from Gračanica and Chilandar represented Old Testament prototypes of the New Church. In a similar manner, the Old Testament Tabernacle (Exodus 40, 1–38) painted on the north wall of the sanctuary of Gračanica can also be interpreted in two different ways: as an archetype of the New Testament Church or as an archetype of Christ's birth, not only because it was believed that Christ united the heavenly tabernacle with the earthly but also because many objects from Moses's tent were considered to be prefigurations of the Virgin, wherefore, in Gračanica, they are decorated with her image in half-figure.⁶¹ Another prototype of the Virgin, the Burning Bush, was introduced to the north wall of the south parekklesion of Gračanica. It looks almost exactly the same as the one in the south parekklesion of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, the only difference being an angel flying from heaven to Moses and explaining to him the meaning of the flaming bush which does not burn. The prophetologion lection describing this event (Exodus 3, 2–8) was read at the feast of the Annunciation and expounded as an archetype of the Virgin in numerous hymns.⁶²

The multitude of Old Testament scenes found in king Milutin's churches, painted at the same time as the equally well known scenes of similar contents from Byzantine churches, were directly dependent on lections from relevant texts, usually those tied to the feasts of the Virgin, so that their appearance did not differ much from the descriptions found therein. However, church walls were also decorated with images based on poetry and interpretations of Old Testament scenes seen as an exaltation of the Virgin and new born Christ, such as the Tree of Jesse. There were also illustrations of a poem later named "The Prophets from Above". It was depicted in its entirety in Bogorodica Ljeviška while some of its parts appear in the decoration of Staro Nagoričino and Gračanica. This is a composite representation, based on several sources, whose primary aim was to glorify the prophetic visions which announced the role of the Virgin and the coming of Christ. The basic structure of this composition – the Virgin with Christ surrounded by prophets and archetypes – had certainly existed even in the XII century but it was first represented within

a church here, in Ljeviška. In this case, the Virgin with Christ, painted above the entrance to the narthex, is the conceptual centre of the composition. The surrounding arches are decorated with images of twelve prophets carrying inscribed scrolls and depictions of Mary's archetypes beside them. Later examples of this scene show that, as all other hymnographic-liturgical subjects, it, too, had a variable structure, with a changeable choice of both personages and texts written out on their scrolls. On the other hand, Mary's archetypes painted by the prophets were seldom changed so that the door depicted by the figure of Jeremiah in Ljeviška is probably a mistake never to be repeated in the other monuments. In Ljeviška we find a standard choice of prophets whose figures were painted also in other churches of this period, together with the objects through which they heralded the Virgin: Jacob with a ladder, Solomon with the Temple, Aaron with the manna vessel and a rod, Jeremiah (wrongly) with a door, Zechariah with a censer, Zachary with a candlestick, Daniel with a rock, David with the Tabernacle, Moses with the bush, Habakkuk with a boat, Isaiah with an ember bearing cherub and Balaam, the Mesopotamian sorcerer, with a star. The texts on their scrolls are taken either from the Old Testament, more precisely from passages read at church services, or from sacred poetry dedicated to the Virgin.⁶³

Another important characteristic of the art of Milutin's era is the emergence of illustrations of subjects based on church poetry written in honour of the Virgin. Although these poems are centuries older and had already been included in festive and other ecclesiastical services long before the XIV century, this is the first time they are rendered in the visual arts. At times poetic works dedicated to the Virgin were illustrated in their entirety. In other instances their influence on certain subjects was so deep that they changed their appearance completely, as attested, for example, by the Dormition of the Virgin in Staro Nagoričino, Kraljeva crkva and Gračanica. Moreover, subjects introduced to the iconographic repertoire at that time, such as "The Prophets from Above", the Akathistos of the Virgin or the Christmas hymn, were to remain a part of subsequent programmes of wall paintings. As far as we know, a painted representation of the Akathistos of the Virgin appears for the first time in the fresco decoration of the north parekklesion of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos – the frescoes of the Virgin Olymptissa near Elasson which include an illustration of this poem are not precisely dated. In Thessaloniki, only a couple of its scenes have been preserved (5–

10 and 14–16).⁶⁴ Those illustrating the opening verses literally copy the iconography of the Visitation of Mary and Elisabeth and Joseph Reproaching the Virgin from the cycle of the Virgin (from Gračanica for example), the iconography of the seventh verse is quite similar to the Nativity of Christ although with a somewhat more prominent role assigned to the shepherds to whom the angel announces the good news. Illustrations of the eighth and ninth verses are also similar to the scenes tied to the birth of Christ (the journey of the wise men and their adoration of Christ) represented in the naos of this church. Illustrations of the remaining verses (14–16), more complex in meaning, show Christ Emmanuel, or an enthroned Virgin with Christ, venerated by apostles, angels and clerics.⁶⁵

The same strategy of borrowing parts of already standardised iconographic scenes and inserting them into new compositions based on poetic works was used also in the illustration of the Christmas hymn in Žiča. Although the words inscribed above this scene belong to Anatolios's sticheron "Christ is being born in Bethlehem today", sung at mattins of this feast, and not to that of Damascene, "What shall we offer you, Christ", sung at vespers, the scene painted in Žiča actually numbers among those based on Damascene's poem. Nevertheless, the words of Anatolios's sticheron were certainly not chosen by accident. This poem was sung at mattins on Christmas Day (December 25th) at the moment when the emperor entered the church in Constantinople and, probably, as this scene shows, at the moment the Serbian king entered the church in Žiča. The contents of Anatolios's and Damascene's sticheron are similar,⁶⁶ so that the fresco in Žiča is in many respects a copy of an earlier illustration of the sticheron "What shall we offer you, Christ" from the church of the Virgin Peribleptos at Ohrid. However, the composition of the Žiča fresco is clearer, it is divided into two registers and its iconography is based on both poems: the enthroned Virgin with Christ is a motif taken from Anatolios, together with the angels, the shepherds, the wise men and personifications of the Earth and the Desert, although in a different form. The Virgin with Christ is surrounded by a triple ring ("glory") which gives her the semblance of a vision being revealed before the Serbian king, archbishop and their retinue. Christ is turning towards the Virgin in a gesture of benediction because the sticheron of Anatolios places special emphasis on the role of the Virgin in the Incarnation. There is no star because this sticheron does not mention it. Angels rejoice around

the circle of light and the personifications of the Earth and the Desert are placed on the same level as the men on earth. The "glory" surrounding the Virgin with Christ rests on the cave and the manger which their two personifications raise above their heads. Meticulous studies of this subject and of the example from Žiča in particular,⁶⁷ have shown that its iconography is based on several already existing scenes, more precisely on the Adoration of the Magi and, in part, the Nativity of Christ, with the addition of the processions which took place in churches on Christmas Day. Thus, the individual elements of which the iconography of the Christmas hymn is made are much older but they seem to have been put together in this new composition only in the second half of the XIII century. Although the Serbian milieu was sensitive and quick to react to such important hymnographic-liturgical novelties it was also known to rework the already existing models, even those which were chronologically close (from the Blachernae church in Arta or the Peribleptos in Ohrid), and create its own new iconographic synthesis made up of an illustration of the Christmas hymn and representations of the sticheron text and the ecclesiastical and royal processions which took place on Christmas mattins.

The Cycle of the Virgin

At the beginning of the XIV century, the theme of the Incarnation which held such a prominent place in Serbian church art, expressed through both Old Testament and scenes based on liturgical poetry, was further enhanced with scenes from the cycle of the Virgin, representations of those events which preceded the birth of Christ and exalted the Virgin as the one chosen among women by the Lord. In a way, they, too, were examples of the ties between the two testaments evoked also at church services. The textual source of this cycle was the Protoevangelion of James while the choice of scenes, along with certain variations in their appearance, was determined by different causes from monument to monument as well as by the adoption of certain elements from Old Testament compositions or even those of pagan origin.⁶⁸ The structure and iconography of the cycles we find in the churches of Milutin's time were formulated in XII century art and had undergone only minor changes from then on. It is interesting that in Serbian XIII century painting this cycle was very rare, appearing only in the second half of the century and even then only in the prothesis of Sopoćani and the narthex

of Gradac. It remained just as rare even in the first monuments of king Milutin's time, being painted only in Arilje, reduced only to the representations of the two most significant events, the Birth of the Virgin and Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. After 1300 this cycle was painted more frequently and in ever more extensive versions. It appeared either in the naos (Sušica, Kraljeva crkva, Chilandar), the parekklesion (Žiča, Staro Nagoričino) or the altar (Gračanica).⁶⁹ Although spatial limitations sometimes forced the painters to reduce or abridge the cycle, while in other cases damages of wall surfaces prevent us from viewing it in its entirety, it is clear that all Serbian examples have a common source, probably of Constantinopolitan provenance, because an almost identical cycle, with practically the same choice of scenes and iconography, is found in the Chora whose mosaics are contemporary to Serbian frescoes. In all Serbian churches this cycle begins with the scene showing the refusal of the offerings brought to the Temple by the Virgin's parents. In Nagoričino, Kraljeva crkva and Gračanica we also find the scene representing their return from the Temple. The scenes which usually follow are based on the course of the events in question, as they are described in the apocryphal text – the Annunciation to Joachim, the Annunciation to Anne and the Conception of the Virgin. At times the Birth of the Virgin is singled out and, together with the Presentation in the Temple, assumes the most prominent place (in Arilje and Kraljeva crkva), even if this implies changes in the chronological order of the scenes: in Chilandar these two scenes are located in the lateral conchs, in their eastern parts, so that they could always loom before the eyes of the monks gathered in the church, just as in the Protaton of a somewhat earlier date.⁷⁰ At the beginning of the XIV century the Birth of the Virgin received a very solemn appearance, filled with a number of details adopted from Constantinopolitan court ritual and certain "genre" elements – the bathing of the new born baby, the figure of Moira weaving the yarn of fate, the crib in which Mary lies with Joachim above it – whose origins go as far back as Hellenistic art. The Virgin Caressed by Her Parents and the Blessings of the Three Priests were inserted between the Birth and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. Only in Sušica they were also accompanied by the Virgin's First Steps, a scene rarely represented although apparently common in Constantinopolitan art. Yet another exception was made in Sušica where we find the Virgin Receiving the Skein of Purple Wool, a scene which was also represented in the Chora in Constan-

tinople, although in a different compositional form. There, the position of the three priests on the bench is similar to their arrangement in the scene representing the Blessings of the Three Priests. In Sušica, on the other hand, the composition showing the Virgin Receiving the Skein of Purple Wool is almost a literal copy of the scene of Drinking of the Water of Purification, which, incidentally and quite contrary to the usual order of scenes, stands right next to it.⁷¹ Because it includes these two scenes – The First Steps and the Virgin Receiving the Skein of Purple Wool – the choice of scenes in the programme of Sušica differs from that of other contemporary Serbian churches, apparently as a result of emulation of a different model, much more similar to that adopted by the artists of the Chora in Constantinople. Events related to Mary's betrothal and subsequent happenings were not always represented in the same manner, mostly because cycles were abridged, so that in Kraljeva crkva we see the high priest Zachary giving Mary away to Joseph and the scene in which the Virgin drinks the water of purification while in Nagoričino and Gračanica Zachary is shown praying over the rods of the suitors. In these churches, as in Chilandar and Sušica, the cycle has been expanded with scenes of the Annunciation at the Well and Joseph Reproaching the Virgin. It is possible that in Gračanica this cycle continued on in the south parekklesion with scenes which do not usually belong to it (the Annunciation, Visitation and Flight into Egypt) but rather refer to the infancy of Christ, similar to the Chora and some other later monuments where these scenes constitute a sequel to the cycle of the Virgin.⁷²

The Great Feasts

There is one group of scenes, usually called the Great Feasts, which is a standard part of the fresco programmes of the churches of Milutin's era. In the beginning, judging by the poorly preserved scenes of this cycle from Petrova crkva, Sušica and Bogorodica Ljeviška and wall paintings of somewhat better condition from Arilje, it looked as if they would endlessly be repeating older models. The distribution of the scenes was mostly based on principles established already in the XII century, except when there was not enough space for the application of this standard model. For example, this was the case in Petrova crkva: fragments of the Annunciation, Entry into Jerusalem and the Crucifixion have been preserved in the space beneath the dome while the Dormition of the Virgin was trans-



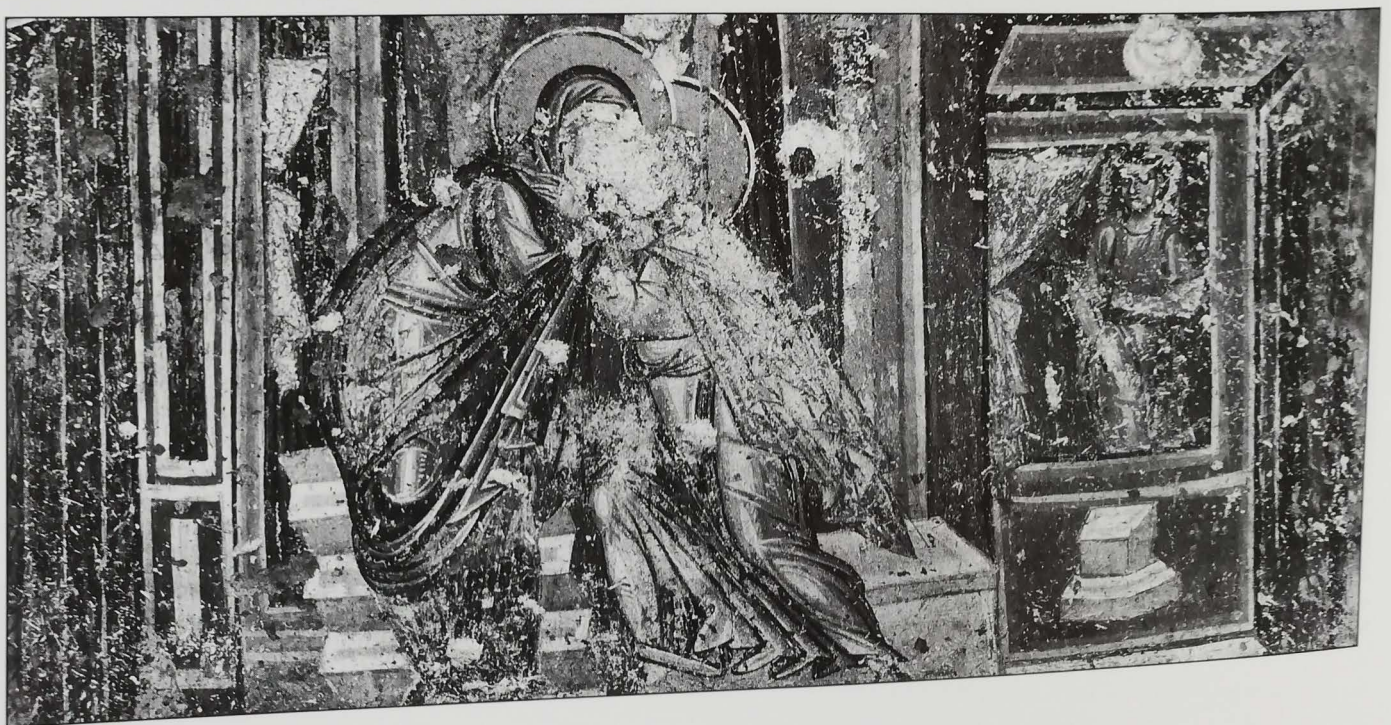
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Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Cycle of the Virgin on the south wall*, 1318–1319



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Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Cycle of the Virgin on the north wall*, 1318–1319





⁵⁰
Sušica, *The Virgin Drinking the Water of Purification and the Virgin Receiving the Skein of Purple Wool*, around 1310

⁵¹
Sušica, *Visitation*, around 1310

⁵²
Staro Nagoričino, *Zachary Giving Mary Away to Joseph*, 1315–1317

ferred to the west wall of the narthex. The fragmentarily preserved scenes show that their iconography seems to have held on to the old models. In the scene of the Dormition the Virgin lies in state with Christ in a mandorla above her. She is surrounded by apostles, bishops and angels flying towards Christ on either side of the bier, just as we see them in Komnenian art. In later examples they descend to the lower zone of the composition and mingle with the apostles.⁷³ The much better preserved scenes of the Great Feasts from Arilje, located in the sanctuary and





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Gračanica, Zachary Praying Over the Rods of the Suitors, 1319–1321

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Arilje, Birth of the Virgin, 1295/1296

the naos, did not bring any novelties either and their choice of figures was limited to the most indispensable characters. Some rare details such as the cross in the river Jordan in the Baptism scene, the low base in front of the Virgin's bier or remains of clouds with the apostles upon them in the Dormition, were adopted from the art of previous epochs.⁷⁴ Old-fashioned solutions are also present in the few still extant scenes of the Great Feasts in Bogorodica Ljeviška. The Dormition, for example, appeared in its traditional guise but, still, did not remain entirely untouched by the new spirit of Byzantine art from around the year 1300. Under the influence of some lost hymnographical work, wings were added to the figure representing the Virgin's soul in Christ's hands. In early

Palaiologan art, moderately open to solutions from more ancient or even pagan art, the soul of the Virgin in the scene of the Dormition was represented in this manner already in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (1295), St. Nicholas in Prilep (1298), Žiča, Vatopedi (1312/1313),⁷⁵ Kraljeva crkva in Studenica and other monuments.

The scene of the Dormition in Žiča, as in Ljeviška, is a mixture made up of an old scheme and new details. The lower portion of the painting is quite like the forms we have already met, in Arilje, for example. Gathered around the body of the Virgin on her bier are only the apostles, four bishops and Christ holding her soul in his hands, encircled by a mandorla and surrounded by angels. The upper part of the scene is taken up by the apostles floating on clouds, accompanied by angels. However, in the very summit of the composition there is a segment of heaven towards which two angels are carrying the Virgin. The Assumption of the Virgin is first represented only in the age of the Palaiologoi, usually in instances where the scene of the Dormition is already expanded with various episodes such as the discovery of the Virgin's empty tomb or the presentation of her girdle to apostle Thomas. The link between this apostle and the Virgin's assumption to heaven was present already in the earliest examples, on the Suzdal doors (around 1230) and in the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (1295). In Žiča, however, the figure of Thomas was left out and the Virgin was not depicted in a circular mandorla but only from the waist up and under a triangular, scalloped frame, with arms crossed over on her chest, in the manner in which she is sometimes represented on the bier. Thus, the Assumption of the Virgin from Žiča is one of the earliest examples of representation of this subject the interesting development of which was to continue only in monuments of a slightly later date.⁷⁶ Other scenes of the Great Feasts from Žiča should also be examined with great cautiousness because the extent to which they actually repeat the iconography of the older layer of frescoes still remains unclear. Unusual details, adopted from the art of the XIII or early XIV century, appear in some of them. The two figures of pagan rulers in the Pentecost, wearing strange crowns and accompanied by body guards, should be interpreted as personifications of the "tongues", a transitional solution leading to the formulation of the Cosmos that we find in the decoration of Serbian and other Orthodox churches from the XIV to late XVII century. On the other hand, it is almost certain that the Annunciation on the triumphal arch is a copy of the fresco from the first

layer of decoration. This is indicated by the fact that the space between the archangel Gabriel and the Virgin is taken up by a figure of Ancient of Days enveloped in a semicircular celestial sphere with a ray of light beaming out of him, once certainly containing a dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit. Similar solutions can be found in XII century monuments and they are based both on the gospels (Matthew 1, 20; Luke 1, 26, 35) and hymnographical interpretations of the presence of the Holy Trinity at the moment of the Annunciation. This idea is clearly expressed in a poem by Andrew of Jerusalem read at the all-night vigil of the feast of the Annunciation: "The Virgin's womb receives the Son".⁷⁷ Since this form of the Annunciation does not appear in any of king Milutin's churches, nor in any Byzantine monument of the early XIV century, we believe that, in the course of restoration of Žiča, the Annunciation was modelled after the fresco of the same subject from the older layer of wall paintings.

The most significant changes in the appearance of the Great Feasts occurred in an unusually brief period of time amounting to just five or six years which witnessed the decoration of the churches in Nagoričino, Studenica, Gračanica, Thessaloniki and Chilandar. They coincide with the last works of Michael and Eutychios and some other anonymous painters who transferred into Serbian art much more than just the most successful experiences of the metropolises. In doing so they relied on more ancient solutions while introducing to them elements based on hymnographic-liturgical lections. The standard appearance of the Great Feasts was thus changed, from then on their iconography displayed a new freshness and their meanings became more complex.

The scenes of the Great Feasts from Nagoričino are quite badly damaged but even in that state they show how well the painters were acquainted with the novelties in treating the most significant liturgical cycle and how meticulous they were in applying them. They encircled the Annunciation with images of the prophets Moses and Jacob and prototypes of Christ and the Virgin and accompanied them with appropriate texts. On the other hand, the Nativity of Christ was depicted with numerous details which had become a standard part of this scene already during the XI and XII centuries, such as the Annunciation to Joseph in his sleep (Matthew 2, 13), found in the illumination of gospels and cycles of Christ's Infancy. The preserved remains of the Baptism also disclose a high regard for older models, adapted to the new iconography of the early XIV century. In front of John the Baptist there is a large group of Hebrews to whom he



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Staro Nagoričino, *Dormition of the Virgin*, 1315–1317

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Staro Nagoričino, *Dormition of the Virgin*, detail, 1315–1317





57

Žiča, *Dormition of the Virgin*, around 1310

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Žiča, *Dormition of the Virgin*, detail, around 1310

preached and whom he baptised, a number of young neophytes taking off their clothes and jumping into the water and his disciples, located in the upper left corner of the painting, a motif known also to XI and XII century art. This art is also the source of the antique elements such as the personifications of the Ocean and the river Jordan in the guise of winged figures with crabs' claws in their hair. They were inspired by Psalm 113, 3 read at the service of the feast of Epiphany.⁷⁸ The rest of the Great Feasts in Nagoričino are either represented in forms which did not diverge significantly from the standard formulas of late Byzantine art (the Visitation and Entry into Jerusalem) or damaged to such an extent that their original appearance can not be deduced. It is clear, however, that the painters working in Nagoričino did devote a great deal of attention to the scenes of the Great Feasts and that their search for the best models lead them back into the more distant past from which they drew inspiration, enriching it with ideas and tendencies of their own era. In this process the influence of the liturgy was crucial not only as a spiritual incentive but also as the source of literal, poetic quotations which were translated into visual images of new forms.

The painters Michael and Eutychios devised an especially interesting solution, enriched with many new particularities, for the composition of the Dormition in Nagoričino. The standard, static scene is substituted with a representation of a funeral procession in which the Virgin's body is being carried towards her tomb in Gethsemane. Her heavenly assumption is also shown although in a form somewhat different from that seen in Žiča. The Virgin, enveloped by a circular mandorla, is seated on a double blue-coloured rainbow, two angels lift her up towards the gates of heaven while she offers her girdle to apostle Thomas. In a composition never seen before and never repeated again, a series of half-figures of prophets appear on either side of the Virgin, namely Gideon, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Moses, Daniel, Balaam, David and Solomon. Each figure points to the Virgin with one hand while holding an inscribed scroll in the other. Adequate Old Testament prototypes of the Virgin are also painted by each prophet. Through the texts on their scrolls and the archetypes which announce her coming, the prophets from Nagoričino exalt the Virgin as Theotokos. In order to show Old Testament annunciations of Christ's coming into this world, the painters of Nagoričino relied upon a model they had already used for the illustration of "The Prophets from Above" hymn located on the east wall





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Arilje, *Annunciation*, detail: *archangel Gabriel*, 1295/1296

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Arilje, *Annunciation*, detail: *the Virgin*, 1295/1296

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Staro Nagoričino, *Annunciation*, detail: *archangel Gabriel*, 1315–1317

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Staro Nagoričino, *Annunciation*, detail: *the Virgin*, 1315–1317



of the naos of this church, directly below the Annunciation. The form and meaning of this theme were not unknown to them for they had already painted this composition several years earlier, in Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren. Thus, each of the prophets in the Nagoričino Dormition is accompanied by an object usually depicted by his side in illustrations of "The Prophets from Above" while the choice of texts on their scrolls is determined by ancient painters' manuals. In order to understand this mixture of two themes we should call to mind the lections read at sermons delivered on the occasion of the feast of Dormition

which commemorate the role of the Virgin in the Incarnation of Christ, offer a list of her Old Testament symbols and mention the prophets who accompanied Christ when he descended from heaven to take the Virgin's soul into his arms. It seems that a sermon ascribed to Germanos II of Constantinople is particularly important in understanding the Dormition from Nagoričino since some of its lines have almost identical counterparts in this pictorial representation. Moreover, figures of Joseph, Cosmas and John of Damascus, three holy poets, are located directly below this composition – soon, beginning with Kraljeva crkva in Studenica, they were to be depicted alongside the Dormition.⁷⁹

In Kraljeva crkva in Studenica, the iconography of the Great Feasts was not encumbered with the heritage of previous epochs and became even more interesting in form and richer in meaning. Only the Birth of Christ is close to similar works from earlier and early XIV century art. This scene clearly shows the simultaneous presence of four important elements in the formation of the new pictorial image. The gospel text offered the framework for the basic composition of the scene – the Virgin in the cave and Christ wrapped in diapers lying in the manger with the ox and the ass above him and singing angels heralding the good news to the shepherds. The apocrypha offered the figure of Joseph possessed with doubt located at the bottom of the scene. On the other hand, the bathing of Christ is a motif borrowed from antique art. Finally, sticherons sung during Christmas season inspired such motifs as the angel leading the wise men from the East and the Virgin embracing her son. Already in the Protaton (around 1300) Mary was depicted kissing her son the way she does in Studenica. Her cheek is pressed against his while she embraces his head and his body in her arms. Such an embrace is unusual in representations of the Nativity and reminiscent of numerous Byzantine icons depicting the affectionate closeness between Mary and the infant Christ. This tenderness, however, was not modelled after scenes of every-day life. Christmas liturgical rites constantly evoke and intertwine ideas of Christ's birth and his death, his Incarnation and his sacrifice, and are thus associated with the hymns sung during the Holy Week. Holding him in her arms and kissing him, the Virgin recognises in Christ his divine and his human nature, just as she does in the services of Good Friday and Saturday when she laments his death and remembers the times when she embraced and kissed him as a child. It is therefore not surprising that images tied to the Nativity became iconographically close to those

greatly influenced by sermons and hymns sung at services of the Easter season, above all to the Lamentation and the Anapeson. Such loans worked both ways: the embracing of Christ from Studenica is related to the Virgin's lamentation of her dead son, the diapers are an image of the cloth in which his lifeless body was going to be wrapped, the shape of the manger is reminiscent of the sarcophagus into which the dead Christ was going to be laid.⁸⁰ The rest of the Great Feasts from Studenica also match the most progressive solutions of Palaiologan art. Although simplified at times, they are always in the spirit of the new age. A good example is the Descent into Hades which is very similar to that painted in the Chora in Constantinople, the church of the Saviour in Veria, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki and even some older monuments. Here, too, the Dormition of the Virgin was the subject of great attention which resulted in an almost complete change in the appearance of this scene. Although the central part of the composition is damaged, it is easy to notice that this is basically a copy of the scene painted in Nagoričino, although with a more compact structure and stripped of some of its hymnographic-liturgical additions. Here, too, the Virgin lying on the bier carried on the shoulders of the apostles takes central stage. Above is the figure of Christ receiving into his arms the winged soul of his mother, as in Ljeviška and Žiča, and handing it to an angel so that it may be taken to heaven, the gates of which are being opened by two other angels. In the upper register, the apostles arrive to Jerusalem riding on clouds. Surrounding the bier is a host of angels as well as figures of the apostles, the women of Jerusalem and the first bishops, while the Gethsemane tomb appears on the right hand side, just as in Nagoričino. Judging by the angel returning the sword to its sheath, the damaged part of the fresco once held the figure of Euphionios who tried to desecrate the death bed and had his hands cut off in punishment. Thus, we find that in Studenica, too, the death of the Virgin was linked with the translation of her body to Gethsemane. There are also some new details. It is obvious that the number of textual sources for this scene, both in Nagoričino and in Studenica, had increased. The homilies of Pseudo-John the Theologian, St. Meletios and John of Thessaloniki were still the most significant among them although they were now joined by sticherons dedicated to the Virgin written by many other Byzantine poets. They comprised a synaxarion read on August 15th and it seems that this particular collection of texts served as the source upon which the new image

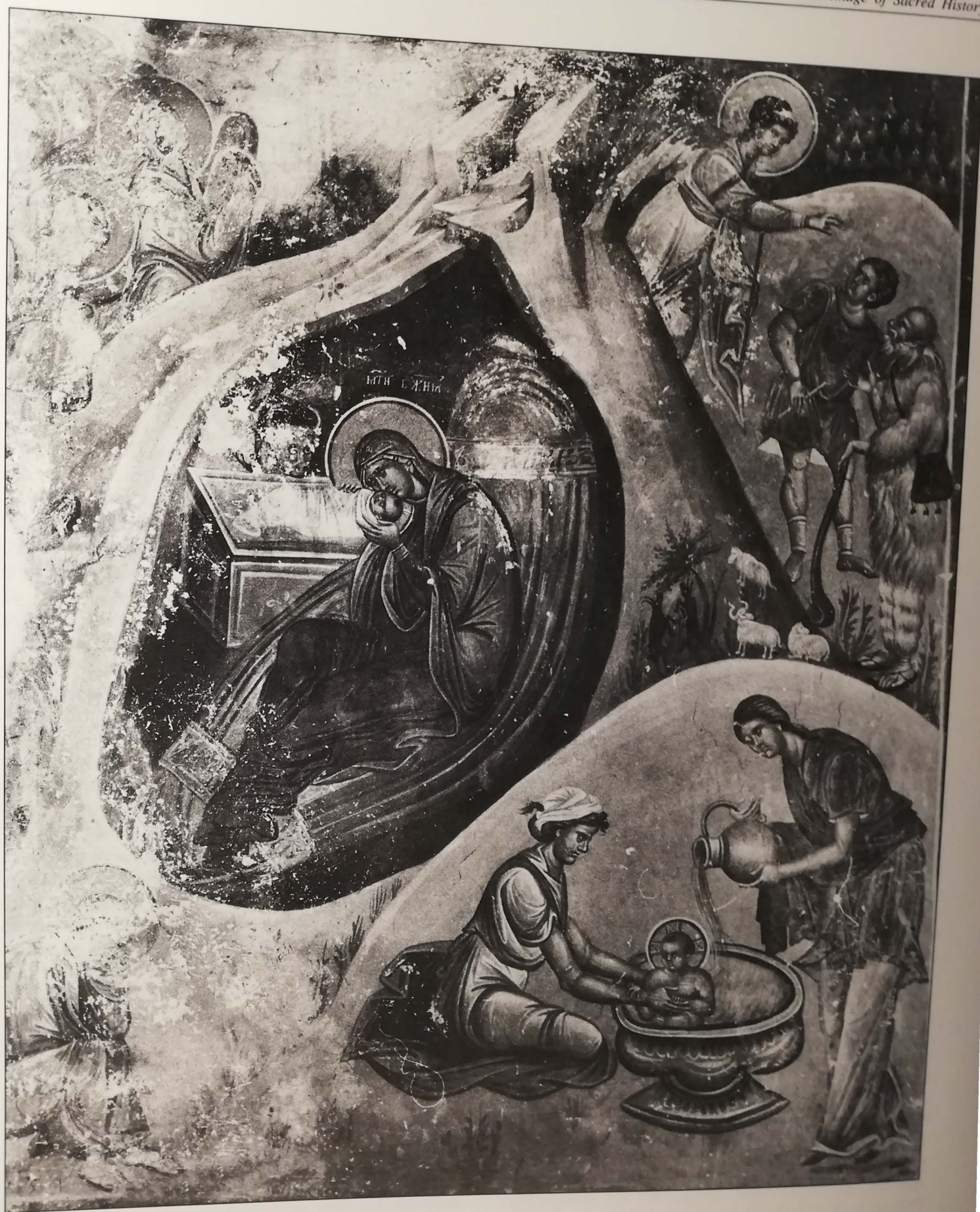
of the Dormition was based. Moreover, the fact that four holy poets, a heritage of Komnenian art, were represented around the Dormition carrying scrolls inscribed with their verses celebrating the Virgin proves that the appearance of this scene depended also on hymns describing in detail the events related to the death of the Virgin.⁸¹

Such a high degree of attention devoted to the Dormition is not surprising because at that very time, around the year 1300, this feast had become especially popular. By special imperial decree the entire month of August was dedicated to it because – as emperor Andronikos II explains his decision – a few days time was not enough to celebrate the Virgin, her Dormition and assumption to heaven. The importance of this feast in the lives of ordinary people and early XIV century monastic services was especially strongly felt in art. The image of this feast received a prominent place in church interiors, its iconography grew in complexity, details were multiplying and inspiration for new forms was found in old apocryphal, homilistic and poetic texts which were already a part, either in excerpts or paraphrases, of the services related to the death of the Virgin. It is beyond doubt that Constantinople was the focal point of this cult because it prided itself in possessing the relics of its famous guardian. Special veneration of the Virgin spread from Constantinople to all parts of the Orthodox world. In Russia (the Suzdal doors), Ohrid (Virgin Peribleptos), Mistra (Aphendiko, 1311–1322) and Serbia (Nagoričino, Kraljeva crkva, Gračanica) the standard composition of the scene changed through the introduction of the funeral procession carrying the body of the Virgin to her tomb, her assumption towards the open gate of heaven, the positioning of candlesticks around the bier and the appearance of large groups of personages, angelic hosts and a series of other details.⁸²

The Dormition of the Virgin in Gračanica is an interesting mixture of iconographic novelties already seen in the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid and Kraljeva crkva in Studenica. The central part of the composition is very similar to the Studenica fresco with special additions grouped around it, as in the mentioned Ohrid church, so that the representation of this feast actually turns into a small cycle of scenes dedicated to the events related to Mary's death. It opens up with the Virgin's prayer in the garden and continues with her farewell from the apostles. The central composition includes both the death of the Virgin and the translation of her body: the bier is carried by four apostles, the others walk ahead, and the procession ends with the women of Jerusalem. Behind the bier is

Christ with his mother's soul in his hands, surrounded by a multitude of angels and a number of other details known from the Studenica fresco. The procession is heading for the open tomb flanked by figures of women gesturing in sorrow and lamentation. The heavenly assumption of the Virgin is shown as a separate episode rendering the moment in which she gives her girdle to Thomas while the other apostles stand down below, leaning over the empty tomb. The final scene depicts Thomas showing the girdle to the apostles. Representations of all these events are based on the sources which had already been woven into the Studenica fresco only now they are used more thoroughly in order to create separate episodes. Without an awareness of the close relations of the visual image with apocryphal and liturgic-hymnographical texts, the numerous particularities of the Dormition in Gračanica remain unintelligible: during her prayer, the trees bend towards the Virgin in veneration, the translation of the Virgin's body has all the characteristics of the translation of the Old Testament Ark of the Covenant, her bier is carried by the four evangelists and surrounded by angles singing praises to her while the procession ends with the women of Jerusalem, as suggested by St. John of Damascus. In this sermon Damascene cites Psalm 131, i.e. the song of the translation of the Ark, and says that the Virgin is actually the Ark of the Lord carried on the shoulders of the celebrated apostles. Scenes tied to the heavenly Assumption of the Virgin and the bestowal of her girdle upon Thomas, the discovery of her empty tomb and the presentation of the girdle are also based on apocrypha and commemorated in church services of the season around August 15th. There is good reason to assume that the Dormition from Gračanica, as well as those from Nagoričino and Studenica, have their origins in Constantinople. Namely, the cult of the Virgin's relics was highly developed in that city and it should be kept in mind that the decoration of the Suzdal doors on which we find the first renderings of the Translation of the Virgin's Body, her Assumption to Heaven and the Bestowal of the Girdle upon Thomas also include a scene of Depositing the Maphorion of the Virgin in the church of the Blachernae in Constantinople.⁸³

Representations of two Great Feasts, the Dormition and the Descent into Hades, have nothing to do with gospel texts. Drawing inspiration from numerous lections read during the Easter season and around August 15th, in the Serbian milieu these two scenes were treated in an especially interesting manner. They assumed the most prominent and distinct locations in church interiors and their iconography was almost





unique in the contemporary art of the Orthodox world. In Gračanica, the Descent into Hades is located on the east wall of the naos, above the triumphal arch, and displays quite an unusual composition. Its summit is taken by the Hetoimasia approached on either side by a group of angels, some dressed as deacons carrying rhyphidia and labarums inscribed with the opening words of the Trisagion hymn. The sky above and around Christ is studded with golden stars while he himself descends into Hades holding the cross in one and pulling up Adam with the other hand. Behind Adam are many figures of Old Testament righteous and opposite him we find Eve, John the Prodromos and Old Testament kings. Christ

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Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Nativity*, 1318–1319

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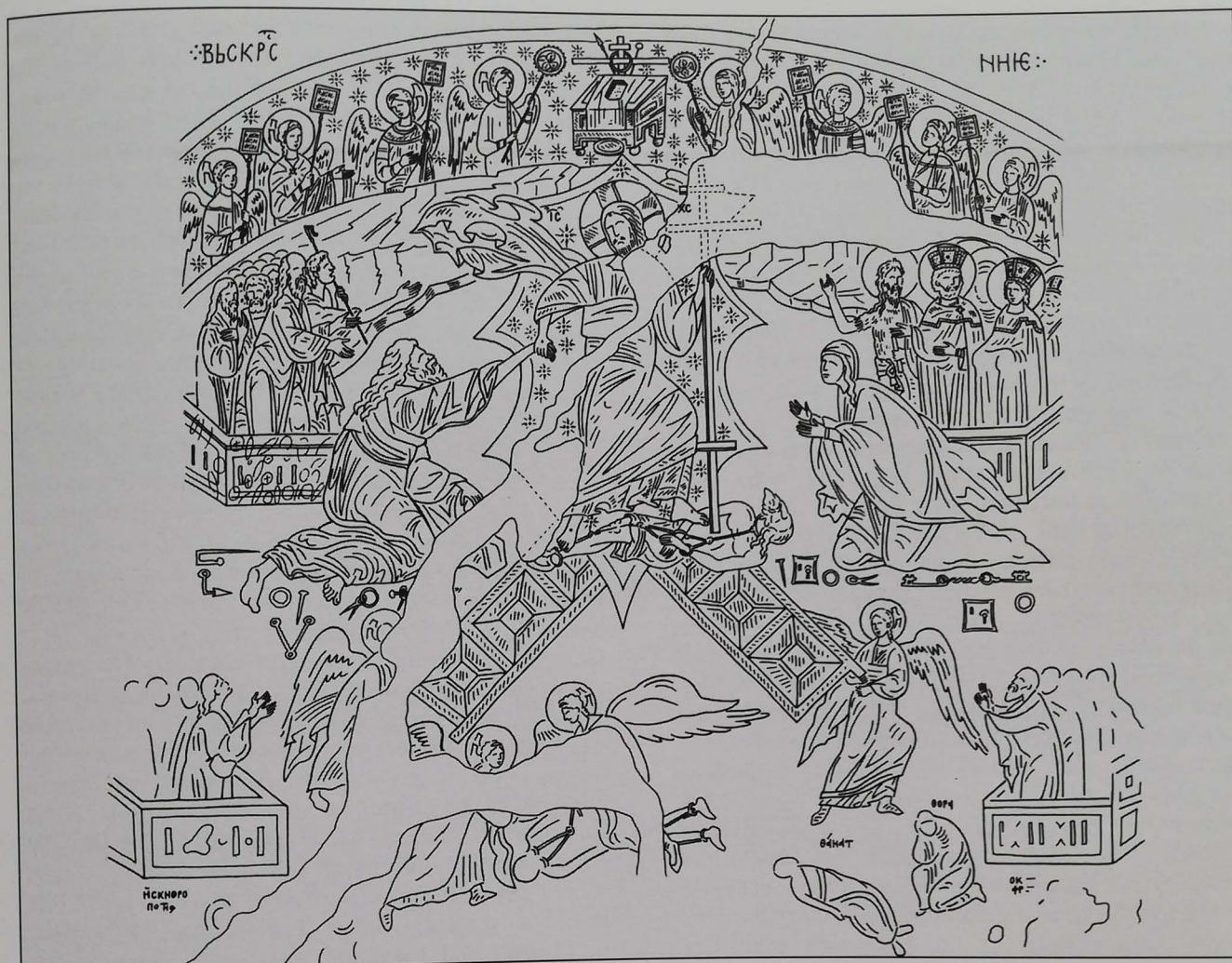
Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Descent into Hades*, 1318–1319

is trampling on the defeated Hades while angels are breaking down the gates of hell and tying him down with chains. The terrible torments of the souls in Hades are depicted at the very bottom of the composition. The literary sources of this scene lie above all in the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus as well as in liturgical poetry and homilies. The liturgical concept of this image of the Resurrection from Gračanica is indicated by the Hetoimasia and the angles officiating around it. The services of the Easter season are full of testimonies of Christ's redeeming mission performed through his paschal sacrifice and his descent into Hades: Christ is the new holy Paschal Lamb which opened the gates of heaven for mankind and, in his sermon delivered on Good Saturday, St. Epiphanius of Cyprus quotes these words with which Christ addressed the righteous upon his descent into Hades: "Arise and exist out of here, from darkness into eternal light... The Cherubic Throne is prepared and those who are rising are mighty and ready". The Hetoimasia with *instrumenta martirii*, depicted as a part of the composition of Descent into Hades in Gračanica, is neither the first nor the only example of this motif. It appeared previously in compositions displaying a more pronounced influence of liturgical texts. Thus, in a XII century manuscript from Paris (Paris. gr. 550), angels bearing *instrumenta martirii* appear in the upper part of a Resurrection scene painted by the text of the Paschal Sermon of St. Gregorios of Nazianzus. During the XIV century this motif is present also in other representations of this scene and, apart from Gračanica, in yet another church raised by Milutin – that of Chilandar. Another novelty offered by this fresco from Gračanica are the stars surrounding Christ. As symbols of celestial and eternal light they became exceptionally important in XIV century art. Having destroyed death, Christ enlightened all men with the divine splendour of his resurrection, through him all creation has been illuminated and he himself called upon the righteous to rise from hell saying "Exit into the light" (services of Good Saturday). The painter working in Gračanica recreated this light by painting a light blue halo around Christ with golden stars all around him.⁸⁴

The expansion of the Dormition scene in Gračanica with episodes leading up to or following the main event was not accidental but a part of the procedure followed by artists of the early XIV century in the process of bringing the visual image even closer to the textual sources. This is further attested by representations of other Feasts in Gračanica and some other churches, too. In Gračanica, the Transfiguration is sur-

rounded by two other scenes, in the function of prologue and epilogue, namely the arrival of Christ with the apostles and their descent from Mount Tabor. The Raising of Lazarus also has an appendix in the form of Christ's arrival to Bethany and his encounter with the sisters of Lazarus while the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem includes the episode of finding the she-donkey. With origins rooted in Komnenian art, such extensions of standard compositions of the Great Feasts became a trade mark of Palaiologan and Serbian church art. Thus, in Sušica and Prochor of Pčinja, a Visitation scene was added to the Annunciation to Mary, a separate composition of Adoration of the Magi was painted by the Nativity in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos of Thessaloniki while in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim the Gračanica version of Raising of Lazarus was further devolved into as much as three episodes: the arrival of Christ and the apostles, Christ's encounter with Martha and Mary and the raising of Lazarus. Thus, with the visual image following the text quite literally, word for word, this concept approaches the manner of tetraevangelion illumination encountered in older manuscripts.⁸⁵

The badly damaged scenes of the Great Feasts in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim are also indicative of the measure of departure of Serbian painting of Milutin's age from standard solutions, certainly under the influence of liturgical texts and rites. In its own way, this also expresses the efforts of numerous artists of the early XIV century to conform the visual image to the complex liturgy and services of some particularly significant days of the church calendar. As in other art forms of this age, this process entailed adopting any element of more ancient art applicable to the new picture as much as excepting the experiences of contemporaries. Also, new and different solutions were devised, practically unique in medieval art. Apart from the old-fashioned manner of painting a series of episodes (the Raising of Lazarus), scenes were also expanded through the inclusion of half-figures of prophets, literally copied from Komnenian or even older art. The words inscribed on their scrolls recalled prophetologion lections read on certain feasts. The assiduity with which this was performed was not going to be repeated in the decoration of any other endowment of king Milutin. Only a fragment of the Dormition has survived in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim, but even that much is enough to demonstrate that here, too, contemporary solutions, with the Virgin lifted up to heaven by angels, were accepted. It seems that the Descent into Hades was composed in a manner similar to that found in Stude-



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Gračanica, *Descent into Hades*, 1319–1321

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Gračanica, *Story of the Wise and Foolish Virgins*, 1319–1321



nica or Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, with Christ pulling Adam and Eve up with both hands so that the cross is now transferred into the hands of an angel standing above him. A significant place on this fresco from the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim was reserved for John the Prodromos who preaches to the righteous in Hades. This is a well known apocryphal episode, evolved and enhanced in the sermons and poems of Good Friday. On the other hand, the Transfiguration of Christ from this church indicates that the Serbian milieu took part in the original Hesychastic discourses regarding the light of Tabor, at least in the part referring to the dilemma whether what the apostles saw was only Christ surrounded by the Divine Light or also Moses and Elijah who were in it. One should recall here that, at the beginning of his charter issued to Gračanica, king Milutin unexpectedly speaks of the light of Tabor, a phenomenon which may have been reflected in the Transfiguration scene in that church where we find Christ wearing a white robe and encircled by a blue mandorla while another light blue arch encircles the two prophets. The same treatment is present in the work of painters who decorated with frescoes the church of Sts. Peter and Paul. They painted both the cloud of light seen by the apostles, through which it is possible for men to perceive "the glory of our Lord", as well as the Divine Light surrounding Christ, invisible to the material eyes of the body. The painters formulated this composition mostly by calling into mind sacred poetry chanted at the feast of the Transfiguration, in particular the antiphones sung during the liturgy, which exalt God whom "the angels serve with fear and tremor" in his dwelling. Probably under the influence of such verses chanted at vespers of this feast, two figures of angels on clouds appear at the summit of the composition, both rendered in grisaille because they are invisible to the human eye. Such a fusion of visual images and words of liturgical services was even more influential in changing the appearance of the Ascension of Christ painted on the vault of the sanctuary of this church. Open gates of heaven and two cherubim appear above Christ lifted in a mandorla by four angels. A throne with Ancient of Days is shown in a circular opening and right next to it is the "prepared throne" or the Hetoimasia. The dove of the Holy Spirit hovers between Christ and Ancient of Days. The uncommon solution of the upper part of the Ascension was inspired by the Psalms, homilies of church fathers (St. John Chrysostomos, Cyril of Turov, John the Presbyter and others) and songs chanted on the occasion of this feast. Almost all these texts were included in the

service of the Ascension, composed certainly by the end of the IX century. However, it was only at the beginning of the XIV century that they were transposed into a liturgically learned visual image and its complex iconography.⁸⁶

All this goes to show how open Serbian art of the first decades of the XIV century was to the new iconography, even in the case of such standardised scenes as the Great Feasts. Probably as a result of the activities of the learned archbishops, bishops and hegumenoi and the skilled painters, able to instil new meanings and enrich the old and familiar compositions with new forms, Serbian art of king Milutin's time produced several very interesting solutions for the scenes of the Great Feasts. In these representations, an older stratum inherited from Komnenian and XIII century art is easy to distinguish, because it offers the familiar framework of the scenes, from the novelties of Palaiologan painting. In creating new images of scenes it was customary to adopt motifs which already existed in the form of autonomous episodes (the translation of the Virgin's body, for example) or representations found within the framework of other themes. They were inserted into compositions of different structures, almost unique in medieval art, such as the Dormition in Nagoričino, the Ascension and Transfiguration in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim or the Descent into Hades in Gračanica. The emergence of interesting solutions such as these should not necessarily always be associated with the names of specific painters. For example, in the work of Michael and Eutychios, the Feasts appear in different guises in each church they decorated. Moreover, those from St. Nikita near Skoplje, their last work, are closer to the scenes painted by some of their anonymous contemporaries in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos or the works of Georgios Kalliergis from Veria than to the Feasts of Nagoričino, Studenica and Gračanica, not to mention their first works. Therefore, such solutions could best be understood as a manifestation of a specific current in late medieval art to be revived, in a way, around the middle of the XIV century.

The Cycle of Liturgical Gospel Lectons

Representations of Christ's miracles, his sermons and parables have been preserved in several of Milutin's churches and best of all in Staro Nagoričino, Gračanica, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and St. Nikita. Those from Bogorodica Ljeviška are quite badly damaged. In St. Prochor of Pčinja and Chilandar they



were later covered with a new layer of paintings and have, to date, been only partly cleaned. As a part of a wider phenomenon in Byzantine art of the Palaiologan era, these scenes, which appeared in the naos and were the subject of an especially large number of liturgical lections read from Pentecost to Lent, enhanced the image of Christ's redeeming mission on earth through the story of his miracles and teachings delivered before the apostles, the pharisees and the people.

The choice and order of the scenes depended on gospel pericopes read after the Pentecost and lections from the Pentecostarion read between Easter and the Pentecost so that their numbers and appearances were quite variable.⁸⁷ The remains of this cycle in Bogorodica Ljeviška indicate that other texts read at church services could also serve as the basis of certain images. Such is the case with a rarely represented scene showing the purchase of myrrh with which the sinner is going to anoint the feet of Christ, described extensively in a sticheron sung at services of Wednesday of the Holy Week.⁸⁸ In churches of modest dimensions only the scenes related to the miraculous healings of Christ were represented: in St. Prochor of Pčinja (in which the more recent layer of frescoes dating from 1488/9 undoubtedly copies the original paintings from the beginning of the XIV century) four such healings were depicted, just as in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos.⁸⁹ However, in Nagoričino, Gračanica and St. Nikita their number is much larger and the scenes are much more diverse. In Nagoričino, Michael and Eutychios created a series of compositions, distributed one beneath the other, representing the events which were the subject of lections read between Easter and the Pentecost – the miracles of Christ and his resurrection appearances. They opened the first cycle with the Healing of Peter's Mother-in-Law, as they were to do again, a while later, in St. Nikita, and went on from there, following the order of the Pentecostarion lections, with the Healing of the Blind from Birth, Healing of the Paralytic and Christ and the Samaritan Woman. These scenes also assumed a prominent place in the decoration of St. Prochor of Pčinja and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos. However, further on in the naos and on the north wall of the sanctuary the choice of illustrated gospel lections from the season following the Pentecost was more liberal. Yet, the painters were careful to detach those underlining Christ's teachings and referring to the Jerusalem Temple (Christ Teaching in the Temple, Mid-Pentecost and Purification of the Temple) from those which point out the importance and power of faith: "Be like this child", the Healing of the Woman with an Issue of Blood, the

Healing of the Man with the Water Disease, the Parable of the Foolish and the Wise Virgins, Christ in the House of Martha and Mary and the Parable of the Publican and the Pharisee.⁹⁰

The painters working in Gračanica, probably Michael and Eutychios again, relied on the same method. They linked some scenes to the Feasts with which they are associated for example, the scene in which Christ warns the apostles not to tell what they saw on Mount Tabor is painted right next to the Transfiguration; Christ Teaches in Judea is depicted by the Raising of Lazarus because these events follow one another (John 11, 7). The link between the Old and the New Church is emphasised through the choice of scenes painted below the Pentecost: "Peter, you are the rock", Peter and Ananias, Christ Teaching in the Temple, Christ Questioning the Apostles about Himself and Christ's Lectures about the True Faith. Scenes of this type are also located on the south wall beneath the dome where we find the compositions of "Be like this child", Christ in the House of Martha and Mary, Christ Tells the Hebrews How to Find Salvation, Christ Preaches About the End of the World and Christ and the Adulteress. All these scenes include the idea of preparation of mankind for salvation, revealed in the teachings or parables of Christ. The two final scenes, the Foolish and the Wise Virgins and the Publican and the Pharisee, are located as close as possible to the Descent into Hades, certainly not by accident. Meanwhile, the frescoes on the west wall are again tied to the Temple of Jerusalem and the founding of the New Church (Mid-Pentecost and Purification of the Temple). Below them are scenes based on Triodion lections: Christ and the Samaritan Woman, Healing of the Blind from Birth, Healing of the Paralytic and Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee (i.e. the sinner who washed the feet of Christ). They continue on in the west (Healing of the Man with the Water Disease) and east part of the naos (only the Healing of the Man with the Withered Hand has been preserved). Several scenes related to these liturgical readings are represented also in the south parekklesion.⁹¹

In the church of St. Nikita the scenes of this cycle were not grouped the same way and did not follow the sequence of liturgical gospel lections. Yet, it is characteristic that they were all organised into a sequence spreading across the walls and the piers in a single string of compositions. The first scene of this sequence, Healing of Peter's Mother-in-Law, is located on the south wall of the diaconicon while the Wedding at Cana and Purification of the Temple re-



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Gračanica, *Purification of the Temple*, 1319–1321



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Chilandar, Katholikon, *Mid-Pentecost, Healing of the Woman with a Spirit of Infirmary* (detail) and the *Widow's Mite*, 1320–1321

ceived places of honour on the west and the north wall. Representations of Christ's sermons were utterly scarce – in the space beneath the dome there are only two, Christ Teaching in the Temple is depicted in the west bay, Christ in the House of Martha and Mary is located close to the prothesis, Mid-Pentecost and another indecipherable scene appear by the iconostasis.⁹² The south pier by the iconostasis displays one of Christ's sermons delivered to the apostles, probably that which is represented in the same spot in the *katholikon* of *Chilandar*.

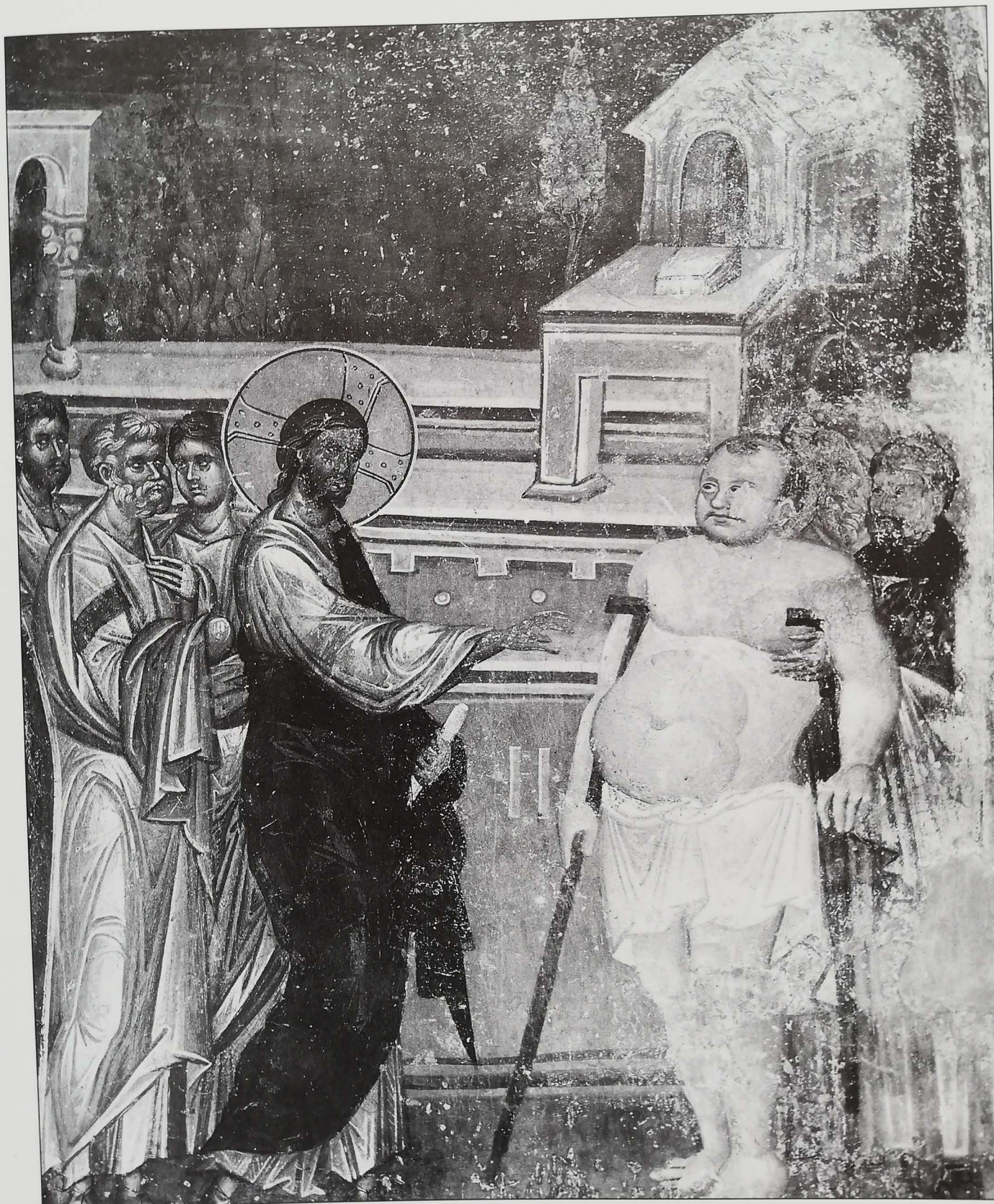
In that church this scene is easily identified, owing to the partly preserved inscription (Matthew 13, 36–40), and in its proximity, on the south wall and in the choir, there are representations of several other scenes depicting Christ teaching the apostles and the Hebrews. The choice of Christ's teachings and sermons represented in the north-west corner of the *naos* is based on Lent lections, namely the story of the marriage feast of the king's son and that of the publican and the pharisee, followed by Christ's sermon to the apostles about the child as the model of the pure and immaculate soul and Christ's cursing of the fruitless fig tree, all according to gospel lections read on Monday of the Holy Week. The choice of scenes in *Chilandar* was also influenced by gospel lections from the Pentecostarion, as attested by the frescoes in the west part of the church. The following scenes were depicted there, one by another: Christ and the Samaritan Woman, Christ and Zacchaeus, Healing of the Paralytic and Miracle with the Blind. In *Chilandar*, numerous other scenes of this cycle, based on Sunday lections, refer to the miraculous healings of Christ. They are mostly concentrated in the south-west part of the *naos* while several representations appear also on the north wall and in the choirs.⁹³

The visual representation of Christ's redeeming mission on earth, extensively expounded in Serbian religious painting, through which he directed his disciples and the people towards the road of salvation and pointed out the models of true faith, was a part of a broader phenomenon in late Byzantine art. A series of monuments from around the year 1300 contained such representations: St. Sophia in Trebizond, the Metropolis and *Aphendiko* in *Mistra*, St. Euthymios and St. Catherine in Thessaloniki, the *Chora* in Constantinople and many other churches where they appeared in much smaller numbers. The custom of creating tightly packed sequences of scenes of this type was inherited from XII century art, as attested by the mosaics of *Monreale* on Sicily and the frescoes in *Mirož* near *Pskov*.⁹⁴ The impulse for their reemer-

gence was the result of a stricter observance of liturgical lections of the gospels read throughout the year. However, since these texts offered a large number of themes, the painters usually made particular choices among them so that the total number and sequence of scenes vary from church to church. Serbian churches of this era, as well as those Byzantine churches in which this cycle has been more closely studied (the *Protaton*, St. Euthymios in Thessaloniki, the *Chora* in Constantinople), indicate that the liturgically most significant scenes were predominant. Apart from the already mentioned fact that gospel lections read between Easter and the Pentecost, along with the readings which single out the events of Christ's life which took place in the Galilee, as opposed to those which happened in Judea and Jerusalem, were of crucial importance in the grouping of scenes, Serbian examples indicate that the choice of some scenes depended on the identity of the feast in the vicinity of which they happened to be represented. In that manner the idea of the New Temple was doubly emphasised through the choice of scenes surrounding the Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion or the Pentecost while the meaning of the eschatological themes tied to the Descent into Hades was deepened. We can thus conclude that in Serbian churches – as elsewhere, for that matter – these images did not follow strictly the order in which they were evoked at church services but were, rather, grouped according to the meaning imposed on them by the location which they assumed in a church interior. Hence, subjects rendering the teachings of Christ were placed closer to the sanctuary while those evoked at services from Lent until Easter – the parables and some rare scenes such as Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee or Christ Cursing the Fig-Tree – were located in the west part of the church, the spot which had always been and still was, at the beginning of the XIV century, reserved for representations related to these movable feasts. Being consistent in placing representations of Christ's public ministry in the church *naos* (St. Prochor of *Pčinja*, *Nagoričino*, *Gračanica*, *Chilandar*, St. Nikita), Serbian painting took on a conspicuously liturgical character and joined the most progressive current of Byzantine art. On the other hand, compared to the contemporary images found in Byzantine art, especially those from Constantinople, Thessaloniki and *Mistra*, there are no significant peculiarities in the iconography of these scenes.

The Cycle of Christ's Passion

Events tied to the passion of Christ, from the moment of his last Passover with his disciples to the

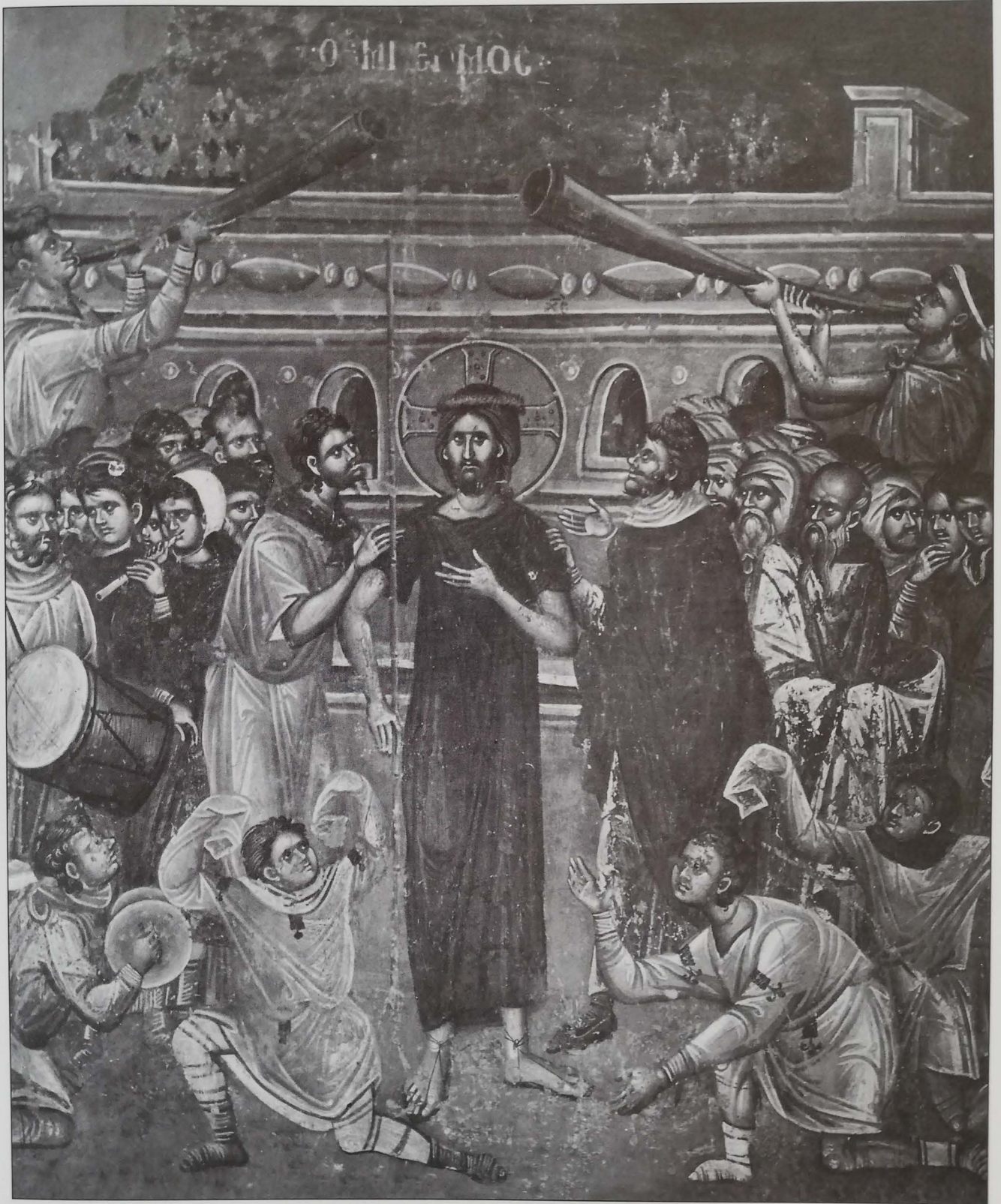


entombment, were represented in almost all of king Milutin's churches. This is not surprising because the theme of Christ's Passion was always popular in Byzantine art, especially during the Komnenian period whence it was adopted and further developed in Palaiologan times, certainly under a direct influence of the liturgy. During the XI and XII centuries, namely, the Palestinian rite, known to be a receptacle of numerous homilies and sacred poems related to this subject, was finally formulated and widely diffused. The importance of the Passion scenes in the programmes of church decoration brought about not only a sudden multiplication of the number of such representations but also a migration of these scenes from the narthex (where they were ordinarily placed in earlier times) to the naos and, at times, even the sanctuary. Only in those churches in which XIV century frescoes repeated older paintings, above all in Peć and the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim, this cycle remained in the narthex. Such an advance of these scenes towards the sanctuary was certainly influenced by some of the liturgical rites of the Holy Week.⁹⁵

Because of the varying, not always favourable state of preservation of the frescoes in different churches, the relation of the cycle of Christ's Passion to Passion lections is not always entirely clear but there can be no doubt that these lections always lie at their foundation. Maundy Thursday commemorates the Last Supper, Christ's washing of the feet of the apostles, his prayer on the Mount of Olives and the betrayal of Judas. Because of the liturgical significance of these events and their importance for the future Church of Christ, in Serbian churches, as elsewhere, the Last Supper stood at the opening of the cycle, usually located in the sanctuary, close to the scene representing the Communion of the Apostles: in Bogorodica Ljeviška, Prochor of Pčinja, Nagoričino, Chilandar and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos.⁹⁶ The order of the scenes which followed was usually based on the sequence of gospel lections read at the liturgy of Maundy Thursday: the Washing of the Feet, possibly, as in Nagoričino and St. Nikita, with the addition of Christ Lecturing the Apostles on Humility — in accordance with the pericope from John (13, 3–17) read on that occasion,⁹⁷ the Agony in the Garden, Judas Taking the Pieces of Silver (in Nagoričino) and the Betrayal of Judas. The service of the Passion lections was created through an intertwining of texts so that, as a result, the chronological order of the scenes was accordingly disrupted. This principle was observed without exception by the artists who thus represented Christ being tried before

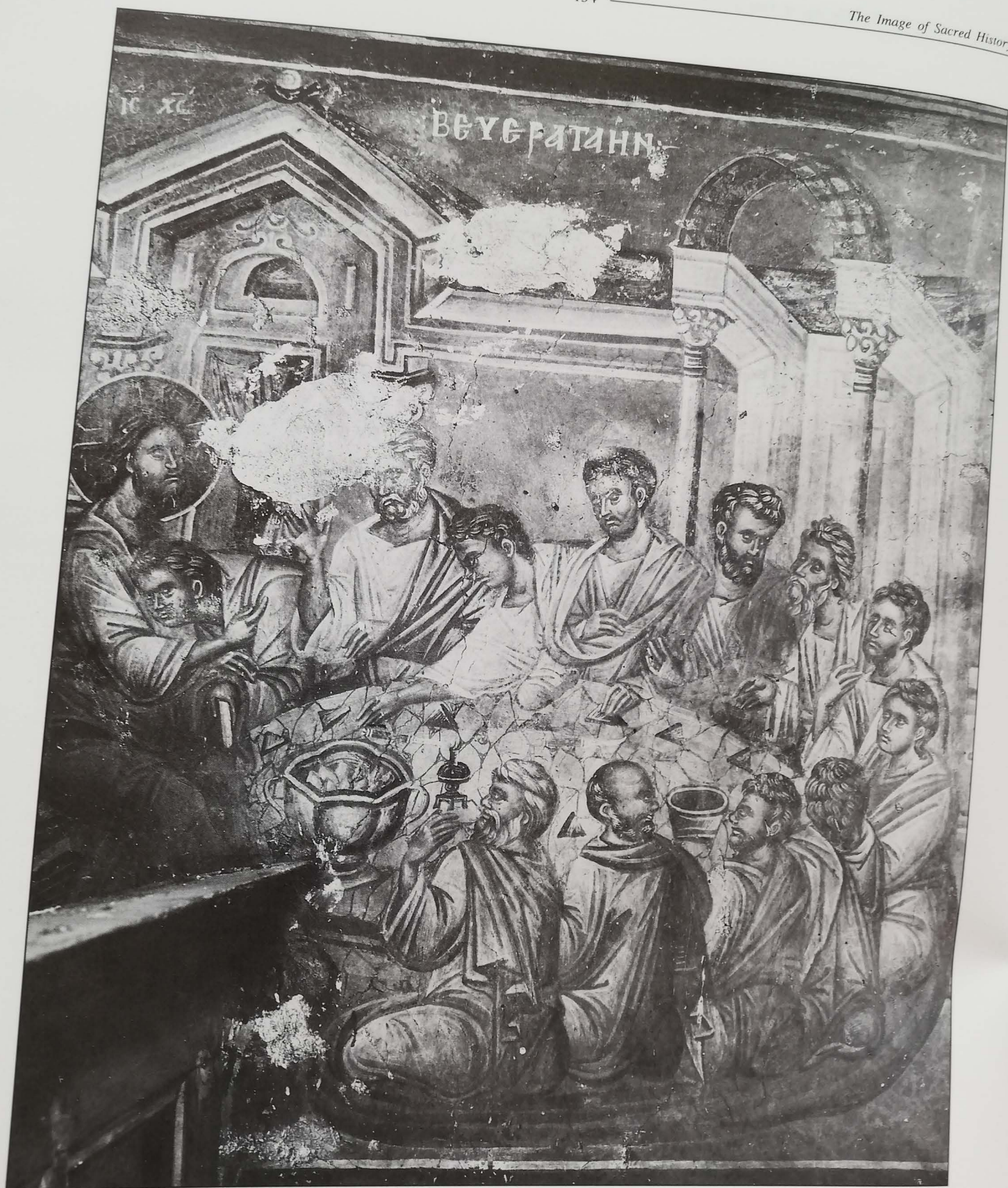
Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate and Herod in Nagoričino and Gračanica and, in those two churches, a separate scene showing Christ being turned over to the Hebrews. In Gračanica we also find Peter's trifold denial of Christ. In some cases the scene of Mocking of Christ is also included in this cycle. A somewhat more liberal choice of gospel texts resulted either in the inclusion or the exclusion of certain scenes related to the Golgotha and the death of Christ. Thus, the Road to Calvary, the Raising of the Cross or the Ascent of and the Descent from the Cross appeared everywhere. It seems that the painters of Peć and Chilandar were the only ones to represent Christ in front of the Cross while those from Nagoričino and Gračanica also added the Crucifixion. In Nagoričino and Gračanica Michael and Eutychios followed the texts read on Good Friday even more closely than their contemporaries and included into this cycle the scene of Joseph asking Pilate for the body of Christ in order to bury it. The painters of Chilandar also added the rarely represented Preparation of the Sepulchre. The cycle usually ended with the Entombment while in Gračanica and Chilandar there is also the Lamentation. This was also the last scene of the cycle in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and St. Nikita and the only one not based on gospel texts.⁹⁸

The iconography of almost all mentioned scenes was based on earlier solutions known from the art of the XI and XII centuries.⁹⁹ The Last Supper, in the composition which finally prevailed, included Christ at the head of the table at once dispensing blessings with his raised hand and establishing the sacrament of the Eucharist. The architecture behind him is there to represent the room on Zion in which this event took place. The speed and thoroughness with which the new iconography spread is attested also by the Washing of the Feet, a scene in which "genre" elements, with the apostles untying their sandals in the foreground, became common. The Agony in the Garden also followed the standard models of early Palaiologan art, with Christ in prayer and angles encouraging him while the foreground is usually taken by the dormant apostles. The meticulous observance of the texts and the order of the Passion lections is reflected in the representation of some episodes as separate scenes, previously, although rarely, inserted into already formulated compositions, or in the enrichment of the already standard images. And, because the iconography of the scenes found in the different monuments is quite similar, we are inclined to believe that the artists working in Serbia used as a framework a basic redaction of the cycle and its iconography already formulated elsewhere. Apart from the usual motifs, the



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Staro Nagoričino, *Mocking of Christ*, 1315–1317





Betrayal of Judas in Gračanica is expanded with the figures of the fleeing apostles and soldiers brought from the city by Judas, elements seen also in other contemporary monuments. Several years earlier, in Nagoričino, the motif of Judas taking the pieces of silver was singled out and made into a special scene. In St. Nikita even the death of Judas may have been represented — should we, of course, believe the painters who repainted parts of the earlier fresco decoration in 1483/1484. Closely observing the gospel text, artists of the early XIV century worked patiently on all the trials that Christ was brought to as well as on the moment when Pilate turned the convicted Christ over to the Hebrews, but the iconography of their scenes was based on much older models, con-

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Čučer, St. Nikita, *Last Supper*, around 1320

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Staro Nagoričino, *Last Supper*, 1315–1317



veying the look of the Hebrew court house, the Roman praetorium and adopting some elements from imperial iconography. Christ's prosecutors are dressed as Byzantine emperors and accompanied by groups of bodyguards while the high priests are encircled by candle-bearers, counsellors and notaries sitting around tables with pieces of parchment on which the verdict is going to be written. In Gračanica, the conference of the centurions with the Hebrews after the resurrection of Christ, in order to keep the bribed soldiers quiet about the event, is singled out in the form of a separate scene while in Peć the Trial Before Annas is expanded with a scene showing the pharisees engaged in lively discussion around a table covered with opened books inscribed with unintelligible letters con-

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Gračanica, *Lamentation*, 1319–1321

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Čučer, St. Nikita, *Lamentation*, around 1320



veying the idea of Hebrew "books of the Law". Apart from this almost archaeologically precise description of the courtroom proceedings, other details, previously rarely represented, were also introduced into this scene. They were not always inspired by gospel texts. A case in point, for example, is the figure of Pilate's wife appearing behind her husband in Nagoričino, at the moment he pronounces the verdict, and on the right side of the same scene in Gračanica. In Peć she stands at the window of the praetorium building. In Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos a servant whispers her message into Pilate's ear. The Mocking of Christ in Nagoričino displays an even greater number of reminiscences of apocryphal writings and religious drama.

Together with such unexpected forms, in those days painting was also influenced by apocryphal texts which enriched the descriptions found in the gospels and fitted easily into an art which was fond of colourful storytelling. The Road to Calvary, the Ascent of the Cross in Nagoričino (as in Gračanica), as well as the adjacent Crucifixion and Descent from the Cross, include the figures of the apostle John and the Virgin, hiding behind a hill. The gospels speak only briefly of the role Mary and John played in the last Passions of Christ so that their introduction to these scenes should be regarded as a result of influences of other sources. Namely, one version of the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus does actually mention that the

apostle John and the Virgin followed the group of convicts to the Golgotha. Therefore, this, or some other similar apocryphal text, must have been used by an anonymous author as the basis for an unusual dramatisation of Christ's Passion (Palat. gr. 367) in which the Virgin is introduced to the procession following Christ and her pain before the sight of her son on the cross described in detail. Inspired by the Gospel of Luke (23, 27–31), the scene showing Christ addressing the women of Jerusalem on his way to the Golgotha entered Byzantine art at an early stage of its development and survived until the days of Arilje and Chilandar. However, in that scene and the Ascent of the Cross the figures of Mary and John hiding behind a hill make their first appearance in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid and the Protaton (around 1300). Painters working in Serbia at that time follow these examples. Obviously, the common model, formulated in some centre of artistic creation not known to us today, produced several identical solutions. Its influence is also felt in a partly preserved scene from Peć which renders Christ before the cross, an episode otherwise rarely represented in Serbian art. In an incomplete version (without the cross) it appears around this time in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos while in Chilandar we see it in its standard form. On the repainted fresco from Chilandar there is no other figure behind Christ so that the identity of the person he is addressing remains vague. In Peć, on the other hand, this scene is complete because Christ turns towards the Virgin and the apostle John standing by his side, an element adopted from the Road to Calvary as seen, for example, in the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid and the already mentioned Serbian churches.¹⁰⁰

Other scenes and iconographic particularities related to the services of the Holy Week also appear in the fresco decoration of king Milutin's churches. Thus, in the partly preserved Last Supper in Žiča Judas is painted with a darkened halo and in the Virgin Peribleptos with a barely traced outline of a halo. This could be a reflection of the verses of the triodion by Andrew of Crete chanted at the services of Maundy Thursday.¹⁰¹ In those days the Lamentation was depicted several times despite the fact that it is not mentioned in the gospels. Its ties with the liturgy can be observed with reliability from the XI century on, from the time the homily of Georgios of Nicomedia dedicated to the Lamentation of Christ, the kontakion of St. Romanos the Melodos "Let us come and praise", the Lament of the Virgin and a series of other songs were introduced to the services of Good Friday and Saturday before Easter. Their influence should account

not only for the emergence but also for the particularly rich iconography of the Lamentation in Gračanica, Chilandar and other Serbian monuments.¹⁰² Moreover, at the beginning of the XIV century, the translation of words into visual images resulted in the creation of new compositions with a very pronounced liturgical character. The mentioned texts read or sung on Friday and Saturday before Easter, as well as the texts of Gabriel the Monk, Mark and Cosmas and the homilies of Epiphanius and Gregorios of Antioch, in which descriptions of Christ's death alternate with those of him dwelling in the grave and reminiscences of his childhood, resulted in the formation of a new composition, the Anapeson, based on Old Testament texts (Genesis 49, 9; Numbers, 24, 9 and several Psalms). The oldest surviving examples of this representation are preserved in the Protaton and the Omorphi Ecclesia in Athens (from around 1300). This theme was to appear in two Serbian churches related to the Athonite milieu, Chilandar and its metochion, the church of St. Nikita near Skoplje. In both cases this image appears on the front sides of the piers flanking the iconostasis and there are minor differences between the two examples. However, the angels which appear on both frescoes clearly indicate the liturgical nature of this composition, just as the instrumenta martirii in their hands, the gestures of the Virgin and the open eyes of Christ indicate his death, the three days he spent in the grave – in his human hypostasis – and the Virgin lamenting over him. Whatever the location of this image – in the narthex, above the entrance, in the naos or in the altar space – it always denotes Christ whose resurrection is expected. That is why it is associated with the services and rites performed before Easter. The evangelical scene of the Entombment and the liturgical composition of the Anapeson conclude the cycle of Christ's Passion and corporeal death and announce, through the language of visual images, his Resurrection.¹⁰³

The Cycle of the Resurrection Appearances of Christ

As one of the most important events, the Resurrection of Christ was celebrated in a very solemn manner because it also offered to the faithful hope of their own resurrection. The forty day long stay of the resurrected Christ on earth was the last chance for him to instruct the apostles, to "entrust them with the divine ministry of salvation" and promise them consolation for the last time at the Pentecost after which



he ascended to heaven. Gospel pericopes related to these events were read at mattins from Easter to the Pentecost and they represented the axis around which painters grouped larger or smaller collections of scenes tied to the resurrection appearances of Christ. In churches of the XIII century the resurrection appearances of Christ were painted in the sanctuary, usually reduced to just a few scenes, and the cycle retained this location even in some Serbian churches such as St. Prochor of Pčinja, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, Chilandar and St. Nikita. Still, even in these churches an odd scene would stray out of the sanctuary and be transferred to the diaconicon and the east part of the naos in the same way the opening and the closing scenes were transferred into the altar space in Nagoričino. The cycle became extraordinarily significant in king Milutin's churches, it even assumed the leading position in contemporary Orthodox painting in both the number of scenes and the place they held within the programme of decoration. It first entered the naos in Bogorodica Ljeviška and its ten or so preserved scenes indicate that this church was the model upon which the representations of resurrection lections in Nagoričino and Gračanica were based. There, the sequence of the scenes, based on the texts of all four gospels, relates extensively Christ's appearances before the myrrhophores, the apostles, the events at Emmaus and the See of Galilee. Parts of the gospels read at the services inspired the painters to constantly multiply the number of scenes so that in Nagoričino we find a total of seventeen and approximately as many in Gračanica, Chilandar and St. Nikita.¹⁰⁴

The extant frescoes offer ground for us to assume that the same redaction of the cycle was used in both Ljeviška, Nagoričino and Gračanica, although the iconography of the scenes is not always identical. What's more, in Chilandar, even their disposition is significantly different: the Holy Women at the Sepulchre appear after a series of paintings related to the Passion lections while Christ's appearances at Emmaus are transferred to the diaconicon. In St. Nikita, the Holy Women at the Sepulchre were also singled out in the naos of the church, the events of Emmaus entirely omitted while the appearances of Christ before the apostles were considerably abridged in both churches. Scenes of Christ's appearance before the three myrrh bearing women from Chilandar and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos could also testify that, outside the circle centred around Michael and Eutychios, other iconographic solutions, faithful to the ancient formulas with Christ in the centre and the women on either side of him, were also employed. In the early

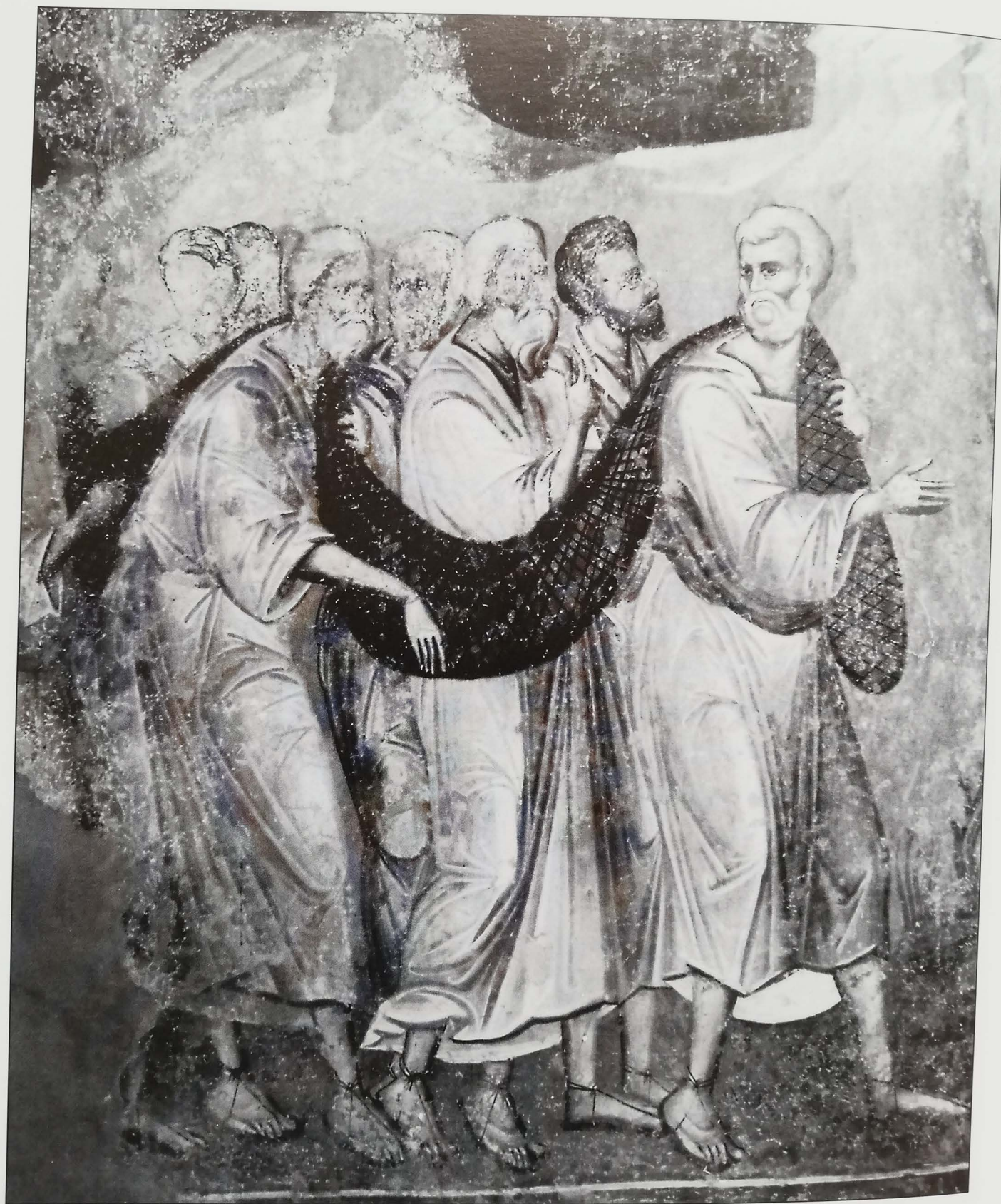
XIV century this composition was not going to be represented in that form in any church in Serbia.

On the other hand, certain examples prove that the cycle was not exclusively based on gospel texts and their liturgical implementation. In Nagoričino the first appearance of Christ is painted before the scene showing the three myrrh bearing women at the sepulchre of Christ. Moreover, there are three women: two kneel before Christ while the third stands in front of them with arms outstretched in supplication. Although no name was inscribed or preserved by this figure, we should recognise in her the Virgin Mary because she wears the traditional violet maphorion decorated with tassels and is the only one of the three with a halo around her head. The group of three myrrh bearing women is not at all an unusual phenomenon, although it appears in Byzantine art only from the XII century on, certainly under the influence of the text of Gospel of Mark (16, 1–8) read at liturgy during the Week of the Myrrh Bearers. In Vatopedi (1313) and Gračanica, the myrrh bearers are joined by the Virgin and, in the latter church, her name is preserved by one of the figures while being referred to, in the accompanying inscription, as the "other Mary". After all, the services of the Saturday before Easter mention in several instances the Virgin's arrival, together with the myrrh bearers, to the sepulchre of Christ.¹⁰⁵ Disregarding the standard order, the painters of Nagoričino substituted the Virgin's visit to Christ's tomb with a representation of Christ appearing before the Virgin and two myrrh bearing women so that the Holy Women at the Sepulchre found its place right after this composition. It seems that the chronological order of events was observed only in Bogorodica Ljeviška since, similar to Gračanica, the three myrrh bearers are depicted after the scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre. As attested by the preserved frescoes of Nagoričino, Gračanica and Chilandar, at the beginning of the XIV century this scene was based on the Gospel of John (20, 12) and thus included representations of two angels flanking the sarcophagus, a novelty in comparison with earlier art.

The further order of the scenes was standard, with the myrrh bearing women informing the apostles of Christ's resurrection, Peter and John discovering Christ's empty tomb and Christ appearing to Luke and Cleopas in Emmaus. In an iconographic sense they were almost identical in all churches and only occasionally they relied on older models. In Bogorodica Ljeviška, and somewhat earlier in the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid and the Protaton, in the Road to Emmaus and the Supper at Emmaus Christ is repre-



77
Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Supper at Emmaus*, detail, 1309–1313



78
Staro Nagoričino, *Christ appearing to the apostles on the Sea of Galilee*,
detail: *the apostles setting off to the fish hunt*, 1315–1317

sented "in another form" (Mark 16, 12), in a dark red dress with gold bands and a tonsure, in the guise of a priest offering bread to the apostles. The liturgical nature of the scene is even more obvious in Chilandar because it is located in the diaconicon apse, right next to the Vision of Peter of Alexandria and the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. Such a connotation of the Supper at Emmaus was well known to the painters working in Chilandar because this scene had already been located in that spot a while earlier in the Protaton while in the Virgin Peribleptos Michael and Eutychios found a place for it next to the apse of the prothesis.¹⁰⁶

In Gračanica and Chilandar, Christ's appearance to the apostles on the Sea of Galilee was depicted in an abridged form, quite contrary to Bogorodica Ljeviška and Nagoričino. In this last church representations of other events recounted in the Gospel of John have also been preserved: the apostles setting off to the fish hunt, Christ addressing the apostles from the shore, Peter jumping into the water, the burning fire with a fish and some bread upon it, the drawing of the net full of fish and Christ blessing the bread and the fish. In Ljeviška and Nagoričino, apart from the similar order of the episodes, attention was focused on the blessing of the fish and the bread and their distribution to the apostles as an allusion to the distribution of eucharistic offerings by Christ in the Communion. In Gračanica and St. Nikita this detail was left out because this scene, following the text of the Gospel of Luke (24, 42–43), depicted only the apostles offering honey and fish to Christ, based on an iconographic scheme which drew it quite close to the distribution of the eucharistic offerings to the apostles.¹⁰⁷

In Serbian churches considerable attention was devoted to Christ's appearances to the apostles on Zion, marked with a basilical structure in the background, an allusion to the building later raised on that site. It is in front of this edifice that the apostle Thomas is assured about the identity of the risen Christ on the frescoes of Žiča, Nagoričino, Gračanica and St. Nikita, and in front of it that Christ himself appears on the paintings from Nagoričino and Gračanica. Among these scenes, Christ's appearance behind closed doors, or the Mission of the Apostles, was of particular significance. In Žiča this fresco has been destroyed while in Gračanica it shows Christ in the centre of the composition, addressing his disciples with his hand raised (John 20, 19–23) and introducing them to the noble mission of spreading his teachings. Should we base our conclusions on the repainted Chilandar fresco, an unusual Mission of the Apostles was depicted in the apse of that church: under

the ciborium, on the altar table, there are rolled up scrolls and some of the apostles are either reaching for them or stretching their arms towards Christ surrounded by the rest of the apostles who bow before him. This part of the scene actually repeats the Mission of the Apostles according to Matthew (28, 16–20): upon seeing Christ on the Mount of Galilee before his ascension, the disciples bowed before him and he addressed them with the words: "All power in heaven and on earth hath been given me. Go ye, therefore, make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit: teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you: and behold, I am with you all days, unto the consummation of the world". The iconography of this passage was not subjected to many changes and rendered Christ blessing the two groups of apostles bowing deeply before him with both his hands; only in Palaiologan art was this formula altered into showing all the apostles on just one side of Christ. The scene from Chilandar is based on that of the Protaton and the same scheme was adopted also by the painters of Nagoričino and probably those of Gračanica. In Chilandar and Nagoričino, Christ's gestures illustrate his words about power in heaven and on earth. Although the left part of the Chilandar fresco has no counterparts in the art of its era it can still be explained by the words with which Christ sent off his disciples to spread his teachings to all the nations. In one of the earliest examples of this subject, a miniature from the Paris. gr. 510 manuscript, fol. 426v, dating from 879, a group of twelve apostles baptizing the people are depicted below a figure of Christ surrounded by his disciples. On the other hand, in Timotesubani, a Georgian church of the early XIII century, emphasis was placed on "the teaching of all nations": those exact words from the Gospel of Matthew were written out on Christ's open book while he himself is surrounded by figures of the apostles holding rolled up scrolls. In Chilandar we see the apostles picking up the rolled up scrolls which they repeatedly hold when depicted as single figures. In medieval art scrolls, whether rolled up or open, either represent the doctrine which is being spread or appear as a sign of the chosen ones. Neither the composition from Timotesubani nor that from Chilandar were illustrations but rather symbolic images of the Mission of the Apostles. Certain iconographic ties between this Chilandar fresco and the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles can not be ruled out because this composition sometimes includes a personification of the Cosmos with scrolls. It was also the first compo-





79
Staro Nagoričino, *Christ talking to Peter*
after the third resurrection appearance, 1315–1317

80
Staro Nagoričino, *Resurrected Christ and the Virgin*,
1315–1317

81
Gračanica, *The Virgin and the myrrhophores at the sepulchre*,
1319–1321



sition in which the apostles were depicted holding scrolls in their hands as a symbol of the mission to which they were directed by Christ and the authority which they received through the power of the Holy Ghost. Placed between the Communion of the Apostles and the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, in Chilandar this fresco acquired its full liturgical justification.¹⁰⁸

Liturgical Subjects in the Sanctuary

More than ever before, liturgy imbued the programmes of fresco decoration of Serbian churches of king Milutin's era resulting in considerable changes

in the iconography of particular scenes and even complete cycles which were entirely synchronised with the new nature of late Byzantine art. Subjects of a liturgical nature, in a more narrow sense of the word, were especially numerous in the altar space, a space in which most of the services were performed, and whose walls were decorated with especially chosen gospel scene. The altar table had long been ascribed the symbolism of the Bethlehem manger, the sepulchre of the Lord and the table at which the Last Supper was held on Zion, so that in Arilje, St. Prochor of Pčinja, Sušica, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim the walls of the altar space were, accordingly, decorated with scenes of the Nativity and Descent into Hades. At times (in Nagoričino and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos) this space could also host a larger number of scenes based on Passion lections, under the condition that they referred to Christ's last supper with the apostles (scenes from the opening of the cycle) and his burial (scenes from its end). It could also hold representations related to the Resurrection lections, as in St. Prochor of Pčinja, Nagoričino, St. Nikita and Chilandar.

Thus, the decoration of the altar space summed up an entire circle of liturgical themes, beginning with the Incarnation of Christ, through his Passion and death to his Resurrection and Ascension. In art, all the major themes were already formulated before the early XIV century so that, at that time, they were only subjected to minor iconographic changes. The Virgin in the apex of the apse was still an indispensable part of the decoration and, regardless of her type (in Studenica, Nagoričino and Sts. Peter and Paul she sits on a throne, in Chilandar, Gračanica, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos she is signed as *Acheiropoiitos*, in Sušica she is surrounded by angels), she is always the image of the Church on Earth, an epithet she attained by giving birth to Christ.

The Eucharist, the most significant part of every liturgy, also appears in the apse. In practically all of king Milutin's churches it takes the form of the Communion of the Apostles. In cases where there was not enough space for this scene in the apse, as in St. Prochor of Pčinja, Bogorodica Ljeviška and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, it appears on the lateral walls flanking it. As a liturgical aspect of the Last Supper, the Communion of the Apostles was always related to that scene in one way or another. In Gračanica, Chilandar and St. Nikita, as in the art of the XII century, Christ is approached from both sides by a group of twelve apostles, St. Peter leading the way on either side. The division of the twelve disciples into two

groups, as was most often the case in Serbian monuments, resulted in indecision regarding the choice of the apostle who was to head the group on the right and thus receive the wine from Christ's hands. That role was usually assigned to apostle John. However, Judas, the only figure without a halo, appears in his place in Arilje and this choice was probably based on the text of the Gospel of John (13, 26). In Bogorodica Ljeviška, on the other hand, John is substituted by Paul, thus disregarding the "historical" aspect of the composition and underlining even more its symbolic meaning. That, together with the angels bearing rhytidia and dressed as deacons, goes to underline the role of Christ as the archpriest and draws this composition closer to the communion of the priests, a rite performed by the bishop. Probably as a result of direct influences of the liturgy, the words with which Christ addresses the apostles while offering them the bread and the wine (Matthew 26, 26–29) found their way into this scene, together with the image of Christ the Great Archpriest wearing a *sakkos*, as in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and St. Nikita. Having established the new Pasch, Christ became a priest of the order of Melchizedek (Ps. 109, 4; Hebrews 5, 10; 7, 17–21), his priesthood is eternal and it can redeem those who reach God through it (Hebrews 7, 24–25). The divine nature of the rite performed by Christ and the offerings which he distributes is attested not only by his ecclesiastic symbols and the presence of the angel-deacons but also by the cherubims painted in the vicinity of this scene in Bogorodica Ljeviška and Gračanica, later, in Dečani (1338–1348), to be included in the very kernel of the composition.¹⁰⁹

Regardless of its "historical" or "liturgical" overtones, the Communion of the Apostles also had a certain realism – in the medieval sense of the word – because the role of Christ in establishing the Eucharist has remained unchanged to this day. During the first decades of the XIV century the image of establishment and perseverance of the Eucharist, first rendered in the XI century in the form of the Communion of the Apostles and the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, depicted one above the other, was a regular feature of programmes of decoration. In the different churches in which it appeared minor changes could be introduced to this fundamentally unalterable image but they did not affect its basic meaning. The unusual Mission of the Apostles from Chilandar, located between the Communion of the Apostles and the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, only emphasises the connection between these scenes: the apostles were the first to receive this great sacrament from Christ, as he ordered "This do



ye in remembrance of me" (Luke 22, 19), "for as often as ye eat this bread and drink of the cup, ye proclaim the death of the Lord, until he come" (I Corinthians 11, 24–26), and they passed it on to their disciples and future priests. For those reasons the scene of Celebration of Holy Liturgy included a great number of bishops from various periods of time (most often the participants of the First Ecumenical Council) and different parts of the Christian world, among them some who were rarely portrayed: in Arilje – St. Achilleios, in Chilandar – St. Sava the Serbian, St. Amphilochios, St. Epiphanius of Cyprus and St. Andrew of Crete, the last two also appear in St. Nikita, together with St. Nicephoros of Constantinople and Eustathios of Thessaloniki, in Studenica – St. Dionysios the Areopagite, in Gračanica – St. Elias of Antioch and St. Germanos of Constantinople and in Nagoričino – St. Clement of Ohrid and St. Constantine Kabasilas. Dressed in the same robes, polystavria, omophores and bearing other episcopal signs, positioned in the same stance and displaying the same liturgical text, they were the image of the one and unchangeable liturgy which precludes all idiosyncrasies. However, resemblance of or even total correspondence with the everyday rite performed around the holy offerings could not and would not be avoided, only in certain cases it was more conspicuous than in others. It seems that in Ljeviška and Gračanica we can actually identify the part of the liturgy rendered in painting. There are no open and inscribed scrolls in the hands of the first bishops who are, rather, shown in the act of benediction of the Amnos on the table, a rite tied to the Anaphora when, following a commemoration of the Last Supper, the priest silently prays with his head bowed and then blesses the holy offerings with the sign of a cross, just as we see the bishops doing in these two churches. In Bogorodica Ljeviška and Gračanica, apart from the Amnos and the chalice, a scroll or a book is also depicted on the altar table, probably as a sign of Christ's words and commandments regarding the Eucharist. The essence of this image is best expressed in Studenica where Amnos is singled out in a special niche and depicted, next to a chalice, on an altar table surrounded by two deacons holding rhyphidia while the scene is accompanied by an inscription the text of which is taken from the Proskomide rite: "The Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world is slain for the life and salvation of the world".¹¹⁰

There were also other ways of visualising Christ's death on the cross and his redeeming sacrifice, not only through narrative representations (the Last Sup-

per, Descent from the Cross and Entombment) or liturgical compositions but also through leaved crosses as, for example, on the back of the iconostasis in Nagoričino and the niches in the south wall of the altar space in Petrova crkva, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and elsewhere. The words or cryptograms written out around them point out that this is the very cross of the sacrificed Jesus Christ, Son of God, which Helen had discovered at the Golgotha.¹¹¹

Liturgical themes, usually reduced only to the Virgin and the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with just a few bishops, could also be located in the protheses and, at times, even the diaconicons of churches as well as in the altar spaces of the parekklesia. As in Gračanica and Nagoričino, the choice of characters was a matter of great attention because they had to differ from those depicted in the main apse while the image of the Virgin had to be of a different type. Sometimes this resulted in the appearance of more liberal solutions which, nonetheless, remained in touch with liturgical connotations and the symbolism of the space in which they were painted. Thus, in the apses of such spatial units we find St. John the Prodromos as the last prophet of Christ's sacrifice. In the apse of the diaconicon of the katholikon of Chilandar, probably following the slightly earlier example of the Protaton, we find the Supper at Emmaus and, beneath it, the Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria. This last scene appears also in the vicinity of the prothesis apse in St. Nikita and the south chapel of Gračanica. Finally, in the apse of the katholikon of Chilandar, as well as in the apse of St. Nikita which was probably modelled after it, we find that, on the east wall, the Eucharist is replaced with the Hospitality of Abraham, its Old Testament archetype. In fact, in Chilandar, there is actually a miniature cycle of the righteous Abraham of which only the three angels at the table, signed as the Holy Trinity, were designated for the apse (the same solution appears in St. Nikita) because it is to the Trinity that offerings and prayers of gratitude are extended at the liturgy. A cycle of scenes related to the righteous Abraham is also found in Gračanica and there, too, risking a disturbance of the chronological order of the compositions, the Hospitality of Abraham, i.e. the Holy Trinity, is painted right next to the apse.

Gračanica stands out among King Milutin's churches because of the unusual wealth of themes depicted in its sanctuary, extraordinary in both choice and meaning. Gospel themes are excluded from the programme (except for the Ascension which is represented, according to ancient tradition, on the vault) and in

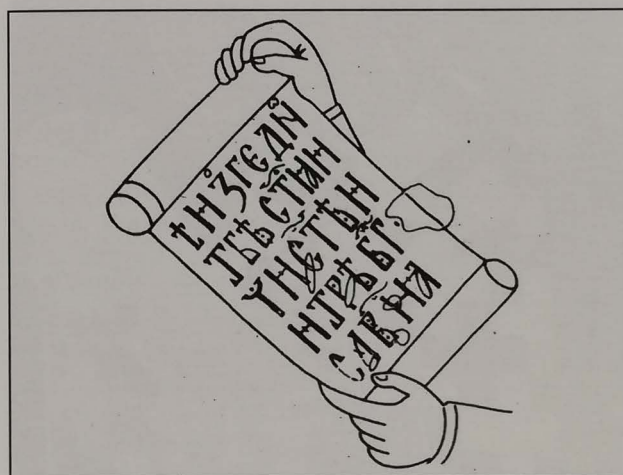


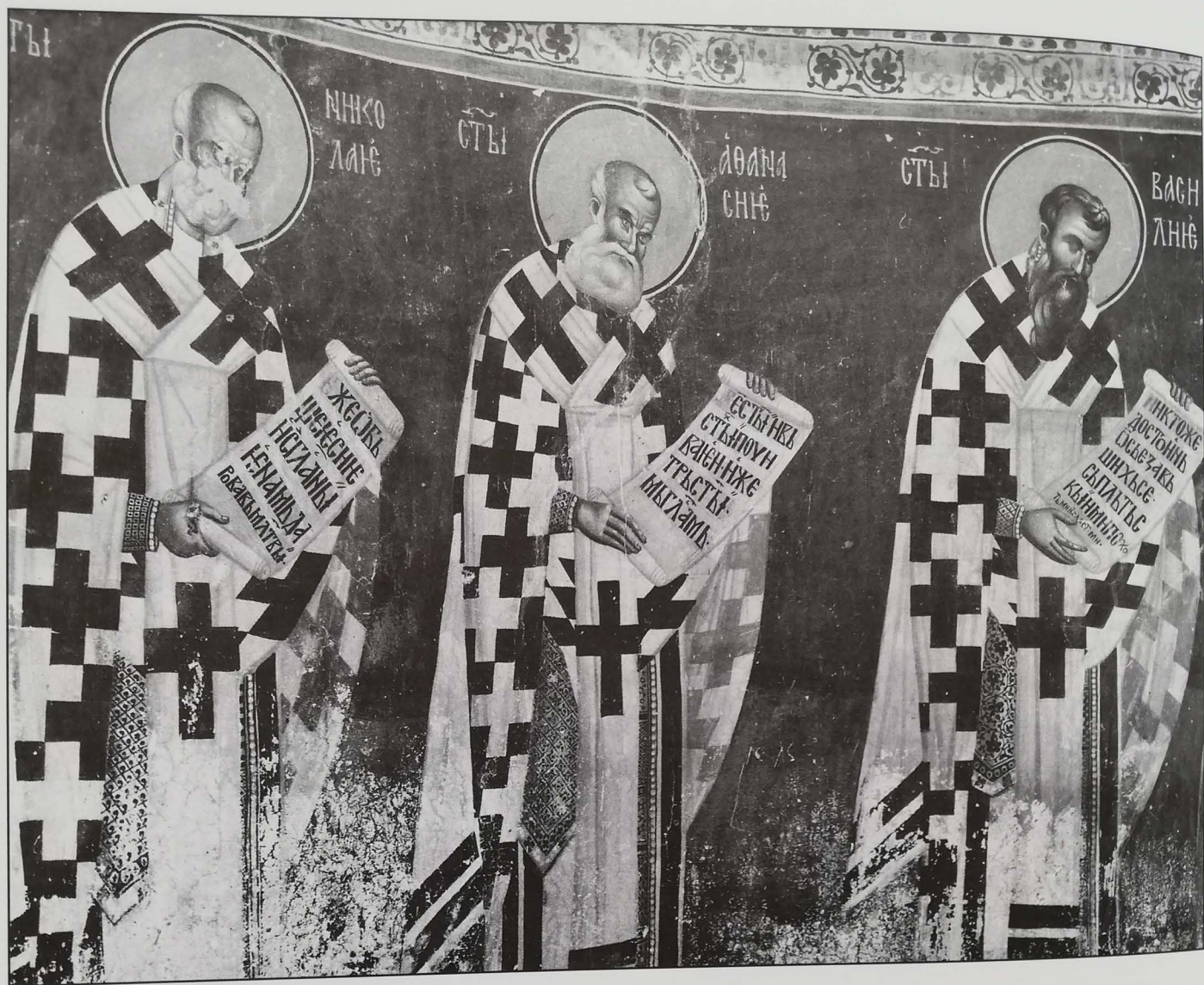
83

Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Celebration of Holy Liturgy*, 1309–1313

84

Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Celebration of Holy Liturgy*, detail, 1309–1313





85
Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Celebration of Holy Liturgy*,
detail, 1318–1319

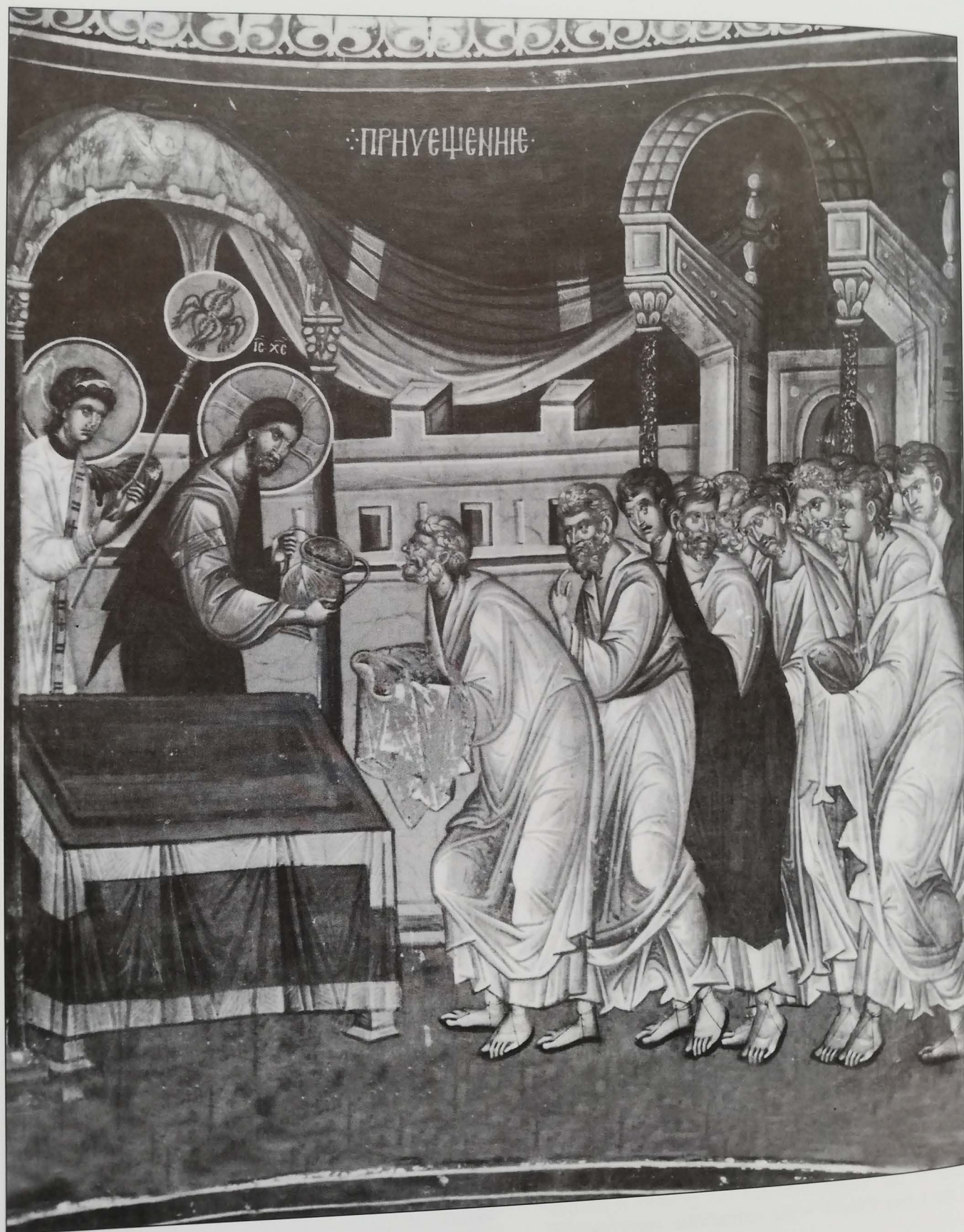
86
Thessaloniki, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, *St. Nicholas*,
1315–1320

87
Arilje, *Communion with Wine*, detail, 1295/1296



their place we find a cycle dedicated to the Virgin and a number of Old Testament scenes. Their mutual connection is obvious and their disposition in the altar space is not unusual either. In Gračanica, the celebration of the Virgin reached its apogee – her role in the Incarnation of Christ is rendered in a majestic way in the altar while events related to her death and her role as mediatrix appear in the naos. The miraculous birth and youth of the God chosen Virgin are conceived as a part of Divine Providence realised long before the birth of Christ. Many Old Testament events, the subject of lections related to the various feasts of the Virgin, heralded the greatest mysteries of the future Church – the immaculate conception of

Christ and his Incarnation which turned the Virgin into a New Temple, a throne of the Lord, a New Tabernacle, those being the poetic epithets often ascribed to her. Words uttered during liturgy and transposed into visual images celebrated the Virgin by comparing her with the Fleece of Gideon (Judges 6, 36–38; Psalm 71, 6) and the furnace from which the three Hebrew youths escaped unharmed (Daniel 3, 1–30), with the burning bush (Exodus 3, 2–8), the Old Testament Tabernacle (Exodus 26–28) and the Temple of Divine Wisdom (Proverbs 9, 1–18). Used only sporadically in earlier art, and even in the decoration of some of Milutin's churches (Chilandar, St. Nikita, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos), these archetypes



of the Virgin were all grouped together in Gračanica. Moreover, in this church they were imbued with other connotations as well.¹¹²

The Image of the New Temple

In the Middle Ages, the connection, in an ideal sense, of course, between the two Temples, the Old which existed before Christ and the New which he himself established, was a favourite topic of contemplation focused on the relation of the two Testaments within the framework of the history of redemption. Finally, during the late Byzantine period this idea was articulately expressed even in the visual arts. Imagery of this sort also marked the art of king Milutin's era through the emergence of themes discussed above as well as images which served to emphasise this particular relation. The idea of an eternal existence of the Lord's dwelling, or Temple, on earth, which was fundamentally transformed by Christ, was expressed through the use of ancient, well known images, their choice and particular disposition in the different programmes of decoration. The Old Testament altars from which the Lord received the offerings extended to Him were seen as archetypes, albeit imperfect, of the New Temple. As a result of the process of histori- ation of Old Testament truths in late medieval painting – performed in a manner identical to that observed in contemporary literature, liturgy and its commentaries – they often appeared on church walls. Because the Christian Temple is founded upon the incarnated and sacrificed Christ and because it was the continuation of the old sacrificial altars, the Tabernacle and the temples, imagery of this nature could be found in any part of a church but it was mostly concentrated in the sanctuary.

The nature of the extensive story of Abraham's sacrifice painted on the east wall of the narthex of Arilje, directly above the entrance to the naos, is mostly didactic. This scene is often found on this location and its didactic character is typical of entrance spaces but at the same time it also suggests an image of the old altar upon which Abraham was prepared to sacrifice his son for the love of God and over which he spoke with the Lord through the angels. Such a connotation of this Arilje fresco is further attested by the fact that the same scene appears also in the sanctuary of Gračanica. The same meaning is discerned also in the two Old Testament scenes related to the righteous Jacob which appear in the exonarthex of Bogorodica Ljeviška. Not only are they related to the

Virgin and Israel, the chosen people, descended from Jacob (for those reasons these two compositions appear below the Tree of Jesse), but they are also the image of Jacob's contact (again through the angels) and conversation with the Lord. Jacob named the place where he wrestled with the angel Penueel, for it was there that he saw God and that his soul was saved (Genesis 32, 30). Having seen the heavenly ladder, Jacob cried out in fear: "How dreadful is this place! This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven" (Genesis 28, 17) and then raised an altar on that spot. There could be no better picture for an entrance to a new, Christian temple, for this was its archetype. At that time, the same scenes also appeared on the pendentives of the south-west dome over the narthex of the Chilandar katholikon, next to the Fleece of Gideon and the Announcing of Samson's Birth, also in reference to the New Temple. The same meaning was present in other frescoes, too, those around the entrance to the naos of the Chilandar church for example. With the exception of one Old Testament theme, Wisdom Hath Built Her House, related to both the Old and New Temple imagery, the place of honour was assigned to the representation of Christ Emmanuel surrounded by prophets, on the vault, as well as to the Virgin with Child, painted above the entrance, and the Crucifixion – all images of the incarnated Christ and his sacrifice on the cross, the key events in the founding of the New Church on Earth. On the other hand, the north part of the wall is taken up by a scene depicting the Prayer of St. John Chrysostomos, as seen by deacon Proclus, the future patriarch of Constantinople.¹¹³

Most often and most naturally, Old Testament images imbued with messages of the temple or sanctuary in general and New Testament images of the New Church, supplemented with liturgical themes, appeared side by side in the altar space, both as a parallel between the two sanctuaries and a contrast between the imperfect and the perfect sacrifice offered to the Lord. In Chilandar and St. Nikita, a representation of the Old Testament Trinity, i.e. the Hospitality of Abraham, was placed inside the prothesis, a space in which the Proskomide rite was performed and the holy offerings sanctified. In Chilandar, moreover, this scene is supplemented by a prologue showing Abraham welcoming the three angels. While the Welcoming is an archetype of entering the altar, the Hospitality is an ancient announcement of the Eucharist offering extended to the Holy Trinity and, in St. Nikita and Gračanica, in the corresponding fresco inscription on the wall, this scene is actually identified with that

name. All in all, Gračanica sums up the efforts of generations of early XIV century theologians and painters aimed at employing Old Testament images in the process of historiation of New Temple imagery. There, in Gračanica, in a church dedicated to the Virgin, ideas of both temples, and their mutual connection through the person of Mary, constantly intertwine. Those Old Testament images, although not all in the same measure, refer also to the Eucharist performed in the altar space. Through his Ministry on earth, and especially through his Sacrifice on the cross, Christ established the New Church. In Gračanica, the primordial sojourn of God among men and the services and sacrifices offered to him, commemorated in words and rites at the liturgy, are memorialised through visual images. Along with the Fleece of Gideon, other Old Testament scenes were also painted in the altar space of Gračanica as archetypes of Old Testament services and the New Temple. The Old Testament Tabernacle with Moses and Aaron officiating in it is painted on the north wall and the meaning of this image is clear enough because the apostle Paul (Hebrews 8–9) already pointed out that Christ himself came to earth and created a new tabernacle which exceeded the old in all respects. In medieval art Abraham's Sacrifice was also an archetype of the sacrifice of Christ and in Gračanica it appears on the south wall of the altar space. Iconographically different from the one in Arilje, here, too, it was an image of the old sacrificial altar, with all the elements of comparison between Isaac and Christ well known to contemporary liturgy. Next to it we find a scene showing the patriarch Abraham (identified through the inscription) inviting the three angels to his home. Closest to the apse, in the same zone as the Communion of the Apostles, are two Old Testament prefigurations of the New Temple and the Eucharist: the Hospitality of Abraham and Wisdom Hath Builded Her House. The first scene shows the three angels, Abraham and Sarah and the other a personification of Divine Wisdom seated at a table with a scroll half unrolled and writing tools in front of it, a building with seven pillars in the background and two maidens with shallow vessels on either side of this structure. As a result of their location, both scenes are related to the Communion, both as its archetypes and heralds of the perfect sacrifice and the perfect Temple which Christ founded on earth.¹¹⁴

The combination of Mariological symbolism and that of the New Church in such Old Testament images was based on liturgical and literary texts which exalted the Virgin as the Temple on Earth. Two of king

Milutin's churches, those in Gračanica and Studenica, best exemplify how clear and significant such ideas must have been to the educated advisors of the painters, the likes of bishop Ignjatije of Lipljan and Jovan, the hegoumenos of Studenica, for example. Both churches contain cycles of the Virgin's childhood and youth, with scenes seen many times before in both earlier and contemporary art in identical or similar iconographic solutions. In Gračanica, however, the entire cycle is located within the altar space and its scenes are distributed in such a manner that those related to the events which took place in the Temple appear by the apse and on the south wall: Joachim's Offerings Rejected, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Zachary Praying Before the Rods of the Suitors, Mary Given Away to Joseph and Water of Purification. The Temple of Jerusalem is always marked by the presence of a high priest, a ciborium and tabernacle doors. Once again emphasis was placed on images of the Old and the New Temple and, what's more, precisely in those scenes whom are related to the Virgin because she was the one through whom the link between them was realised. It was probably for the same reasons that scenes from the cycle of the Virgin which are tied to the Temple, Joachim's Offerings Rejected, Mary Given to Joseph and Water of Purification, found their way to the altar space of the church in Studenica.¹¹⁵

At about the same time an unusual group of images appeared, based on evangelical events rather than on Old Testament archetypes, which were related to the founding of the Church on Earth. The unique nature of the fresco decoration of Žiča, singular in its time, seems to be the result of repainting of the older disposition and choice of subjects, formulated in the days of St. Sava, undertaken in king Milutin's time. The fact that they are similar to the wall paintings from Peć, from around 1265, only confirms this assumption. In Žiča, the Annunciation to Zachary and the Annunciation to the Virgin were chosen as examples of the Old Temple and its subsequent replacement by the New Temple while the founding of the New Temple was represented through events related to Zion and its cenacle: the Last Supper, the Incredulity of Thomas, the Mission of the Apostles and the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles. These are all images of events which are traditionally associated with Zion and which, beyond any doubt, were well known to St. Sava. Such a choice of scenes was conditioned by the fact that, at the time it was first decorated with wall paintings, Žiča was already a cathedral church and was to remain in that function at



the beginning of the XIV century when its frescoes were being restored. The idea of a link between the original church established by Christ on Zion (and, through it, the Old Testament Temple) and the young Serbian autocephalous church (since 1219) impelled St. Sava to place special emphasis in Žiča on the events which were important for the founding of the Church on Earth, namely the events which took place on Zion. It was there that Christ had his Passover supper with his disciples and established the sacrament of the Eucharist, the sacrament of a mystic union between man and God, there that he performed his archpriest's prayer (John 17, 1–26) and set up the apostles as his followers. On Zion he appeared before

Thomas and reassured him that he is truly the Resurrected Lord and made another appearance before the apostles demanding that they spread his teaching to all nations. There the apostles were filled with the Holy Spirit, as they were promised by Christ (Luke 24, 29; John 15, 26), which enabled them to perform the mission entrusted to them by Christ. The ministry of the apostles was carried on by their disciples, ordained as the first bishops, and later by the followers of these ecclesiastics so that, in the Orthodox church, the apostolic idea perseveres in an unbroken chain to this day. Therefore, all cathedral churches (in Serbia this is best observed on the examples of Žiča and Peć) were images of the first "Mother of all churches" from Zion, as they sometimes called themselves. The Zion church, however, was even more than that. In patristic exegesis the Church of Christ has its see in the New Jerusalem, a new and perfect Zion. Based on such an understanding of Zion, tradition linked this place by Jerusalem early on with the events of Christ's life which were crucial for the establishing of the New Church. The Zion church became a general model and in particular a model for cathedral churches which were its descendants and ideal copies. By decorating his cathedral at Žiča with "Zion" scenes (soon to be copied by his follower Arsenije in Peć), archbishop Sava I followed the idea of Zion in a higher sense of the word, by emulating the model of the church founded by Christ himself.¹¹⁶

As attested by the church of the Holy Apostles at Peć, Sava's concept of emulation of the first Christian cathedral, that of Zion, in his archbishopric see, through a specific choice of subjects selected for its decoration and liturgical rites based upon Jerusalem models, was remembered and honoured throughout the XIII century. It was also observed at the time of the restoration of the wall paintings at Žiča when the artists employed by king Milutin actually copied the original programme. A while later, in 1319, archbishop Nikodim did the same in the prologue to his translation of the Jerusalem Typikon, this time in words, of course, in which he explains the undertakings of the first Serbian archbishop. By relying on *topoi* referring to the connection between the Old and the New Temple and the imitation, or "appearance", of the famous monasteries of Jerusalem in Serbia, a genre which defined the mentality and mode of expression of medieval man, Nikodim justified the introduction of Jerusalem rites to the Serbian church. He goes on to say that St. Sava became similar to Moses, who built the Tabernacle after an image revealed to him by the Lord on Mount Sinai, because





he created "this great church" (probably Žiža) after the image of the Zion church and the church of St. Sabas the Sanctified. Because the Serbian church thus became similar to these sanctuaries of Jerusalem, it was only natural that it should also resemble them in its monastic rule. It is obvious, therefore, that in the eyes of Nikodim, references to the Tabernacle of Moses as a prototype of the New Temple, the model apostolic church of Zion and the church of St. Sabas the Sanctified, as well as the esteem of St. Sava the Serbian, were indispensable in finding a justification for the introduction of a new typikon to the Serbian church.¹¹⁷

Other traces of imitation of the Zion church can also be found in Serbian painting of king Milutin's era. In Nagoričino and Gračanica, in representations of Christ's Resurrection appearances traditionally linked to Zion (Appearance before the Eleven Apostles and another appearance before the apostles, Incredulity of Thomas, Christ Eating the Honey and the Fish), this church is depicted in the form of a basilica.¹¹⁸ Some of its elements appear also in scenes such as the Washing of the Feet and the Last Supper, events which were also tied to Zion.

Another legend, that of the Zion investiture of St. James and his followers as bishops of Jerusalem, was also present in late Byzantine art. In the church of St. Nicholas at Melnik (XIII century) we find the investiture of St. James the Lord's brother, in the presence of Christ, while in one of Milutin's churches, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki, several figures of the first bishops of Jerusalem, St. James, Symeon and Jude, who were invested and presided in the Zion church, appear side by side in the decoration of the altar space.¹¹⁹

Frescoes Around Entrances

Concepts of church buildings remained quite fixed throughout the Middle Ages and did not change much over the centuries, a phenomenon that is also reflected in programmes devised for the decoration of ecclesiastical spaces. By the dawn of the XIV century a stable framework had already been formed for programmes of decoration of altar spaces and church naves. It included liturgical and Christological themes, supplemented at times with new images or iconographic variations. Lateral and not always indispensable structures, such as nartheces or entrances porches, had no such standard programmes of decoration. Their programmes were open to far more liberal changes

and additions and it comes as no surprise at all that new subjects and cycles appeared first precisely on those locations, to be included later on in the programmes of other parts of church buildings. Apart from being a space intended for certain groups of the faithful, the entrance – in the words of archbishop Symeon of Thessaloniki from the beginning of the XV century – had a clearly defined function of a transition point, especially at the beginning and the end of the liturgy. The art of king Milutin's era adopted from previous times the custom of raising nartheces because they played a significant role in liturgical rites performed, it seems, according to the *Euergetis typikon*.¹²⁰

The repeated representation of ktetors, members of the ruling Nemanjid dynasty and the highest ecclesiastical officials in entrance spaces of various churches conveyed, among others, a clear message of promotion of those who took charge of the house of the Lord and, through their actions or direct involvement in the raising or restoration of a church, safeguarded the true faith. The link with traditions of the first half or the middle of the XIII century was not broken, only the iconography experienced greater or minor changes. Almost as a rule, images of this sort were used to stress the harmony of two authorities in the land, that of the state and that of the church. Moreover, already at entrance to a monastery or church one could encounter the images of those who, joined in ideal love, extended a devout offering to God. It is quite possible that, when he set off to transform the monastery entrance at Djurdjevi Stupovi into a *pareklesion*, king Dragutin had in mind the entrance to Studenica monastery, decorated in 1208/1209 with portraits of the two brothers, Vukan and Stefan, and probably all the others who were responsible for the construction of that monastery. At Djurdjevi Stupovi, next to his own and a portrait of his family, Dragutin also commissioned the portraits of his brother and king, Milutin, and his wife, as well as those of his ancestors who intercede on his behalf before Christ. An idealised image of cooperation between the ruler and the Church, at the time of the change on the Serbian throne, was conveyed here through scenes of enthronement of Milutin, Dragutin, their father and grandfather.¹²¹ Ancestor emulation lasted until the end of the XIII century. Practically the entire decoration of the narthex of Arilje is dedicated to the exaltation of the true faith: its vault and walls are covered with representations of the Ecumenical Councils, which established the dogmas of the true faith, along with the Council of Symeon Nemanja which portrays the founder of the Serbian dynasty as a soldier of

Orthodoxy and a model for his descendants, kings Dragutin and Milutin. There, in Arilje, a short cycle dedicated to the Old Testament patriarch Abraham is also included in the decoration of the narthex and appears above the entrance. It consists of three scenes and the accompanying inscriptions which point out not so much the model of an Old Testament sacrifice as the power of Abraham's faith and his serenity in the presence of the Lord.¹²² Certainly in emulation of Sopoćani, the narthex of Arilje displays a Tree of Jesse, a composite representation of Old Testament messages of salvation realised through the Virgin and the birth of Christ. In the spot reserved for the death scene of queen Ana in Sopoćani, in Arilje we find the funeral scene of bishop Merkurije painted directly above his tomb.¹²³

Significant changes in the decoration of entrance spaces can be observed in Serbian art only at the beginning of the second decade of the XIV century. Although the basic concepts of these spaces and their decoration remained unchanged, we now observe the emergence of new subjects which gradually spread to other parts of the church as well. The nature of this new decoration of entrance spaces of Byzantine churches is best demonstrated in the major monuments of the era, the Virgin Peribleptos at Ohrid or the churches of Mount Athos and Constantinople. Traditional themes and new, poetically reworked subjects, convey emphatically the solemnness of entering a temple, they prepare and enable the believer to step inside, inform him and instruct him about the history of salvation. Right at the entrance of Bogorodica Ljeviška, for example, he would encounter two elegant winged female figures, one with a downward pointed torch and the other with a highly raised bright disk with an image of Christ Emmanuel on it, who were there to guide him from this world into a mystical world of light and redemption. The inscriptions accompanying them reminded him that "truth comes" and "shadow vanishes", something he knew well from the verses of a troparion sung before Christmas. The language in which images of the Old and the New Testament are rendered is ancient – they appear in the guise of night and day, darkness and light, shadow and truth which shone by virtue of the incarnation of Christ on earth.¹²⁴

This ostensible contradiction is also present in other scenes painted on the vaults of the open exonarthex of this Prizren church, namely the images and scenes from the Old and the New Testament and stories of the beginning and the end of redemption. We say ostensible because pure contrasts were unknown

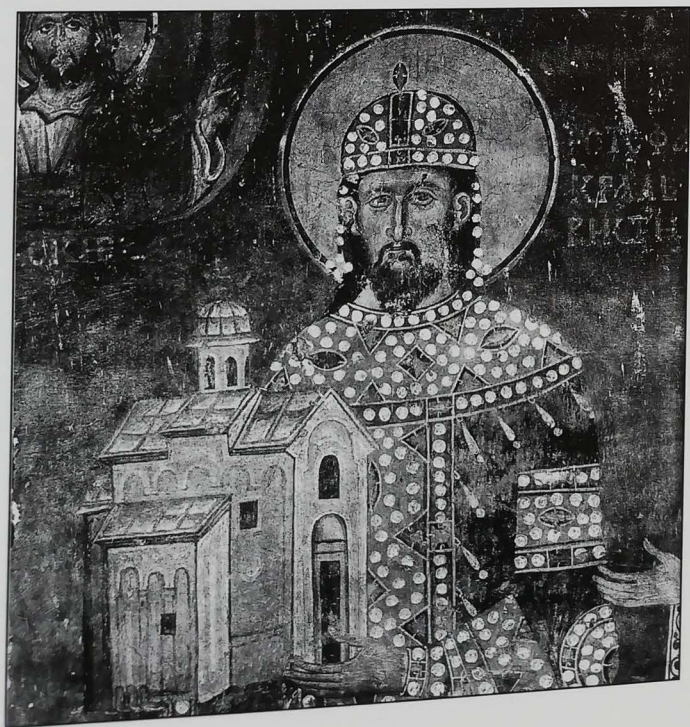


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Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Personification of the New Church*, 1309–1313

to the medieval way of thinking. In both poetry and the visual arts meanings often blended into one another so that one theme could easily drift into the next only to merge gradually into a singular whole. The Old and the New Testament, Shadow and Truth, are only phases in the same history of salvation and this history was told through a series of well known themes, through a careful choice of Old and New Testament texts or those read at the liturgy. An extensive Tree of Jesse was located in the north part of the exonarthex, made up of a multitude of images of future events as well as prophets who heralded those events in the words inscribed on their scrolls. Two appearances of the Lord before the righteous Jacob were painted beneath the Tree in the guise of the following scenes – Jacob wrestling with the angel and Jacob's dream of a ladder connecting the earth with the heavens. Finally, this space also received a poetic vision of the Virgin's death and her assumption to heaven by John of Damascus (first sticheron of his Second Canon of the Dormition) – otherwise very rarely found in medieval art – the aim of which was to exalt the Virgin through the miraculous events which occurred on the day of her death. The illustration of "The Prophets from Above" hymn is also dedicated to the Virgin, in those days it was rarely rendered as an independent scene. It speaks of the specially chosen men of the Old Testament who had mystic visions of the Virgin, in the guise of her archetypes, and announced her coming and the Son who was going to be incarnated through her. All those prophets, painted on the soffits of arches dividing the bays and connecting the two entrances, are joined into one scene by the image of the Virgin with the infant Christ depicted in the lunette above the entrance to the church.¹²⁵

On the central vault there is another group of images intended to prepare men to receive the teachings of Christ. This scene is usually referred to as the Baptism of Christ although it is more than just that because it includes many additional images related to John the Prodromos and his baptising of Christ, borrowed from all four gospels. Not only did the last prophet see Christ, he was also the one who directly prepared men to meet him and hear his words. The emergence of such a composition in Bogorodica Ljeviška is not unexpected. In the same location, also in the form of a circular frieze, it appears in the Chora in Constantinople. However, in Ljeviška the choice of episodes is specific and supplemented by a great number of texts written out on John's scrolls or above the scenes. Through them, John preaches to the mass-



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Arlje, Frescoes around the entrance to the naos, 1295/1296

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Arlje, The ktetor king Dragutin, 1295/1296





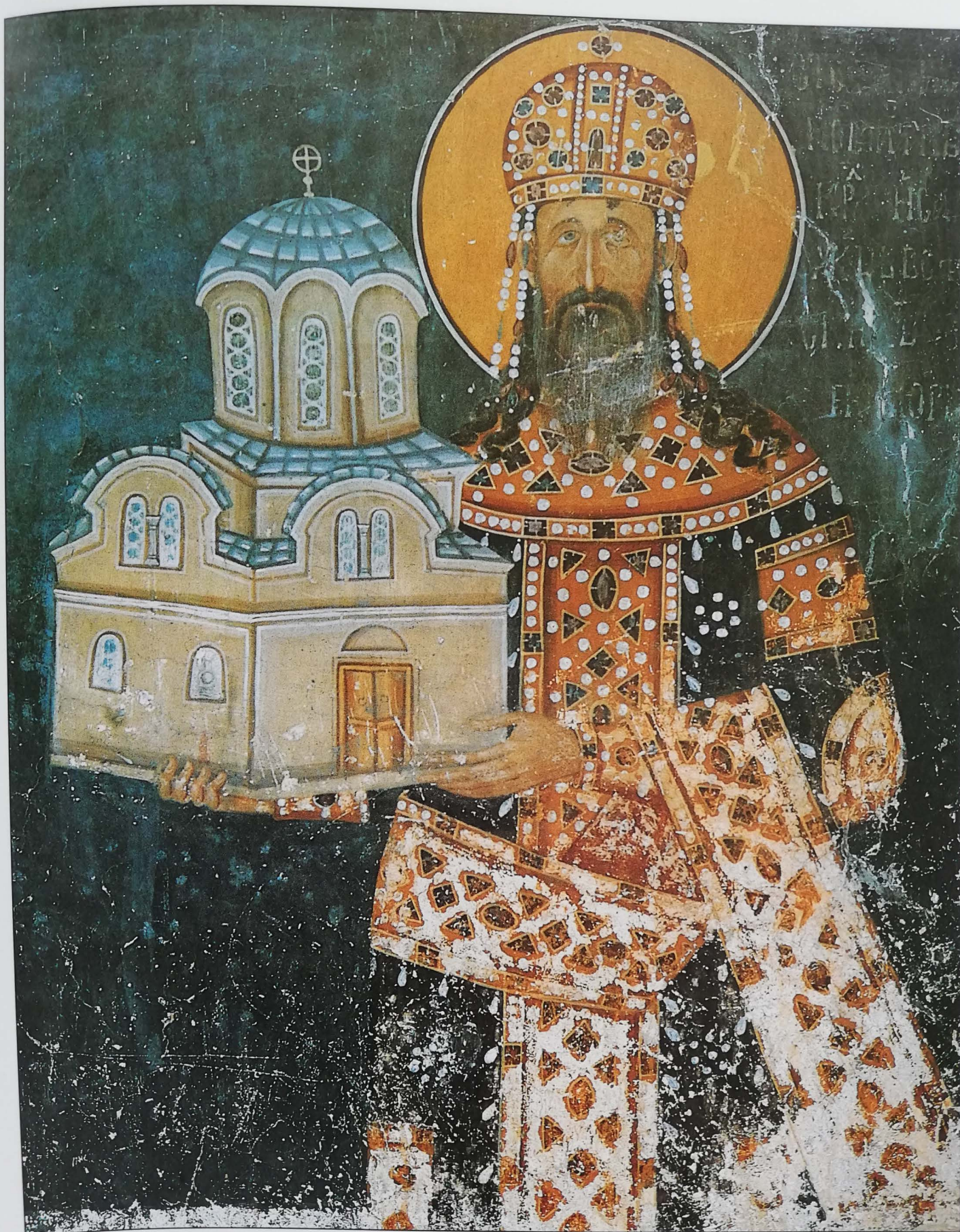
XXII

Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Birth of the Virgin*, 1318–1319



XXIII

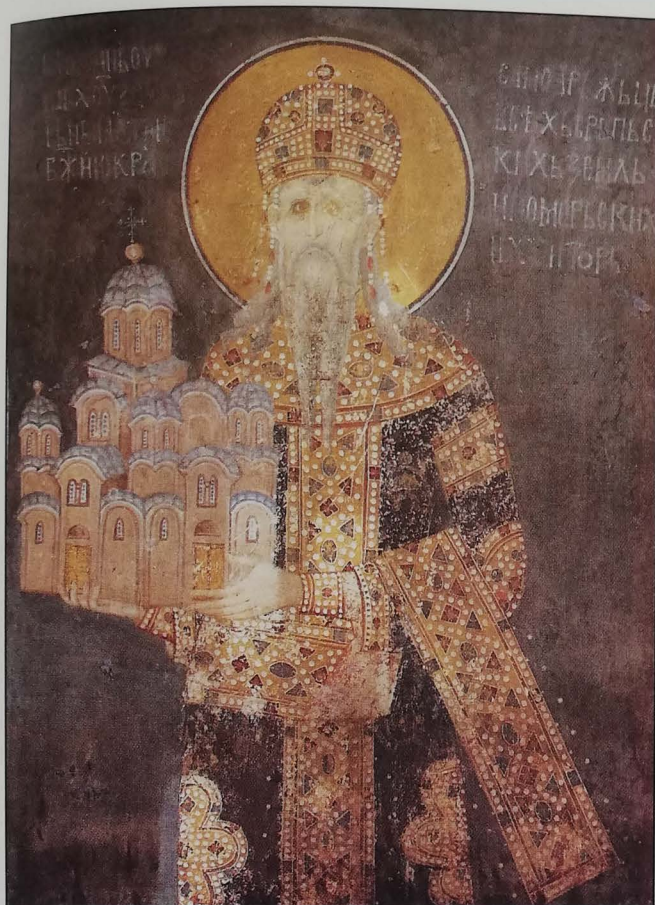
Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, 1318–1319



XXIV

Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, King Milutin, 1318–1319





XXV

Studenica, Kraljeva crkva,
Communion of the Apostles, detail, 1318–1319

XXVI

Gračanica, *King Milutin*, 1319–1321

XXVII

Gračanica, *Queen Simonida*, 1319–1321

XXVIII

Studenica, Kraljeva crkva,
Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, detail, 1318–1319





XXIX

Gračanica, *Last Judgement*, detail, 1319–1321



XXX

Gračanica, *Sacrifice of Abraham*, 1319–1321



XXXI

Gračanica, *Supper in Emmaus*, 1319–1321



XXXII

Gračanica, *Prophet Elijah in the desert*, 1319–1321



XXXIII
Gračanica, *The Virgin in the apse of the south parekklesion*, 1319–1321

es about the One who is to come, he teaches the Hebrews, the publicans and the soldiers about moral living, explains the signs of the coming of Christ and his power, testifies that He is the Son of God – a fact revealed on the river Jordan when, during the baptism of Christ, the heavens opened and the Holy Ghost descended upon Christ.¹²⁶

The care with which the episodes of this composition were put together is reflected also in the fact that a figure of Christ standing at the threshing lot and holding a shovel is positioned right next to the Last Judgement. This is one of the parables of John the Prodigal (Matthew 3, 11–12) about the power of Christ, about Christ who will separate the grain from the chaff, gathering the grain into his granary and burning the chaff with eternal flames, and his words are written out on this fresco. The separation of the righteous from the sinners will take place on the day of the Second Coming of Christ. In Ljeviška, the Last Judgement is not preserved in its entirety, but it certainly did include the parts which had become a standard feature of this composition by the close of the XIV century. The Rolling up of the Heavens is preserved as well as the Just Scales, hosts of the righteous, the Earth and the Sea with their personifications, images of eternal suffering in hell and many figures of sinners. With its lively treatment of the numerous details, the Last Judgement from Ljeviška follows the tradition of similar representations in Byzantine art, especially those of the Palaiologan period, and at times it even exceeds them in extensiveness. For example, the detailed rendering of the sufferings of sinners is quite striking. It best expresses the didactic character of the Last Judgement aimed at the faithful entering the church. Together with Annas, Caiaphas, the Hebrews who crucified Christ and sinners of Judas's sort ("č'st' Judina"), the wealthy Lazarus, sinful monks, singers and lecturers, we find a sinful farmer, merchant, miller, a man who slept through the holy Sunday, a lecher monk, a woman who refused to nurse another's child and an adulteress. The damned who committed these minor or major deadly sins are shown either naked or scantily dressed while being bitten by snakes and beasts, tortured by demons or hanged with the instruments with which they committed their sins. Such cruel images were a clear warning, an admonishment expressed in a language and through examples which were close to the ordinary believer.¹²⁷

Finally, the exonarthex of this Prizren church also contains representations of Serbian archbishops and local bishops of Prizren. Their presence confirmed the episcopal character of Bogorodica Ljeviška and attest-

ed the ancient origins of this episcopal see and as well as of the autocephalous Serbian church. Forming a line in the order in which they served in their respective offices, they conveyed an image of continuity and constancy of the Orthodox faith in Serbian lands and the bishopric of Prizren, the purity of which was entrusted to their care. At the same time they were role models of all future bishops of Prizren and teachers of all the faithful. The message of just judgement and rightful weighing (John 7, 24; Matthew 7, 2), written out on the open book held by Christ in the Virgin's arms painted above the entrance, is addressed to them all, the people and the bishops, but above all to that latter group. There was no space in the exonarthex for a portrait of the ktetor who receives the Lord's blessings for the Godly deed he has undertaken. Because of its specific messages, representations of the ktetor and his ancestors had to be singled out in a particular manner so that images of king Milutin and his forefathers appear in the inner narthex. The careful choice of characters entailed an equally careful disposition of the portraits, with St. Symeon Nemanja above the west and Christ above the east entrance. Depicted in the act of blessing with both his hands, Christ assumes the iconographic form of the Gate and establishes a direct connection with the ktetor, king Milutin.¹²⁸ Such an image of Christ, this time rendered as a boy, appears also above the central doorway while the two most prominent apostles, Sts. Peter and Paul, symbols of the apostolic nature of the church, are painted on either side of it. The book in Paul's hand represents his epistles as the most complete explanation of Christ's teachings while Peter's keys (Matthew 16, 19 and 18, 18) underline the power conferred upon him and the other apostles by Christ.

The programme of fresco decoration of Bogorodica Ljeviška may have been influenced by Sava, the bishop of Prizren, but soon after its completion, in 1309, he became the archbishop of the Serbian church and focused all his attention on the completion of restoration works in Žiča. The frescoes in the narthex and the preceding porch of this church were certainly painted during his time but it is not certain whether or not they repeated the original programme of decoration devised in the days of St. Sava. The narthex of Žiča has reached us in a very altered state and its paintings are almost completely destroyed. Still, the scant remains of frescoes visible today, as well as those which were visible before World War II, indicate that the choice of scenes must have been very similar to that of Prizren. On the west wall, including parts of the vault, was the Tree of Jesse of which only

a long line of pagan wise men remain today. In Ljeviška they flank the composition in question and turn towards it whereas in Žiča they appear in its bottom zone. The dependence of Žiča on the model offered by Ljeviška is also recognised in the once partly visible composition related to St. John the Prodromos and the Baptism of Christ located on the south part of the east wall of the narthex. Although it seems that it was not all too similar to its counterpart from Prizren, the once visible traces of two figures of John indicate that an extensive Baptism cycle, of the type seen in Ljeviška, may have been present in Žiča, too.¹²⁹

The entrance to the church at Žiča, located under the tower, is much better preserved. It has the shape of an elongated porch and its fresco decoration differs from that of the entrance zone of Ljeviška. Depending on the contents of the older layer of paintings, its programme is both typical and atypical of church portals. It is futile to search for liturgical overtones in this case because the entire decoration is composed with an aim to stress the nature of the Church, to point out the role models of true faith and single out those who, through their care for Žiča, extended their offerings to Christ in the manner of those who made offerings to the Lord in ancient times. Guided by these ideas, the person who commissioned the frescoes, most probably archbishop Sava III, had the entrance to the porch decorated with the figures of the two princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul, who are often represented around church entrances. In churches of Milutin's era, we find them in that spot in Bogorodica Ljeviška, Dragutin's chapel at Djurdjevi Stupovi, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki and the katholikon of Chilandar. In the others – Nagoričino, Gračanica, St. Nikita – they were moved further into the naos and placed opposite the iconostasis. In the Annunciation church of Chilandar these two figures flanked another entrance, that leading to the altar space. In Žiča, Peter and Paul appear in a rare iconographic form: as in the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid and Gračanica, Peter holds a church above his head while Paul raises high a book of his epistles. The two apostles are shown here as the foundation of the church and teachers of the universe, thus sending across a message of the origins of the Church on earth and its apostolic and conciliar nature. Based on a well known passage from the Gospel of Matthew (16, 18), in the hymns dedicated to the apostles, Peter is celebrated as the guardian of the church, the stone of faith upon which the Lord founded the Church, while Paul is exalted as the foundation of dogma and the first enthroned teacher of the universe. In Byzantine theolo-

gy Peter and Paul are inseparable, they make a duumvirate, a holy dyad.¹³⁰

Because the Church on earth has, among others, the significance of the Heavenly Temple, each and every entrance into it had the connotation of an entrance into the Heavenly Kingdom, into Heavenly Jerusalem. Christ instructed his disciples many times about the ways in which this Kingdom can be reached, pointing to the ways of children as examples to be followed (Matthew 18, 2–4). Supplemented with the appropriate words, the scene showing Christ, a child and the apostles is painted above the entrance as a message of innocence, purity of heart and humility to all who are entering the church. And, as an example of those constant in their faith, the vault of the entrance porch of Žiča is decorated with the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste on the frozen lake, rewarded by Christ with wreaths of martyrdom and triumph, a scene well known and often used in portal programmes.¹³¹

Portraits of ktetors fit rather well into this theme because, through their efforts in the construction and endowment of Žiča, they joined the ranks of those who fortified the Church on earth. Its first founders, king Stefan Prvovenčani and his son, king Radoslav (his father's co-regent at the time the first layer of frescoes was painted), are depicted next to the entrance. Their two charters issued to this church are written out in fresco on the walls of the porch, listing their numerous gifts to this church. Although there are no direct testimonies in the written sources, it is beyond doubt that, together with archbishop Jevstatije II, king Milutin and archbishop Sava III played an important role in the restoration of Žiča. Their merits in this undertaking were recorded in an unusual and novel manner: the east wall of the porch, above the entrance to the narthex, is decorated with an illustration of Anatolios's Christmas sticheron "Christ is being born in Bethlehem today", the text of which is written right above. It speaks of the celestial powers, the earth and men rejoicing in the Incarnation of the Logos while wise men offer their gifts, shepherds are in awe and people cry "Glory to the Lord on high and peace on earth, good will among men". The iconography of this poetic theme was, of course, formulated before Žiča, as attested by XIII century examples from the Blachernae in Arta and the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, so that, when it appeared in Žiča, this solution was already well known. In Ohrid, newborn Christ is exalted by the people, the monks and the archpriests of the earth while in Žiča this role is entrusted to the ecclesiastics lead by archbishop Sava III and the courtiers lead by king Milutin. Thus, a hymnographi-



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Žiča, Apostle Peter, around 1310

cal theme was rendered in a historiated form, it was transformed into a representation of a solemn Christmas service performed by the archbishop and attended by the Serbian king. There are many meanings to this scene: it exalts the Virgin and newborn Christ at the entrance to the church which is the image of Heavenly Kingdom and the Kingdom of the Lord on earth, it shows the perfect harmony of the Church and the State in offering praise to God and, finally, it compares the ktetors, Sava III and Milutin, to those who offered their gifts to Christ in Bethlehem. Hence, this fresco from Žiča ranks among the most beautiful representations of ktetorship in ancient Serbian art, rendered in the guise of a church service and supplemented with the words of the Christmas hymn.¹³²

Such an accomplished and interesting choice of subjects was not going to be repeated in the decoration of entrances of Milutin's later churches. In certain cases it was given different formulations. The space directly surrounding the entrance to the church of St. George in Nagoričino displays none of the already familiar themes. There are, however, others which we have not yet discussed. Among the numerous figures of monks painted in the lowest zone of the narthex that of St. Pachomios stands out. It appears next to the doorway with an angel to whom he shows his monastic habit. It seems that this scene was of particular importance to the monks of Nagoričino because the text on the angel's scroll is written out in Serbian. The ktetor's composition seems to have been painted with even greater care. It exalts king Milutin as a pious ruler who upholds the church of Christ by raising many sanctuaries and defending it from the infidels. His guardians, St. Stephen the Protomartyr, the Virgin (of the Mediatrix type) and St. Georgios Gorgos, intercede before Christ on behalf of such a king. The standing figure of Christ is signed as the Saviour and, in the words written out on his open book (John 8, 12; 46–48), he promises salvation to those who follow him. The location of the above mentioned figures of saints on the east wall, around the passageway connecting the narthex and the naos, expresses the hope of all the faithful entering the church that they shall attain eternal life, be united with Christ the Light and that, in doing so, they shall have the mediation of the Virgin.

In Nagoričino, for the first time in a Serbian church, and this seems to be the oldest known example found in any church of the Byzantine cultural sphere in general, we find an illustration of the Menologion, an extensive group of images covering the entire cycle of the ecclesiastical year with all of its

immovable feasts.¹³³ The question of its emergence in monumental art of the late Byzantine period still awaits a satisfactory answer, its place in the programme of decoration of Christian temples has yet to be determined and its meaning is still insufficiently clear. However, regardless of its iconographic form, the particularities which vary from monument to monument and the different influences of the synaxarion, the fact that it brings together all or almost all the commemorations of saints and feasts which make up the sum of annual services seems to be of great importance. The Menologion thus became a specific image of the Church, its unity, fullness and constancy which made it a suitable subject for the decoration of church entrances. At the same time, the importance of this collection of pictures was equal to that of some of the services performed in the church during the annual cycle and it seems that the symbolic value of the Menologion exceeded in significance its other connotations, utilitarian or prophylactic.

Another endowment of king Milutin's with a narthex, although a very narrow one, is Gračanica. Because of the restricted space it contains only a small number of scenes, all grouped around royal imagery and the Last Judgement. The central royal scene is located in the passage connecting the narthex and the naos and shows king Milutin, offering a model of the building to Christ, and his wife, queen Simonida. Accepting the gift, Christ, located in the apex of the arch, blesses the royal couple and sends them crowns, born by two angels. Hence, the devout act of ktetorship is joined here with a representation of heavenly investiture. The origins of the king's authority and the nature of his rule become instantly clear to all who enter this church. Political reasons covered with a veil of state and ecclesiastical ideology inspired the emergence of two other scenes located in the vicinity of the one just mentioned, namely on the east wall of the narthex: king Milutin with his son Konstantin and his parents and the Nemanjic family tree. Based on elements of royal iconography and metaphors borrowed from literature, these representations were aimed at spreading an idea present already in the ktetor's portrait – that of king Milutin's holy lineage and the longevity of his ancestors who ruled by the grace of God – as well as proclaiming the king's intentions that his son should continue to rule from the Serbian throne in the same spirit. Since there are no other themes in the narthex of Gračanica, it is possible, although not necessarily so, that the Last Judgement located on the opposite, west wall is



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Žiča, Apostle Paul, around 1310

also associated with the portraits of the Nemanjids as an image of the "fear of the Lord" instilled into them by the founder of the dynasty. The extensive Last Judgement, a theme mentioned at every liturgy and the subject of various lections, especially those of the second week before Lent, memorial and other services, was a reminder of the Second Coming of Christ and his Judgement, whereupon the souls of all the men who lived on earth throughout time are going to be weighed and the sinners cast into eternal darkness while the righteous shall enter into the light and the Garden of Eden – all of which is actually represented on the walls of Gračanica. As in Nagoričino, Christ the Terrible Judge holds a gospel book opened at the passage promising salvation to his followers, for he is the Light of the World, and eternal darkness to all the others. According to the custom of the day, great truths were expressed through examples adopted from the distant past so that Christ's judgement of the sinners is supplemented with its archetype, a scene on the east wall in which the prophet Elijah kills the false prophets on the Kisson stream (I Kings 18, 21–40), while an image of Job on the dunghill appears as an Old Testament model of the righteous man who attains salvation.¹³⁴ There are not many other representations in the small narthex of Gračanica, regularly depicted in that space in those days. The painters transferred some of the most prominent holy ascetics into the parekklesion together with other scenes which were more suitable for the decoration of entrance spaces: prophet Elijah being fed by a raven in the desert, David's penitence, an illustration of the "Be as this child" parable and others.

The programme of the Chilandar narthex is quite different. Some of the themes, like the Old Testament righteous in the domes and the archetypes under them, are found in other early XIV century churches as well. The paintings on the east wall convey ideas related to church entrances. The godly and pious act of the ktemor, inspired by Divine Wisdom, is performed in emulation of the temple raised by Divine Wisdom herself (Proverbs 9, 1) and an image of that temple, with a figure of Solomon, is located above the portrait of king Milutin. In fact, all those who took part in the raising this temple in Chilandar, inspired by faith and instructed by Divine Wisdom, namely St. Symeon Nemanja, St. Sava and king Milutin (with his descendants painted later), as well as the emperor Andronikos II and his grandson and co-regent Andronikos III, are gathered around the throne of the Virgin with Christ in her arms. The spacious narthex provided enough room for a large number of martyrs, divided up into

their usual calendar groups, holy doctors and monks, including those who lived in asceticism right there, on Mount Athos, like St. Athanasios (assuming the place of honour by the entrance), Peter the Athonite and Paul of Xeropotamou, as well as two saints held in especially high reverence there, St. Luke of Stiris and David of Thessaloniki.

The Athonite milieu probably precluded the appearance of holy women in nartheces and required that a lot of space be set aside for scenes from the lives of celebrated monks from Palestine and Egypt, homelands of the anchorites. Short cycles made up of such scenes were distributed on the vaults. Even though they are, naturally, based on their vitae, these cycles are not hagiographical in the strict sense of the word. Their aim is to set examples for the monks, to teach and support them in the difficult temptations and renuncements they were undergoing and to elevate their spirit in faith. Since all these scenes appear on the layer of painting created at the beginning – of the XIX century we will not discuss their iconography, although it is probable that they did display similar solutions also in the early XIV century and that their didactic nature must have been equally significant. Four scenes from the life of St. Euphrosynos, a humble cook, are represented here – those tied to the dream vision of Euphrosynos in heaven that one of his brethren had. The vita of St. Macarios of Alexandria provided a textual base for the scenes showing his feats which may seem quaint today but certainly do stress his great virtues of renouncement and serenity and the power of his faith. After killing a snake he condemns himself to standing in a mosquito infested swamp, heals the head of a cleric, scolds monks, meets some old demons on his way to Kypotaphion, exorcises them from that place and is exalted because of his extreme fasting. Other great anchorites were also celebrated for their battles against demons. Thus, St. Dorotheus managed to chase demons out of the water by making a sign of the cross. Two other miracles of his are represented in the narthex of Chilandar – the one with bread in the workshop and that which occurred while he was fixing his shed. According to the Chilandar fresco which follows the text of his vita, St. Nathaniel discovers a demon disguised as a soldier. Similar feats were also the source of fame of St. Macarios the Great who, among other things, managed to break the spell cast on the wife of some man and reprimanded his brethren for not noticing the devil's traps and failing to recognise the spellbound woman in the mare before them, all for the lack of faith. We also find a short episode from the life of

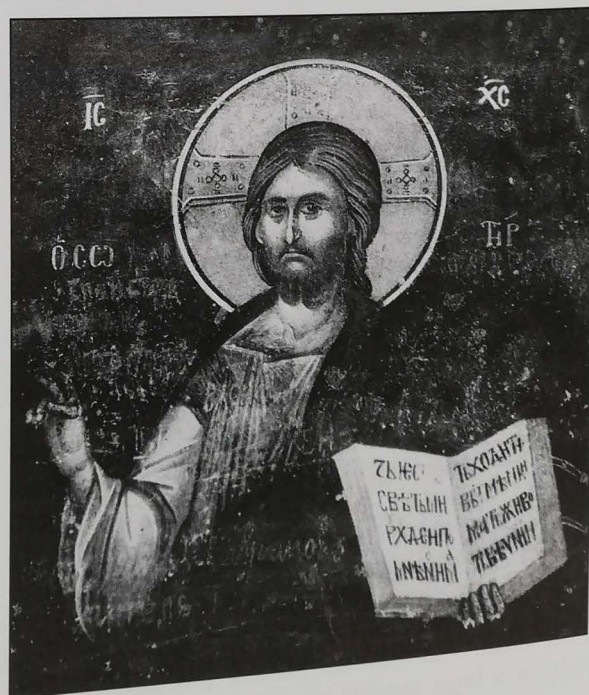
one holy man told in four scenes rendering his encounter with the bandit. St. Anthony the Great is the protagonist of two stories related to St. Paul the Simple and St. Paul the Theban which exalt the modesty, the common miracles and the common love that monks are supposed to nurture. Events from the lives of those two saints, rendered in a very lively manner, served as the basis for the creation of interesting and didactic images: St. Paul the Simple meets St. Anthony, they exchange blessings, work together, weave palm leaves, share their bread and together perform a miracle on the youth possessed by a demon. Anthony's encounter with St. Paul the Theban is quite different. First, he searches for him for a long time, meets a satyr on the way, asks a centaur about the whereabouts of the hermit and is led to him by a wolverine. Finally, Anthony meets him and both are miraculously fed by a raven. The last two scenes are related to Paul's death: Anthony first sees two angels carrying Paul's soul to heaven and then buries Paul's body. Finally, in scenes referring to St. Paphnutios and St. Pachomios the emphasis is placed on their instruction of the brethren and the events which took place in their monasteries. Such examples of lives in pious asceticism lead by celebrated monks and of their miracles were quite rare in Byzantine art and were mostly tied to the monastic milieu. They appear either in churches or parekklesia dedicated to these saints (a cycle of St. Symeon the Stylite in Zelve in Cappadocia, a cycle of St. David Gaređžreli in Uda-bno in Georgia, both from the X century; a cycle of St. Sabas the Sanctified in the north parekklesion of Žiĉa, 1220–1221, repainted during the days of king Milutin, a cycle of St. Euthymios in the parekklesion dedicated to him in St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki, 1303). At times they are also found in entrance spaces of various churches, in the form of individual scenes: the Meeting of St. Onuphrios and St. Paphnutios in the north-west part of the south porch of Veljusa (XII century), the Meeting of St. Anthony and St. Paul the Theban in the narthex of the church of the Forty Martyrs in Turnovo (XIV century); the Miracle of St. Gerasimos with the Lion in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos. The scenes painted in Chilandar also belong to this group of representations based on the lives of celebrated monks. However, as opposed to the scenes from the full hagiographical cycles, their nature is more didactic than liturgical. It should also be noted that the narthex of Chilandar displays the largest collection of such scenes in late medieval art.¹³⁵

In those days, spaces around entrances were mostly decorated with standard themes demonstrating only



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Gračanica, *Christ the Terrible Judge*, 1319–1321



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Staro Nagoriĉino, *Christ the Saviour*, 1315–1317



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Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Angel*, 1309–1313

a few interesting variations. Patron saints were usually rendered above western portals (the following remain today – St. Achilleios in Arilje, the Virgin in Ljeviška and in Sušica, St. Georgios Tropaiophoros in Nagoričino) while images of the Virgin with Christ in her arms or Christ himself in half-figure were usually placed above the entrances leading to the naos. In Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos the Virgin is located in the first zone, perhaps because there is no lunette above the entrance, so that she appears in the company of St. Peter and St. Paul, the church patron and other saints. However, the custom of placing fresco-icons of the Virgin and Christ on either side of the portal was more prevalent in those days, as seen in Nagoričino and Chilandar. At times they were joined by the patron of the church – in Arilje, Nagoričino and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos. Archangels, guardians of church entrances, could also appear beside them. In Arilje and Chilandar the archangel Michael is shown with a sword in his hand. In Chilandar, Gabriel is there beside him, writing out the words intended for those entering the temple. The other side of the portal of the same church, i.e. the lunette facing the naos, was decorated with an image of the Virgin (of the Holy Gate type) shown in half-figure and with her arms raised. The translation of certain images from the iconostasis to the west entrance is typical of Serbian art of king Milutin's era. This is exactly what happened with the figures of Christ, the Virgin and the holy patron in Nagoričino, Arilje, Chilandar and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos. It was also typical for portal themes to migrate in the direction of the altar. Some themes which were previously usually depicted in the narthex were transferred to the west wall of the naos and thus remained tied to the west part of the church. On the west wall of Gračanica St. Sava the Serbian is joined by St. Constantine and Helena while in the katholikon of Chilandar we find next to them the apostles Peter and Paul, a Synaxis of the Archangels and a half-figure of Christ Pantokrator above the entrance. The text written out on the open page of his gospel book (John 10, 9) gives him the meaning of the Gate. In Gračanica and St. Nikita the archangels are transferred from the entrance to the west pair of piers in the naos. In Nagoričino, the east sides of the same pair of piers, those facing the iconostasis, are decorated with figures of the apostles Peter and Paul and the evangelists. In Gračanica, they are joined by several other apostles among whom the figure of St. John the Theologian is given special prominence. In Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, Chilandar and Gračanica he also appears in the vicinity of the altar. Opposite

him in Gračanica we find the figure of apostle Andrew.

The way a church entrance was linked to the iconostasis, through related subject matter chosen for the decoration of these two spaces, is certainly not accidental in medieval writings the first is referred to as *ὡραῖαι πύλαι* and that leading from the naos to the altar *ἅγιοι πύλι* or *ἅγια θύρια*, with certain, although not always identical, rites related to them.¹³⁶ Most often they carried across messages of founding the Church on earth and mediation which were expressed through the images of Christ, the Virgin, John the Prodromos, patron saints and others. It is not known whether in Serbian churches dating from around 1300 such images were decorated in the manner of icons intended for the iconostasis, because they have not been preserved in their original positions, but this seems to be highly probable, judging at least by the Chilandar icons which are now kept in the treasury of this monastery. What's more, even the stone altar screens have mostly vanished without a trace, the best preserved iconostasis of this type being that of Nago-ričino with its consequently walled up intercolumnal spaces and its fresco-icons. The original icons have vanished from the stone iconostasis of Chilandar, as have those from Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos. Only minor traces remain of the original iconostasis of Arilje and apparently those of Kraljeva crkva and Banjska. Following a tradition established in Komnenian times, during this period of Serbian art images surrounding the entrance to the altar were set apart from the adjoining frescoes in both size and a special painted decoration. It is, therefore, unquestionable that they were actually regarded as icons. The intercessory and at the same time representative nature of the paintings in the east part of the naos in Arilje, in front of the entrance to the altar, is a quality already registered in earlier Serbian art of the XIII century. Opposite the towering figure of Christ rendered in a frontal stance and with a rolled up scroll in his hand stands the Virgin Mediatrix with her arms raised in prayer. Behind her is the archdeacon Stephen. Similar solutions are found in Studenica (1208/1209) or Sopoćani (1263–1268). On the other side, behind the figure of Christ we see the patron of the church, St. Achilleios, St. John the Prodromos and a figure of one bishop, probably St. Nicholas.¹³⁷ Frontally facing the onlooker, the winged John the Prodromos, shown here carrying his decapitated head and a scroll inscribed with the words of a sticheron dedicated to his memory, was always the assurance of the faithful. The others in this line of saints are there in the func-



100
Čučer, St. Nikita, St. Nicetas, around 1320

tion of patrons of the church and its parekklesia, first of all St. Achilleios and then St. Stephen and St. Nicholas. A similar choice and distribution of saints is found in Žiča. Along with two fresco-icons of the Virgin and Christ, encased by ornate painted arches, we see the figures of St. Stephen the Protomartyr and St. Sabas the Sanctified, the two patron saints of the parekklesia located on either side of the naos, represented under similar arcades. By their side we find two highly respected holy warriors, St. George and St. Demetrios, long venerated in Serbia.¹³⁸

In Milutin's later churches interesting novelties were introduced to the programme of decoration surrounding the entrance to the altar. Thus, on the east wall of the naos in Gračanica, right next to the Virgin with child and a standing figure of Christ without any specific attributes (the inscription Pantokrator is a later addition, probably from the XVI century, when the head of Christ was repainted), there are figures of saints whose cults were apparently held in high reverence among the Serbs. Apart from St. Stephen the Protomartyr, the patron saint of the ruling dynasty who assumed the place of honour both in XIII century fresco programmes and those of Milutin's endowments (as indicated by the surviving frescoes from Nagoričino and Chilandar), we find also the figures St. John the Theologian and St. Andrew, the apostles whose cult could have been translated to Serbia from Constantinople at around this time. This line of saints ended with the figures of holy warriors, St. George and St. Demetrios, whom we have already seen standing on significant locations in Žiča. The patron saints of the two lateral parekklesia, St. Nicholas and the Virgin, were shown on the piers, opposite the entrances to these two rooms. The entrance to the altar of Gračanica was marked with the frontal figures of the authors of the two liturgies, St. Basil and St. John Chrysostomos, painted on the inner faces of the piers.¹³⁹

Even greater novelties appeared in Staro Nagoričino. The iconostasis has preserved its original decoration: fresco-icons were painted on either side of the bema doors showing half-figures of the patron saints of this church, St. Georgios Tropaiophoros and the Virgin with Christ (the epithet Pelagoneitissa was written later, at the same time when St. Georgios received the attribute Diasoritis), while the pilaster strips on either side of the iconostasis display the usual representations of Christ and the Virgin. Christ, signed as the Merciful, and the text on his open book (Matthew 11, 28) are the only reminders of the old theme of intercession. The Virgin, on the other hand, received the epithet Kaicharitomene which underlined even more

her involvement in the already very pronounced theme of the Incarnation surrounding the Nagoričino iconostasis. Namely, the upper parts of the pilaster strips are decorated with images from the Annunciation scene. Right below the protagonists are two half-figures of Old Testament prophets, Daniel and Jacob, both with unrolled scrolls of their prophecies of Christ. Moreover, Daniel is accompanied by a rock bearing an image of Christ Emmanuel while Jacob holds a star in which the guise of Emmanuel appears once again. The iconography of the prophets equipped with scrolls and prefigurations of Christ was borrowed from the illustration of "The Prophets from Above" hymn and their appearance in Nagoričino is entirely congruent with the spirit of early XIV century tendencies to use every opportunity available to exalt the role of the Virgin in the ministry of Salvation and to "historiate" this mission through the use of images inspired by sacred poetry. The Virgin is called Kaicharitomene, i.e. full of grace, gentleness and sweetness, as she was in Nazareth when the archangel Gabriel brought her the good news that she is to give birth to Christ, the Saviour of the world. Hence, the epithet she bears in Nagoričino is not barely a sign of translation of her cult to Serbia from the Constantinopolitan monastery of the same name, but rather a sign of the inclusion of her image from the iconostasis in the Incarnation theme which is a part of the overall programme of decoration of this church. The same reasons certainly lay behind the painting of the Synaxis of the Archangels south of the iconostasis, with Michael and Gabriel holding between them a medallion with an image of Emmanuel, the incarnated Logos.¹⁴⁰

In those days, the theme of intercession was most clearly expressed in the church of St. Nikita near Skoplje – through the images of Christ and the Virgin standing in their usual places by the iconostasis. The holy patron was transferred to the north wall and singled out by an old fashioned ornamental frame. The Virgin is designated as the Suppliant and shown addressing Christ in precisely that manner. He is designated as the Merciful, thus indicating that the prayers of the Virgin and the hopes of those devoutly addressing these fresco-icons shall be answered. Representations of the Virgin Paraklissa and Christ the Saviour by the iconostasis of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos or the west entrance of Nagoričino had the same meaning. A stronger influence of liturgy on the decoration of this part of the church is felt in Chilandar and St. Nikita where the standing figures surrounding the iconostasis are surmounted by a representation of the Anapeson. Based on Old Testament

texts and further developed and widely used in hymns sung on the Saturday of the Holy Week, this theme, which speaks of Christ falling briefly asleep, as a lion, and preparing to rise immediately, received adequate iconographic treatment and prominence at about the same time it appeared in the above mentioned Serbian monasteries. Like all new themes based on a wide choice of poetic texts, at first its iconographic forms were not always identical although its message always remained the same: the sleeping Christ Emmanuel, most often with eyes wide open, represents Christ lying in his tomb, awaiting resurrection. In Chilandar, he is shown resting on a red mattress. Above him we find the Virgin with outstretched arms, lamenting his death, as well as two angels, one holding a rhypidion and the other the spear, sponge and cross. The two trees in the background are a sign of paradise which was the dwelling place of Christ's soul during the three day which his body spent in the grave. There is no accompanying inscription on this scene. In the church of St. Nikita, a metochion of Chilandar, the same scene is more abridged: apart from Christ and the Virgin we find just one angel holding a rhypidion in the shape of a fan, accompanied by an inscription reading: "He did lie down and fell asleep like a lion". In monuments of a slightly later date this scene is found either above the entrance (the Protaton, around 1300; Vatopedi, 1312/1313) or in the altar (Omorphi Ecclesia in Athens, end of the XIII century) and it could have been related to the solemn entrance into the church performed in the night between Saturday of the Holy Week and Easter Sunday or, on the other hand, with the laying out of the epitaphion in the naos on the Saturday before Easter. Still, whatever location it assumed in a church, this scene was always an image of Christ whose resurrection is awaited so that, at the liturgical level, it always conveyed to the faithful a message of hope for their own salvation.¹⁴¹

Frescoes Surrounding Episcopal Thrones and Thrones of the Hegoumenoi

Some of the saints painted in the lowest register stood out among others either because of their unusual choice or because of the painterly treatment they received. An adequate explanation of this phenomenon is not always easy to find because today we know only too little about the sacred topography of medieval church interiors. Still, there can be no doubt

that the special fixtures found therein, such as tombs, with or without the pertaining funerary monuments, proskinitaria, tables on which icons and relics were displayed, or thrones upon which the bishops and hegoumenoi sat were surrounded by befitting images. A little more is known only about the decoration surrounding monumental tombs of rulers, archbishops, bishops and far less about the decoration surrounding agiasma fonts, proskinitaria and tables intended for the display of relics.¹⁴² The surviving thrones of archbishops (Peć, around 1346 and 1375) and hegoumenoi (Dečani, around 1330) are located either in the south-west part of the space beneath the dome or in the narthex and the programmes of fresco decoration surrounding them reveal quite specific intentions.¹⁴³ The above mentioned examples of a somewhat later date indicate that archbishops, bishops and hegoumenoi had the images of Christ, the Virgin and those saints which they held in highest veneration painted around their throne located in the south-west part of the naos.

Remains of episcopal thrones have also been preserved in several churches of king Milutin's era. In the oldest cathedral church on the territory of Ras, that dedicated to St. Peter, located in the vicinity of present-day Novi Pazar, a figure of St. John the Merciful appears in the south-west corner of the naos, on a layer of frescoes dating from the last decades of the XIII century. What immediately strikes the eye is the fact that he is the only bishop depicted in the naos and that his halo is the only one decorated with tiny cross-like circular ornaments which may have once been covered with applications made of some expensive material. Such a treatment of this figure, probably commissioned by the acting bishop of Ras, was certainly aimed at bestowing special honour upon St. John the Merciful. Because we do not know the exact date at which this fresco was painted, we can not say which of the archpriests of this diocese occupied the episcopal throne of Ras at the time of its creation. It is, nonetheless, beyond any doubt that his throne must have stood in front of the mentioned fresco because traces of it have been preserved in that spot to this day. Trusting in the saint's intercession, that unidentified bishop chose to decorate the space in which he sat during services with a figure of St. John, painted directly opposite that of Christ, and mark both figures with the epithet Merciful. He also surrounded his throne with images of holy monks and doctors.¹⁴⁴

The fresco decoration of the south choir of Arilje has long been the subject of scholarly attention because of its truly uncommon choice of saints. Although there are no material remains or archaeological

data, we assume that the throne of the bishops of Moravica must originally have stood in front of the fresco image of the Virgin with child painted on the west wall with a figure of St. John Chrysostomos beside it. In that way, bishop Jevsević would have followed the custom of surrounding episcopal thrones with images of Christ (located opposite the throne, on the east wall), the Virgin and highly venerated bishops (in this case a Constantinopolitan bishop and author of the liturgy, St. John Chrysostomos, and a bishop of Larissa, St. Achilleios, the patron saint of the church, who, incidentally, did not switch places with John the Prodromos without good reason). Such a programme expresses his hope in the intercession of the Virgin and underlines the apostolic origins of his office which make him a disciple of Christ himself and a follower of the apostles and eminent Orthodox bishops, guided by faith in the crucified Christ, symbolised by the cross held between St. Constantine and Helena.¹⁴⁵

Because the piers in the south part of the naos of Bogorodica Ljeviška are not all preserved, our knowledge of the programme of the lowest zone of frescoes is only partial. Still, we do have an unusual choice of saints preserved on the south-west pier of the space beneath the dome which could be interpreted as a result of personal intervention on the part of the acting bishop of Prizren. As in similar cases of episcopal thrones, a figure of Christ, with no epithet preserved beside it, is painted on the side of the pier facing the altar. Next to him we find the prophet Daniel and one holy doctor, probably Cosmas. We do not know the identity of the bishop who succeeded Sava on the episcopal throne of Prizren in 1309. Although there are no such records in historical sources, his name may have been Daniel. On the other hand, could it perhaps have been Arsenije, first mentioned in 1317?

There was yet another bishop in those days who had the spot at which he sat during services decorated in a special, yet unpretentious manner. Based on information found in the charter of Gračanica, we know that the acting bishop of Lipljan, Ignjatije, was king Milutin's chief counsellor and aide during the restoration of this cathedral church. Apart from what the king recorded, virtually nothing more is known of bishop Ignjatije but it has already been noted that he did hold his holy patron, St. Ignatios Theophoros, in especially high reverence. Not only did he have his figure painted among the bishops celebrating holy liturgy, he also placed a figure of Ignatios above his own future tomb in the south paraklesion and once more next to the Virgin Mediatrix on the north face

of the south pier in the naos. Like the unidentified bishop of Ras who was active in the decoration of the church of St. Peter, Ignjatije, too, had the halo of his patron saint decorated in a special manner, this time with gold, thus singling out his figure which stands out among those surrounding it. Judging by the location of the figure of St. Ignatios, we assume that the south part of the naos of Gračanica must have housed the episcopal throne.¹⁴⁶ Seated upon it, the bishop would have been surrounded by the Virgin interceding on his behalf (otherwise, her location in the church is difficult to understand) and by his guardian saint, St. Ignatios, while facing directly the figure of Christ painted next to the iconostasis. On the west face of the same pier we find St. Hermolaos who could also have been related to the episcopal throne, as in Peć and Arilje.

Finally, it is only through the intervention of hegoumenos Venjamin that we can explain one of the representations of St. George in Nagoričino which survived in quite a ruined state. Although the patron saint of this church appears in its programme of decoration several times, and in all the befitting places (in the lunette above the entrance, next to the ktetor, a bit further as his intercessor before Christ and, finally, on the iconostasis), he also appears quite unexpectedly on the west face of the south pier, in a solemn and representative stance, encased by an embossed arch decorated with stylised palmettes and resting on painted, fresco capitels. As opposed to all the surrounding figures of saints, his is the only one with an inscription in Serbian. Such a treatment of this figure and its location in the south part of the church point to hegoumenos Venjamin as the one responsible for the painting of the fresco-icon of St. George in this spot and its exceptional decoration. The space in the vicinity of this painting probably housed the seat of the hegoumenos, a fixture usually found in this part of the church, so that the patron saint of the church could also assume the role of the personal guardian saint of hegoumenos Venjamin.¹⁴⁷

Choirs of Saints

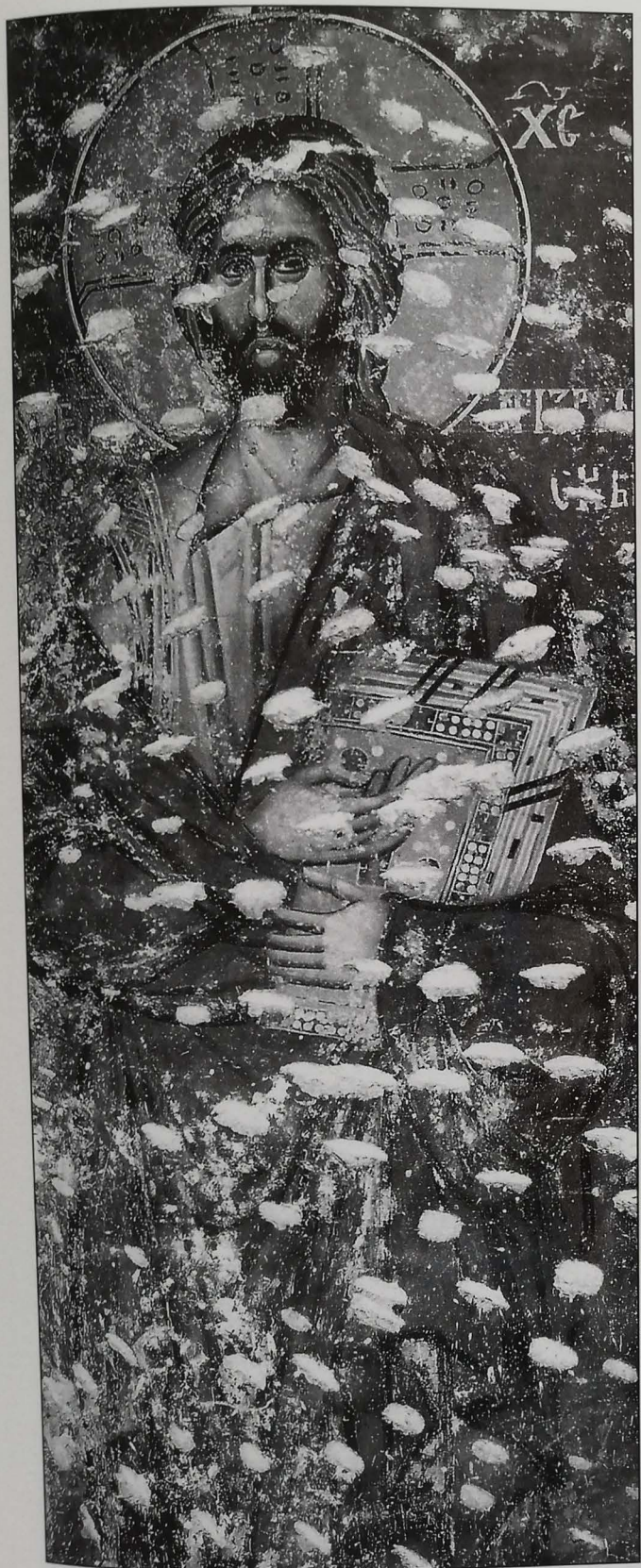
Apart from the saints who were chosen, because of the intercession they promised, by the ktetors, bishops and hegoumenoi to mark the significant spots or to stand in their immediate midst in churches entrusted to their care – whose figures were sometimes additionally lavishly decorated with expensive materials and encased by ornamental frames which give them

the appearance of icons – numerous other figures of saints appeared on church walls as well. Among them we find holy martyrs, warriors, doctors, bishops, monks, hermits, stylites, holy women, poets and many others. During the Proskomide rite holy particles were set apart in their honour and placed by those of Christ and the Virgin and their names commemorated on that occasion, either individually or in groups. In king Milutin's churches there are no major divergences from the standard iconography of their portrayal. On the other hand, in the spirit of the new art, their numbers are considerably larger while only a few are equipped with conspicuous signs of greater prominence. Very often they are grouped according to type, forming corporations identical to those mentioned at church services, and only occasionally specific choices of saints are predominant. Thus, great monastic churches – such as Chilandar on Mount Athos – were decorated with a large number of figures of holy monks while those of holy women were either very rare or altogether excluded from their programmes. At times, even the dedication of a church could influence the choice of saints: the lowest zone of the parekklesion of St. Sabas of Jerusalem in Žiča is mostly reserved for figures of holy monks while that of the parekklesion of St. Stephen the Protomartyr in the same church belongs, almost exclusively, to figures of martyrs. Meanwhile, the first zone of the parekklesion of St. Nicholas in Arilje is set aside only for images of holy bishops. Similar solutions are found elsewhere, too, and they come as no exception in either Serbian or Byzantine art.

In the order in which they are mentioned at church services, Christ, the Virgin, the archangels and "all celestial incorporeal powers" had their designated places in the dome, the apses and around the iconostasis and church entrances. They could also appear in unexpected places, perhaps in imitation of famous icons or equipped with special epithets. Such is the case with Christ and the Virgin on the piers of Ljeviška and their preserved inscriptions designating Christ as the Guardian of Prizren and the Virgin as the Helper of the Poor or the Grigorovoithissa. The same applies to the enthroned figure of the Virgin with child on the north wall of the sanctuary of Sušica, Christ on one of the naos piers of Arilje, close to the portraits of the Nemanjids, Christ the Saviour and Virgin Mediatrix in Nagoričino and another figure of the same type in Gračanica as well as the Virgin of Passion in Žiča, etc. In the course of previous centuries prophets were also represented in domes but in the art which emerged around 1300



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Arilje, Christ,
1295/1296



102
Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, Christ the Guardian of Prizren,
1309–1313

their images appeared more and more in other parts of church interiors as well. They entered the complex compositions of poetic-liturgical character such as "The Prophets from Above" in Bogorodica Ljeviška or the Dormition in Nagoričino. As an archetype of Christ the Archpriest and his clergy, some of them were to enter the altar space or be depicted in its vicinity (Petrova crkva, Žiča, katholikon of Chilandar, Nagoričino, Gračanica, St. Nikita). At times their prophecies were there to explain the great mysteries of Christ's Incarnation and Sacrifice, as at the entrance to the naos of Chilandar, in Arilje or Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim, in the manner typical of Komnenian art. Very rarely they appear in the lowest register of frescoes, usually in connection with the surrounding scenes, as exemplified by Isaiah and the Baptism of Christ in the narthex of Chilandar. Finally, St. John the Prodromos is normally depicted in the vicinity of the altar screen, where he constitutes a single ensemble together with Christ and the Virgin. Only in Ljeviška and Gračanica his image appears in the apses of the south and the north parekklesion respectively.

Almost as a rule, the apostles, normally painted in the lowest register, were represented by their princes, Peter and Paul, whose figures stand close to entrances or on naos piers, opposite the altar space. At times, they are joined by all (Nagoričino) or just some of the evangelists. In Serbia of those days there are no depictions of the seventy apostles although their images can be found in some of the contemporary Byzantine churches (the Virgin Hodegetria in Aphen-diko in Mistra, for example). The disciples of the apostles, namely the holy bishops and ecumenical teachers, were depicted almost exclusively in the sanctuaries of churches or parekklesia. The most prominent among them, mostly the participants of the First Ecumenical Council, were included in the composition of Celebration of Holy Liturgy while others stood in frontal positions on church walls and pilasters or in the drums of domes covering the side chapels adjoining church sanctuaries. The appearance of eminent priests in altar spaces is entirely understandable while the choice of characters is quite variable so that there is no standard solution in representing frontal or half-figures (rarely in the form of fresco-icons) of holy bishops. Images of these saints rarely left the altar space. Only St. Nicholas, a saint always held in high reverence among the Serbs, appears on the south-west pier in the naos of Žiča and on the south pier of Nagoričino. In Chilandar, perhaps intentionally, he is depicted in the naos, close to the figure of St. Symeon Nemanja. In Gračanica, as in Arilje,





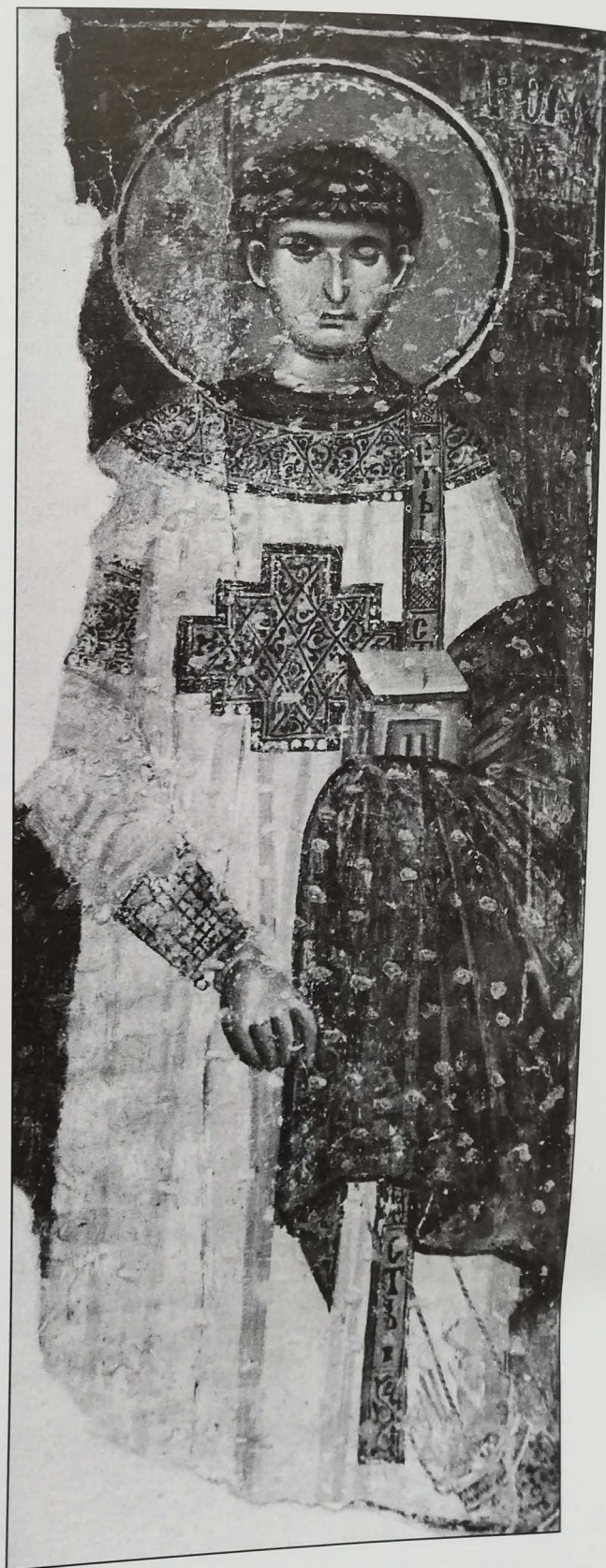
he stands opposite the entrance to the parekklesion dedicated to him. In the south parekklesion of Žiča, on the other hand, he is the only bishop in a group of martyrs. In Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos he is represented next to the entrance to the naos with a verse from the Gospel of John (10, 9) written out on his open book: "I am the door". A large half-figure of this saint in the church of the Holy Apostles in Peć has been associated, and rightfully so it seems, with the entrance to the former church of St. Nicholas which once stood north of it. Later, during the days of archbishop Nikodim, the church of St. Demetrios was raised on that spot. Images of other bishops were rarely found in the naos: except for the patron saint of Arilje, they were tied to episcopal thrones, as in Arilje (St. John Chrysostomos), Petrova crkva (St. John the Merciful) and Gračanica (St. Ignatios). Otherwise, the privilege to be painted in this part of the church was granted only to St. Sava the Serbian, as in Gračanica, St. Nikita and Chilandar. Apart from him, other Serbian archbishops could also be portrayed there but only as a part of episcopall-ecclesiastical themes. Other local and holy bishops remained in the sanctuary, either within the Celebration of Holy Liturgy (Clement of Ohrid and Constantine Kabasilas in Nagoričino and St. Eustathios of Thessaloniki in St. Nikita) or as single, frontally depicted figures: St. Clement in Kraljeva crkva, Bogorodica Ljeviška and apparently Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, St. Methodios in Ljeviška and St. Eustathios of Thessaloniki in Nagoričino and Gračanica. Naturally, holy bishops were painted in the vicinity of the altar and only in Banjska they appear on the west side of the space beneath the dome, in a string of interconnected medallions. Because they represent the only substantial remains of the fresco decoration of this church, it is difficult to explain the reasons for their emergence in that spot.

The holy protomartyr and archdeacon Stephen is the first on the list of martyrs mentioned during the Proskomide rite. That circumstance and, even more, the fact that he was the patron saint of the Nemanjid family and a saint highly venerated by king Milutin himself, earned him a place of honour in the decoration of churches of this period. Dressed in apostolic garments (except when he is depicted in the altar, among other holy deacons), he appears next to king Milutin in Chilandar (in two instances) and Nagoričino or in the vicinity of the altar in Žiča (in the naos and the parekklesion dedicated to him), Arilje and Gračanica. Figures of numerous other martyrs covered the piers, pilasters, windows, arches and a good part of the two lower registers in the naos, the

narthex and the parekklesia. Artists usually chose to depict the most celebrated among them, often seen already in the art of previous centuries. However, if required, they could also portray other personages mentioned in the synaxarion. In doing so they often created smaller groups of saints of the same calendar type. The painters of Arilje distributed the five Persian martyrs on the pilasters, those of Chilandar found a place for them on the walls of the narthex while in Gračanica Michael and Eutychios brought them down to the lowest register of frescoes in the naos. In Chilandar and Nagoričino, as in other churches, the Persian martyrs commemorated on November 2nd were placed close to one another. In Gračanica, on the other hand, the forty martyrs of Sebaste were distributed throughout the second register of frescoes in the form of half-figures. This manner of representing the martyrs of Sebaste was already employed in earlier times (in certain Cappadocian and Russian churches of the XI and XII centuries, for example) and was also adopted by the unknown painters of the Vatopedi katholikon. Among the martyrs one may find some which are otherwise rarely represented. This does not necessarily have to be regarded exclusively as a result of the special requirements set by the ktetor or some specific intentions on the part of the painters, known only to them. Sometimes answers regarding their appearance are to be found in legends, as is the case with St. Gerontios and St. Polychronia in Nagoričino, supposedly the parents of St. George, the patron saint of this church. In Žiča, in the parekklesion dedicated to the holy martyr Stephen, and in the chapels dedicated to Sts. Demetrios and George, in Bogorodica Ljeviška, the lowest register is reserved exclusively for figures of martyrs. Except for the patron saints of the two parekklesion of Ljeviška, in both Žiča and Prizren they are all dressed in luxurious patrician garments which evoke the idea of the Celestial Court, one of the major themes of Byzantine art around the middle of the XIV century. This is even more interesting because in those days these martyrs were normally depicted only in the guise of holy warriors. The emergence of this phenomenon was already heralded in Arilje and, before it, even in Bogdašići, around 1270, where holy warriors sported expensive cloaks while bearing both crosses and arms. In other churches of Milutin's era there were no such admixtures. Around the middle of the XI century, if not earlier still, some of the martyrs were singled out as the soldiers of Christ serving the Almighty King – as stated in the Greek and Serbian inscriptions above their heads in the katholikon of Chilandar – and were usu-

ally depicted in military dress, bearing arms which were more reminiscent of the Roman legions than of the period in which these paintings were created. These soldiers of Christ's faith were not always described in their vitae as warriors nor were they always represented in military clothing. With the exception of the south parekklesion of Žiča and the upper floor of Ljeviška, in Milutin's churches this company of holy warriors normally consisted of St. George, Demetrios, Theodore Teron and Stratelates, Procopios, Eustathios, Mercurios, Nicetas, Nestor, Arethas, with the participation of some who were otherwise rarely depicted, such as St. Alexander or Christopher. Some of them bear special epithets (St. Georgios Tropaiophoros in Nagoričino, St. Georgios Gorgos in the church of the same name and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, St. Demetrios Apokauchos in Nagoričino) which not only invest them with specific meanings but also refer to some of their celebrated icons kept probably in the shrines of Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Skoplje and elsewhere. Holy warriors were usually depicted in the central part of the naos, on its walls and piers, but also in choirs which they sometimes shared with the holy monks (in Arilje and Chilandar). In smaller churches – Sušica, Mušutište, Kraljeva crkva – they were also located in the west bay, spreading all the way to the entrance. Generally speaking, that part of the church should be reserved for holy women martyrs. It is interesting, though, that during the period in question they were most often left out, possibly as a result of Athonite influences – they are not found in any of the Athonite churches with frescoes from the beginning of the XIV century (the Protaton, Vatopedi, the churches of Chilandar) – or the small dimensions of the churches. Holy women appear only in Bogorodica Ljeviška, Mušutište, Gračanica and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos. With the exception of the Prizren church, their choice is quite abridged: it seems that only a few figures were painted in Mušutište, in Gračanica it was only St. Thekla, Euphemia, Kyriaki and Barbara (and perhaps two others which appear on the frescoes repainted in the XVI century), in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos we find St. Theodota, Catherine and Irene while in Ljeviška names are preserved beside the figures of St. Barbara, Theodosia, Irene, Paraskevi, Kyriaki and Thekla. They are always depicted bearing the cross of martyrdom in their hands and mostly dressed in luxurious clothes with either wreaths or crowns on their heads. This is based not so much on their vitae as on the desire to represent them as the brides of Christ and residents of the Celestial Court.

Today, the fifth part of the prosphora is dedicated to the memory of the holy fathers who became enlightened through their monastic vows, profusely depicted in churches throughout the Byzantine world, especially from the IX century on. In Serbian churches raised by king Milutin or his contemporaries, holy monks and hermits were also a frequently represented subject rendered in traditional iconographic forms while their choice and distribution were also based on ancient models. There were, of course, minor divergences from standard solutions because, at times, the Serbian milieu introduced certain changes to the choice of personages as well as to their appearance. Almost without exception, this choice focused on the holy monks who were the first to be mentioned in the prayers of the Proskomide, i.e. Sts. Anthony, Euthymios and Sabas the Sanctified, but there were others, too, whose cults grew in popularity during the period in question. In Dragutin's chapel and Žiča, holy stylites appeared near the altar and the apse while in Petrova crkva figures of monks are distributed around the passage connecting the narthex and the naos. There, in Petrova crkva, several figures of monks were also placed in the west conch (the only one identified by an inscription is St. Ephraim, probably the Syrian) while in Arilje they were transferred to the choirs. It should be stressed that around the year 1300 Serbian art had almost entirely discarded the custom of the XII and XIII centuries of depicting the holy monks with unrolled scrolls inscribed with their teachings. The scrolls which they carry from then on are rolled up and, instead of openly displaying their wise sayings, serve only as a reminder of their didactic role. All, or almost all of the holy monks depicted in the west bay of Žiča, about ten of them all together, were represented in that fashion. They are joined by two or three figures of poets, painted on the north wall of the west bay with bundles of rolled up rotuli in their hands or their writing utensils. Three holy poets appear also in the narthex of Nagoričino: Joseph, Cosmas and John of Damascus. The text on the unrolled rotulus of Cosmas – the hymn "More honourable than the cherubim" – refers to the Virgin and is probably related to the neighbouring Dormition. Sts. Cosmas and John of Damascus, with unrolled scrolls, were also painted in the south parekklesion of Gračanica. Cosmas's text is the same as in Nagoričino while the sticheron of St. John also refers to the Virgin, perhaps because of the vicinity of the Annunciation adjoining the two figures. Following XII century models, poet monks John of Damascus, Cosmas of Maiumas, Joseph and Theodore of Stoudion – were also gathered around the Dormi-





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Thessaloniki, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, *St. Demetrios*,
1315–1320

106
Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *St. Romanus*, 1309–1313

107
Petrova crkva in Ras, *St. Christopher*, around 1280

tion in both Kraljeva crkva and, in smaller numbers, St. Nikita near Skoplje in order to exalt the Virgin through their songs. Because of the special honour bestowed by St. Sava the Serbian upon his holy patron and namesake, St. Sabas the Sanctified, the figure of that saint, the patron of the north parekklesion of Žiča, appears also on the early XIV century layer of frescoes near the iconostasis of the Saviour's church in that monastery. He was depicted once again in the parekklesion dedicated to his memory, together with his usual companions, St. Euthymios and Anthony, and next to St. Theodore of Stoudion. Some less frequently represented holy monks, commemorated on the Saturday of the week before Lent, were distributed on the walls of the south parekklesion of Nagoričino: Sts. Acacios, John Calybites, Poimen, Hilarion, Paul the Simple, Gerasimos, Chariton and Athanasios the Athonite. In Bogorodica Ljeviška figures of holy monks were painted in the aisles and remains of their images are somewhat more numerous in the north aisle. In Gračanica their figures are located in the lateral parekklesia and they are far better preserved. Representations of holy monks can also be found on other locations in this church. In the lowest register of frescoes of the two parekklesia we find the figures of the more celebrated holy monks but the order in which they stand offers no ground for a deeper understanding of these images. Only the holy poets, Cosmas and John of Damascus and Stephen the New, are shown with unrolled scrolls while others appear either with a rolled up rotulus or a cross in their hands or without any sign at all. The roll in the hands of St. Stephen the New is certainly related to the icon of Christ he is holding. The above mentioned holy monks are found in other Serbian churches as well. In the west part of the church of St. Nikita they are joined by Sts. Symeon Nemanja and St. Sava the Serbian. That was the first time that these two Serbian saints were represented among the other holy fathers in whose company they were to be depicted quite often in the XIV and during the subsequent centuries. Synaxarion services adapted to local requirements inspired the inclusion of local anchorites and monks whose cults were restricted to a certain milieu in the programmes of church decoration. That is exactly what took place in Nagoričino where Sts. Prochor of Pčinja and Joachim of Osogovo were portrayed among the celebrated holy monks. Obviously, of all the Serbian monasteries of that era, Chilandar was the most zealous in fostering the cults of holy monks and hermits. Some of them were painted on the west and the north wall of the katholikon naos

while those most highly venerated appeared in the choirs. Moreover, a large number of monks and hermits is depicted in the narthex. Among them we find some who are otherwise rarely represented in mural painting as well as those whose lives are tied to Mount Athos: Sts. Athanasios the Athonite, Sisoës, David of Thessaloniki, Sisinnius, Timothy, Dorotheus, Theonas, Silvanus, Peter the Athonite, Luke of Stiris (who also appears in Gračanica), Joasaph, Barlaam, Callinicus, Moses the Ethiopian, Martinianus, Xenophon, Arcadius, Lazarus, Poimen, Paul in Latros, Memnon, Paul of Xeropotamou and many others. Such a gallery of holy monks, hermits and anchorites, together with the scenes from the lives of some of the famous holy fathers painted on the vaults of the narthex, is unique in Serbian and Byzantine painting of the early XIV century. The iconography of these frescoes can be better understood only after most of the as yet uncleaned Chilandar frescoes are presented to the scholars in their original form. The other Chilandar church dating from the beginning of the XIV century, the fresco decoration of which has already been freed of the more recent layers of paint, displays the same characteristics and the same inclination to celebrate this group of saints. Namely, the entire bottom register of frescoes in the naos of the Annunciation church is reserved for figures of monks. According to the custom of the day, they were all portrayed with rolled up scrolls or, in rare instances, with rolls inscribed with their teachings. The preserved frescoes indicate that Serbian painting of that period observed a specific manner of depicting one type of anchorite, the stylite, which had already been seen in Byzantine art but was consistently implemented only in Serbia. The stylites, positioned on top of their columns, were usually depicted in the lunettes of two-light and three-light windows in Kraljeva crkva of Studenica, Nagoričino, Gračanica and the katholikon of Chilandar. Visually, their columns articulated the colonettes of the window openings. Finally, it should be noted that holy women were very rarely represented in the art of Milutin's era. In fact, St. Mary of Egypt, receiving communion from St. Zosimus, is the only one and even she appears only in Bogorodica Ljeviška and Chilandar.

Among the various saints, a group of holy doctors or anagyroi, who were ascribed the miraculous powers of healing and procuring expeditious aid in times of trouble, was singled out quite early on as a specific entity. Hence, they were normally depicted on conspicuous locations in the church. Sts. Cosmas, Panteleimon and Damian were joined by other anar-

gyroi only occasionally. Their figures usually appeared on the west wall of the naos, as in some of Milutin's churches (Žiža, Sušica, Gračanica), the west part of the naos (Petrova crkva, Bogorodica Ljeviška, Mušutište, Kraljeva crkva, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos) or in the narthex (Chilandar katholikon, Nagoričino, Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim). Some were given more privileged positions than others, close to episcopal thrones, either because of the faith of the ktetors in their intercession or because they were priests. Certainly, there must have been other reasons, which we can only surmise today, for their appearance in Dragutin's endowments: among the rare and carefully chosen figures of saints represented in his chapel at Djurdjevi Stupovi, Sts. Panteleimon, Cosmas and Damian are placed above the ktetor while Cyrus and John appear on the adjoining wall. In Arilje their numbers are even greater and they appear both in medallions, as in Djurdjevi Stupovi, or as single figures standing in the space beneath the dome. Names have been preserved by the figures of Sts. Samson, Diomedes, Cyrus, Hermolaos, Panteleimon, Damian and Cosmas.

The cycle of dedication of the particles carved from the prosphora begins with Christ and the Virgin and ends with Joachim and Anne, the Virgin's parents, who gave birth to the one who was chosen by God and who thus prepared the corporeal appearance of Christ on earth. That is why, in king Milutin's endowments, they were often depicted in the east part of the church, in the vicinity of the Annunciation. This scene could also include the figures of king David and king Solomon, representatives of the Virgin's ancestral tribe. At times, as in Nagoričino, for example, other prophets who, in their inspired words, announced the incarnation of Christ could also be included in this composition. In Arilje, Sts. Joachim and Anne appear within a group of such figures surrounding the Annunciation while in Dragutin's chapel at Djurdjevi Stupovi they are depicted around the apse in the form of half-figures. St. Anne with the Virgin in her arms is also found in the east part of the north parekklesion in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos while Joachim and Anne assume a place of honour in the church dedicated to them in Studenica, where they act as mediators between the ktetor and Christ.

Cycles of the Saints

Some of the saints were held in especially high veneration and were thus assigned accordingly promi-



ment positions in programmes of church decoration, they stood out in size or received special ornaments and sumptuous artistic treatment. Convinced of their expeditious and fruitful intercession before Christ, kletors used to dedicate churches or parekklesia to their memory and have their figures painted close to their own portraits. In those days churches were very rarely dedicated to Christ or any of his feasts. Sources say that king Milutin raised just one church dedicated to the Ascension of Christ, in Hrusija near Chilandar, and probably took part in the restoration of Žiča which is dedicated to the same feast. By large, most of his churches were dedicated to the Virgin and, if that was not the case, she was at least the patron of one of the parekklesia. Since king Milutin was mostly engaged in restoring older shrines, their original dedications – to the apostles Peter and Paul, John the Prodromos, Demetrios, George, Constantine, Nicetas, Nicholas or Stephen the Protomartyr – probably remained unchanged although some of them received specially chosen epithets or particular functions. Thus, the church of St. Georgios Tropaiophoros raised at Nagoričino was most probably dedicated in memory of the successful military campaigns the king waged in those days and that of St. Stephen in Banjska to the patron saint of many of the king's ancestors and his personal holy guardian, the one who was going to watch over the church which was going to become the final resting place of the king's body. Some of the reasons behind certain dedications can not be entirely elucidated. Arilje, restored by king Dragutin, must probably have housed the relics or at least some particles of the holy relics of St. Achilleios. The church of the Virgin Tricheiroussa in Skoplje was restored by king Milutin in honour of the icon kept in that monastery. In the days of Sava, bishop of Prizren, the church raised above the tomb of the anchorite Prochor of Pčinja was restored. Archbishop Nikodim raised a church dedicated to St. Sava the Serbian. It is not clear why this archbishop dedicated his endowment in Peć to the memory of St. Demetrios, all the more so because it stands on the location of an older church which was apparently dedicated to St. Nicholas. The reasons behind some other dedications, which survive to this day, shall probably remain a mystery.

Except for the churches and parekklesia dedicated to their memory, these chosen saints also received ornate icons which stood on the iconostasis or in its proximity. Church walls were often covered with scenes from their lives, especially those which introduced them to the elected of the Lord.

Whether by chance or as an indication of the orig-

inal situation, most of the preserved cycles of the saints are related to St. Nicholas. Curious enough, there was just one church, that in Thessaloniki, dedicated to this saint but many of the other churches had parekklesia dedicated to him. With the exception of Nagoričino, a monastery church, all the rest with a parekklesion of St. Nicholas and a pertaining cycle of this saint were cathedrals. Hence, we are inclined to conclude that the famous bishop from Myra in Licia was particularly revered among Serbian bishops although his general popularity, based on his many miracles, was considerably more widespread. A large number of different versions of the vita of St. Nicholas, as well as hagiographies of other saints of the same name, were responsible for the formulation of the well known events from his life and some of his miracles. However, while preserving the basic kernel of the cycle, the illustrations of his vita found in churches of king Milutin's era display some rare divergences from the redaction established in somewhat older Byzantine art.¹⁴⁸ They always begin with the Birth of St. Nicholas, with the mother lying in bed and a scene showing the bathing of the new-born child. Most often, as in Nagoričino and Gračanica, St. Nicholas is shown standing in a bathing vessel. Only in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos the bathing sequence is replaced by a representation of the new-born lying in a crib. In some churches (Ljeviška, Nagoričino, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos) we find a scene showing the saint going off to school as an introduction to his future high ecclesiastical rank. His rise in church hierarchy is also a common subject and rendered in a similar manner, beginning with his investiture as a deacon, then as a priest and finally as a bishop. Still, most of the scenes of this cycle were reserved for his miracles. The most favoured among them was the one where he saves three girls from degradation, well preserved only in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki and, in a different iconographic form, only partly in Nagoričino. Of the other miracles which took place during the saint's lifetime, the rescue of the three generals, the three accidental witnesses of the miracle Nicholas performed in Myra when he saved three wrongly accused innocents from the sword, is never left out. Upon their return to Constantinople, the three generals were accused of conspiracy, imprisoned and sentenced to death. Being in dire straits, they remembered the miracle of the Myrlician bishop, prayed to him for help and finally witnessed the intercession of St. Nicholas. First he appeared in a dream to emperor Constantine, then to eparchos Ablabios and finally to the accused generals. The iconography of

these scenes is similar in all Serbian churches of this period: St. Nicholas holds the sword of the executioner who is about to decapitate the three innocent men; he stands by the bed of Constantine sleeping in his palace (in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos he rests under a tent); in a similar fashion the emperor also appears to Ablabios. The three imprisoned generals could, however, be rendered in a variation of forms. Most often they are shown in the dungeon with their legs bound and only in Arilje they are sleeping in a space encircled by towers. Although the part of the fresco with the prisoners has been ruined in Ljeviška, it seems that it represented the moment St. Nicholas appeared before them. The order of the scenes is juggled up in these monuments so that, instead of beginning with it, the cycle ends with the Miraculous Rescue of the Innocents in Myra. The other cycle of miracles of St. Nicholas inevitably included in the art of this period is that related to the pagan goddess Artemis. Namely, St. Nicholas tore down the temple of Artemis in Myra, as depicted in one of the scenes of his cycle in Gračanica, so that the evil spirit of the goddess brought into the church a vessel containing a liquid which was to destroy the church and the entire town. That night, however, one ship master, on board of his vessel, received in his dream an order to destroy that bottle, in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos St. Nicholas he is shown hurling it into the sea himself. A huge tempest rose thereupon and demons attempted to tear the ship's sails but St. Nicholas came again to the rescue of the sailors, chasing the demons away and calming down the raging sea. In Gračanica and Nagoričino the saint is shown in exactly that capacity, with the sailors on their ship, threatening the demons. From the group of rarely represented miracles of St. Nicholas only two appear in the churches of king Milutin: St. Nicholas saves the city of Myra from hunger by bestowing three coins to a captain for the purchase of wheat (in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos) and St. Nicholas cuts down a tree infested with demons in Plakoma (in Nagoričino). The cycle ends with the death of St. Nicholas, seen only in two churches – Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki and Bogorodica Ljeviška. Its iconography does not differ much from similar death scenes of other saints, especially bishops.

Judging by the fact that king Milutin raised as many as four churches in honour of St. George (in Thessaloniki, Skoplje, Debar and Nagoričino), cycles of this saint were probably often painted in those days. However, such a cycle is well preserved only in Nagoričino and only partly in the parekklesion on the

upper floor of Bogorodica Ljeviška. In Prizren only the Torture on the Wheel is better visible as well as a part of some scene involving princess Alexandra. In Nagoričino this cycle offers two novelties: as far as we know, this is the first time that it was painted in the naos and was more extensive than any other cycle of his which appeared in older churches.¹⁴⁹ In Nagoričino it included a great number sufferings of the saint, several miracles and events related to his death. The painters probably relied on models which were based on the form of his vita adopted by the synaxarion of the Constantinopolitan church and most often used in art between the XII and the XIV centuries. That is attested by both the choice and the order of the scenes in the cycle painted at Nagoričino: St. George Before Emperor Diocletian, Torture by Spear, Torture on the Wheel, St. George in the Dungeon, Second Questioning Before Diocletian, Killing of the Emperor's Converted Generals, Torture in the Lime Pit and the rest, in sequence. Still, in the extensive rendering of the sufferings of St. George we come across some scenes which are not described in his synaxarion vita – those tied to Athanasios the magician, for example, which, on the other hand, follow the text of Metaphrastes to the letter. Other scenes, such as the Piercing of the Feet of St. George or the Burial of St. George, were based on rather uncommon texts. The structure of the cycle certainly relied on older models, as attested by the iconography of the scenes with fine analogies in monuments of the XI and XII centuries. The Miracle with the Dragon reached Nagoričino as a finished scene from precisely that epoch. The painters working at Nagoričino treated those old models in a new manner, typical of their age. Not only were the scenes expanded with prologues and epilogues but the number of participants in the depicted events also grew to a great extent. Their clothes were treated with utmost care and the space which they occupied was well defined. At a slightly earlier date, a similar artistic approach was apparently applied in the cycle of St. George painted in his parekklesion located on the upper floor of Bogorodica Ljeviška. On the other hand, there, the choice of scenes is abridged. However, they do include the princess and the Torture on the Wheel which displays a large number of participants while blades on long handles, positioned beneath the small wheel, take the foreground. This only adds to the dramatic tone of the painting.

Opposite the parekklesion of St. George in Bogorodica Ljeviška stands that of St. Demetrios. Thus, this famous pair of martyrs and warriors, painted





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Staro Nagoričino, *St. Nicholas saving the three innocents from the sword*, 1315–1317

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Žiča, *Cycle of St. Stephen*, detail, around 1310

together in Byzantine and Serbian art a countless number of times, received a pair of small chapels, one opposite the other, above the exonarthex of Ljeviška. The cult of St. Demetrios was very widespread among the Serbs, as attested by literary works of the XIII and XIV centuries. During Milutin's era he appeared in every church and was sometimes positioned quite close to the iconostasis (Žiča, Gračanica, the Annunciation church in Chilandar) thus numbering among the images of the most highly venerated saints. Apart from the single figures of the saint, there must have been entire cycles dedicated to him. The one in Ljeviška is mostly ruined so that we can not even make any assumptions about its original appear-

ance nor study the iconography in its entirety.¹⁵⁰ The remaining scenes refer to the events tied to the death of the holy guardian of Thessaloniki: St. Nestor kills the giant Lyaius in the presence of emperor Maximian and the death of St. Demetrios. They are very similar to corresponding scenes in other XIV century monuments. The feature that sets the cycle painted in Bogorodica Ljeviška apart is the emergence of the representation of the saint's tomb. It is well known that St. Demetrios was a renowned myroblitos and rivers of pilgrims hurried to his tomb in the martyrion-church in Thessaloniki. The myrrh which flowed from the grave was kept in reliquaries which resembled the shape of the saint's tomb. The tops of these reliquaries were usually decorated with images of St. Demetrios with arms spread wide, as seen also on the fresco from Prizren. It was more than just a simple copy of a reliquary. On this fresco the top surface of the tomb displays an image of the saint with outstretched arms while the lateral sides are decorated with stylised lilies, circles and perhaps openings from which the myrrh flowed. Two candlesticks with lighted candles stand by the saint's head and in the floor there are indications of the basins into which the myrrh flowed and a low podium. All these elements, at least approximately, render the appearance of the tomb of this holy myroblitos as it looked at the beginning of the XIV century and in the form which was certainly familiar to the ktetors from Prizren and many other Serbs who visited the basilica of St. Demetrios and saw the tomb of this saint.¹⁵¹ The emergence of such a painting was probably inspired by the services dedicated to the saint which celebrated him as a myroblitos while the actual appearance of his tomb could have been transferred to Prizren by the group of painters from Thessaloniki headed by Michael Astrapas.

The cycle of St. Stephen the Protomartyr is also preserved in just one monument of this epoch, the south parekklesion of Žiča. Originally, it must have been painted also in king Milutin's main endowment, the church of St. Stephen in Banjska. This saint was held in especially high reverence in the Serbian milieu and throughout the XIII century nearly all the major monasteries had parekklesia dedicated to his memory with scenes from his life decorating their walls. Therefore, the painters and ktetors of the XIV century frescoes from Žiča were certainly familiar with their iconography. Although most of Stephen's cycle in this church has been damaged, enough of it remains to show that, rather unusually, it begins on the north,

spreads across the west and ends on the south wall. Its scenes were based on passages from the Acts of the Apostles (6, 9–15; 7, 1–60) which describe the martyrdom, teaching and death of one of the first followers of Christ to be ordained by the apostles, as well as on the service of the translation of his relics to Constantinople. Thus, the Žiča cycle includes the events related to the two most significant feasts of St. Stephen, those of December 27th and August 2nd, while being based on currently used texts. The first part of the cycle, on the north wall, followed the sequence of events described in the mentioned New Testament book: Stephen is captured, accused and brought before the high priest where he expounds extensively the history of the Hebrew people and their expectation of the Messiah. The following scene, a sequence of the first, renders the moment St. Stephen is being lead out of the city (Acts 7, 58) while the last one shows the death of St. Stephen by stoning (Acts 7, 58–60). The preserved parts of these scenes indicate that the painter interpreted the text quite literally, as was also the case with other cycles of St. Stephen and, at times, those of the Acts of the Apostles. The west wall of this parekklesion in Žiča, or rather the spot in which frescoes are no longer present, may have housed the scene of Burial of St. Stephen. The only elements which remain of the following composition – apparently the Invention of the Relics – include a part of a sarcophagus with the saint's halo and, beside it, a figure of a man discovering the relics. In the Nagoričino Menologion, the Invention of the Relics was rendered in a different manner. Of the two inventions of St. Stephen's relics, that on September 15th and that on August 2nd, the fresco painted in Žiča probably shows the latter, which took place in Jerusalem, because the scene which follows, taking up the entire south wall, is that of the Translation of Relics of St. Stephen. Although this composition is based on the Service of the Translation of Relics of St. Stephen and the Constantinopolitan synaxarion, the painters did not follow the text literally but rather rendered this event as a solemn ceremony. The right-hand part of the painting is taken up by the bishops, the priests and the deacons carry a carved reliquary containing the relics of St. Stephen on their shoulders, decorated with a half-figure of the saint in a medallion, while a group of men and women kneels and addresses the saint in prayer. On the other side of the composition, numerous ecclesiastics lead by the emperor and the patriarch, shown holding up a large cross, welcome the relics in front of the gates of Constantinople while deacons hold



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Staro Nagoričino, *Torture of St. George by piercing of the feet*, 1315–1317

ornamented books and censers. The accompanying long inscriptions explain the scene but make no mention of the names of the emperor or the patriarch, omitted also in the texts, because the actual date of this event is not quite certain. A large church was built over the new tomb of St. Stephen in Constantinople whence the cult of this saint spread to all the neighbouring states, including Serbia. The frescoes of Žiča are certainly one of the finest expressions of this cult.¹⁵²

The north parekklesion of Žiča was dedicated to St. Sabas of Jerusalem and contained a cycle of this saint of which only insignificant remains have survived to this day. However, owing to the work of the first explorers of Žiča we do know that this cycle ended on the west wall with the Death of St. Sabas. This composition was very similar to other death scenes of monks in Byzantine art, for example, the Death of St. Euthymios in his parekklesion in the church of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki (1303). The body of St. Sabas is layed out on a coarse mat and monks are gathered around it; a priest standing above the head of the deceased reads the service of the dead from an open book and the deacon by his side holds a lighted candle. Sabas died in the desert so that a rocky landscape appears in the background. His death, however, was more than just another death of an ordinary monk because, upon leaving the body, his soul went directly to heaven: at one time, at the top of this composition, one could actually see the angels in a segment of the sky, receiving the saint's soul, as well as figures of monks around the bier raising their arms and, as if in a vision, pointing towards the heavens and the angels. Since no other cycle of St. Sabas has been preserved in Byzantine art, although its existence at one time is indisputable, and because even this cycle in Žiča is no longer extant, at this moment it is not possible to say anything more about it or its iconography.¹⁵³

Frescoes in Refectories

In any monastery, the refectory was the building second in importance only to the church. The complex rite of eating was regarded as a continuation of the everyday services performed in the church. Therefore, the topography of the path leading from the church, through the narthex to the entrance to the refectory, the course of the meal and, following that, the exit from the refectory were precisely determined by instructions found in monastery typika and further

upheld through the themes of the frescoes chosen to decorate these spaces. Compositions which appeared on such locations were there to keep the monk's thoughts focused on the greatest mystery, the mystery of the Eucharist, and to set before his eyes the examples of endless mercy of the Lord, the provider of all spiritual and corporeal food. Sharing a common table, even in the refectory monks were partakers in the mystic supper which Christ shared with the apostles. As Christ did once, the hegoumenos blessed the food and all the brethren were encircled with images which transported them to the higher, eternal and unalterable reality of the moment when Christ put his blessings on the bread and wine. Many other representations, relating themes from the distant or the more recent past, reminded them of the moment when God, directly or in corporeal form, shared food with men or procured and multiplied it for them, thus giving them communion. The prayers read at the beginning and the end of meals evoked the sacrifice of Christ as the food of eternal life, the lives of saints read on their feast days revived the memory of the Lord's elect and the images of holy monks and hermits on the walls instructed the brethren and confirmed the truth of the words to which they were listening. Common meals, a distant echo of the ancient agapae, required the construction of spacious halls which would end in a semi-circular apse – another reminiscence of the Zion cenacle. The hegoumenos would sit in front of it, in imitation of Christ, and bless the food. In the days of king Milutin, when the generous ktetors, and most of all the king himself, were engaged in building magnificent churches, refectories, too, were raised with almost equal care and skill. Although none has survived to this day, because they were either destroyed or reconstructed like the one in Chilandar, what remains of the refectories at Djurdjevi Stupovi and Banjska speaks of the beauty of these structures in those days.¹⁵⁴

Even though they were all decorated with frescoes, even less has remained of the paintings covering their walls. Archeological exploration has uncovered a large number of fragments of frescoes in the refectory of Banjska but they mostly belong to the purely ornamental decoration of the socle. The only significant remains of early XIV century wall paintings have been preserved in the refectory of Chilandar, on the wall above the apse, in a spot located above the XVII century ceiling construction. The top part of the triangular pediment is taken up by a half-figure of Christ holding an open book and surrounded by angels in medallions. Below him are three scenes related to the



righteous Abraham: the Welcoming of the Three Angels, the Hospitality of Abraham and the Sacrifice of Abraham. We have already come across these three scenes in this sequence (for example, in the altar of Gračanica). Moreover, their iconography is similar. A minor change in the standard iconography of these events is visible only in the central scene: instead of other food, Abraham and Sara offer bread to the angels and, probably, wine in order to underline the eucharistic symbolism of the composition. The meaning of these scenes is well known for they are the archetypes of Christ's sacrifice and the Eucharist which Christ established at the Last Supper. It should, however, be pointed out that the choice of scenes was somewhat more liberal in refectories than in churches which resulted in a more conspicuous presence of local customs. Still, the eucharistic symbolism of eating was very common in the frescoes surrounding the apse. Judging by the preserved monuments, from the X century on the Last Supper was depicted quite often, whether in its standard form or

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Chilandar, Refectory, *Hospitality of Abraham* (left part),
around 1320

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Chilandar, Refectory, *Hospitality of Abraham* (right part),
around 1320

in its liturgical guise, as the Communion of the Apostles (only in Georgia it retreated to the lateral walls leaving the apse to the Deesis). The space around it could be occupied by scenes of evangelical miracles and sufferings. In the decoration of refectories, the most beloved Old Testament scene with this sort of symbolism was the Hospitality of Abraham. It appears in Udabno (X–XI century), Bertubani (1212/1213) and Kolagiri (second half of the XIII century) in Georgia, in the refectory of St. John's monastery on the island of Patmos (first half of the XIII century) and in Apollonia near Dyrrachium

(around 1275). In the latter two cases we also find the Welcoming of the Three Angels, as in Chilandar, along with a series of evangelical and other themes (which may have been present in the refectory of Chilandar at one time), mostly with eucharistic messages.¹⁵⁵ Since the original wall paintings were covered with new frescoes during the XVII and XVIII centuries and, perhaps, because some parts of the old refectory of Chilandar were torn down, we are not able to develop further our comparison between the decoration of Chilandar and other Byzantine refectories.

¹ Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27–28; Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije* (II), 131–137; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 168–169; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60.

² Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*, 44–47; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 213; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*, 90–93.

³ The frescoes of Arilje have been catalogued and published several times: Okunev, *Aril'e*, 227–239; Petković, *Pregled*, 5–8; Millet – Frolov, *La peinture*, II, pl. 68–87; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 26–27, Plan 18–19, Taf. 143–158; S. Petković, *Arilje*, Beograd 1965, pp. III–VII, Abb. 1–48; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 134; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 61; B. Živković, *Arilje*, Beograd 1970; M. Čanak-Medić, *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju*, Beograd 1982, 18–47, figs. 2–21.

⁴ The XIV century frescoes from Žiča have been published and interpreted in several studies: Petković, *Spasova crkva u Žiči*, 18–105; Petković, *Pregled*, 121–123; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 160–163; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 96–98; Mijović, *Žiča*, 124–199; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68–69; B. Todić, *Topografija žičkih fresaka, Žiča – istorija i umetnost* (pending publication).

⁵ Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 121–126, figs. 70–75, with the best description and explanation of the programme of fresco decoration of Peć, including a bibliography of earlier works on these wall paintings.

⁶ Djurić, *Nepoznati spomenici*, 61–67; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74; Djordjević, *Zidno slikarstvo*, 50, 131.

⁷ XIV century frescoes from the monastery of St. Prochor of Pčinja have recently been carefully studied, including the question of their relation with the later layer of wall paintings from 1488/9, Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 117–137.

⁸ Babić, *Sušica*, 303–309.

⁹ Cf. V. J. Djurić, *La peinture murale de l'Ecole de la Morava*, La peinture de l'Ecole de la Morava, Belgrade 1968, 36; M. Šuput, *Manastir Banjska*, Beograd 1989, 34–35, fig. 24. The meagre remains of frescoes in the altar space (a standing figure of a bishop with a closed book in the diaconicon apse and a part of an altar table in the calotte of the prothesis apse) can not even suggest the wealth of themes and their iconography which once existed in Banjska.

¹⁰ On the better preserved frescoes of the Annunciation church of Chilandar and their iconography cf. Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 52–62.

¹¹ Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 49–68; Babić, *Priprate crkva kralja Milutina*, 106, 112–125; also Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 88–96; Hamann-MacLean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 29–30, Plan 23–25, Abb. 182–212. Drawings of all these frescoes were published by B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška. Les dessins de fresques*, Beograd 1991.

¹² The frescoes of Nagoričino have been catalogued and published in several instances: P. J. Popović – V. R. Petković, *Staro Nagoričino – Psuća – Kalenić*, Beograd 1933, 1–49, pl. IX–XXXIII; Okunev, *Staro Nagoričino*, 87–120; Petković,

Pregled, 204–208; Millet – Frolov, *La peinture*, III, pl. 71–119; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 58–62; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 71–87, pls. I–XVII and figs. 8–103.

¹³ The extensive programme of the frescoes from Gračanica has been communicated in several instances and in different ways, cf. Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 44–63b; II, 29–35, pl. LX–LXXXI; Petković, *Pregled*, 74–83; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, Abb. 318–345, Plan 34–36; Mijović, *Menolog*, 285–307; Todić, *Gračanica*, 80–110, figs. 5–116. Drawings of all the frescoes from Milutin's time have been published by B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1989.

¹⁴ The most complete list of frescoes in the katholikon of Chilandar was put together by Petković, *Pregled*, 338–340; Babić, *Priprate crkva kralja Milutina*, 107–111, and they were best published by Millet, *Athos*, pl. 59–80. The attention of the scholars was mostly focused on the cleaned frescoes: Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 71–83, fig. 17–31; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 81–84; Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 31–41, fig. 1–10.

¹⁵ Even before the publication of the latest monograph on this church (Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 61–191) its wall paintings were well known, and the themes carefully listed: V. R. Petković, *Manastir Studenica*, Beograd 1924, 59–80, figs. 71–108; Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, fig. 36d–39c; II, 22–23, pl. XLII–XLVI; Petković, *Pregled*, 318–320; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 32–34, Plan 29–30a, Abb. 245–272; Millet – Frolov, *La peinture*, III, pl. 54–70.

¹⁶ The church of St. Nikita does not have a monograph like some of the other endowments of king Milutin; for basic information about its frescoes cf. F. Mesesnel, *Živopis crkve sv. Nikite u Skopskoj Crnoj Gori*, Godišnjak Skopskog Filozofskog fakulteta I (1930), 139–152; Petković, *Pregled*, 212–213; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 98–102; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 54–56 et passim; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 70. Best reproductions published in Millet – Frolov, *La peinture*, III, pl. 31–53 and also: Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, fig. 33–36; II, pl. LVIII–LIX; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, Abb. 221–244; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, pl. CIII–CXV.

¹⁷ There is a monograph study on the wall paintings of this Thessaloniki church of king Milutin's by A. Tsitouridou, who catalogued the themes and explained the programme of decoration, cf. Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 63–206, πίν. 1–119; cf. also Ευγγόπουλος, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου*, πίν. 2–190.

¹⁸ For the lack of a more complete monograph study of the wall paintings of this church, cf. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetoga Petra u Bijelom Polju*, 114–123; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 110–112; *Istorijska Crne Gore*, I/1, 260–262; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74.

¹⁹ The basic works on the decoration of domes in Byzantine churches and its meaning are O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, Boston 1955, 17–22; S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des coupôles dans les églises du monde byzantin et postbyzantin*, L'information d'histoire de l'art X/5 (1965), 185–199; O. Demus, *Probleme byzantinischer Kuppeldarstellungen*, CA XXV (1976), 101–108; N. Γκιολές, *Ο βυζαντινός τρούλλος και το εικονογραφικό του πρόγραμμα*, Αθήνα

1990. Cf. A. M. Lidov, *Obraz nebesnogo Ierusalima v vostočno-hristianskoj ikonografii*, Ierusalim v ruskoj kul'ture, Moskva 1994, 15–33.

²⁰ Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 49–50. The author reminds us that this form of stressing the eternity of God is of Komnenian origin, because it appears in wall painting and book illumination in the XI and XII centuries; on the same problem Grabar, *Antiquité et Moyen âge*, I, 52–57.

²¹ Petković, *Pregled*, 339; A. K. Ορλάνδος, *Η Παρηγορήτισσα της Άρτης*, Αθήνα 1963, πίν. 110–115.

²² Todić, *Gračanica* 147–148, figs. 22–25; B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, s. p. The small domes of Nagoričino are also decorated with half-figures of the evangelists, but there are no representations of celestial powers below them, which seems more natural; only the pendentives of the north-west dome are decorated with images of the seraphim, Todić, *Nagoričino*, 78.

²³ For the Studenica church cf. Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 66–68 (the author gives an apocalyptic meaning to this representation which, however, is the result of a one-sided interpretation); on Ljeviška Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 118 (drawing); on Nagoričino Todić, *Nagoričino*, 94–95, fig. 35.

²⁴ Radojčić, *Portreti*, s. p. (the only colour plate); Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 151, πίν. 58; Todić, *Gračanica*, 151–152, 170–173, fig. 31. On the meaning of the dark red and light blue light as a sign of divine energy cf. V. V. Byčkov, *Vizantijskaja estetika*, Moskva 1977, 102–106.

²⁵ For basic information on the Celestial Liturgy see Stefanescu, *Liturgie dans l'art*, I, 64–77; H. J. Schulz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie. Von Werden ihrer Symbolgestalt*, Freiburg im Bressgau 1964, 182–186; L. N. Grondijs, *Croyances, doctrines et iconographie de la liturgie céleste*, Akten des XI. intern. Byz. Kongresses (1958), München 1960, 159–199; S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes des coupes*, 196–199; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 217–221; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 134–137; R. F. Taft, *Great Entrance*, Roma 1975, 178sq.

²⁶ Bornert, *Les commentaires*, 172, 205–206. The angels were represented with censers and offerings on their heads for the first time in the XI century in a composition of liturgical meaning in ms. Σταυροῦ 109 (A. Grabar, *Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures*, DOP 8, 1954, 163–199, in particular 174, 177–178).

²⁷ Representations of the Celestial Liturgy in the mentioned Serbian monuments have been carefully studied: Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 68–69; Todić, *Gračanica*, 139; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 95 (of course, according to the currently valid chronology, the representation from Studenica is always the first to be listed); only that from Chilandar, Petković, *Pregled*, 339, repainted in the XIX century, has not been studied so far. For the cited passage from the liturgy cf. Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 369.

²⁸ Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 50 and drawing on page 118.

²⁹ Cf. Bornert, *Les commentaires*, 65; *Oeuvres complètes du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite*, Paris 1943, 200–202. – On the iconography of the evangelists writing their gospels cf. A. M.

Friend, *The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts*, Art Studies 5 (1927), 115–147; 7 (1929), 1–29; G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels*, Wien 1979, 33–101.

³⁰ For mentioned representations cf. Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 65, fig 13; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 50, drawing on pp. 118–119; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 66–68, drawing on pg. 233 (with a different explanation); Todić, *Nagoričino*, 95–96 (drawing in Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 123/3). On representations of Divine Wisdom in general J. Meyendorff, *L'iconographie de la Sagesse divine dans la tradition byzantine*, CA X (1959), 259–279; S. Radojčić, *Likovi inspirisanih*, Letopis Matice srpske 385/4 (1960), 293–301; A. Grabar, *Les images des poètes et des illustrations dans leurs oeuvres dans la peinture byzantine tardive*, Zograf 10 (1979), 13–16.

³¹ Millet, *Athos*, pl. 8/2–5, 10/1, 11/1, 12/1–2, 13/1, 32/1–3; D. Milošević – J. Nešković, *Les "Tours de St. Georges" dans la vieux Ras*, Belgrade 1986, 60, fig. 38; B. Živković, *Arilje – raspored fresaka*, Beograd 1970, 6–7.

³² On these frescoes related to the celebration of the Virgin in the Ohrid church cf. S. Der Nersessian, *Le lit de Salomon*, ZRVI VIII/1 (1963), 77–82; A. Xyngopoulos, *Au sujet d'une fresque de l'église Saint Clément à Ochrid*, in *ibid.*, 301–306; G. Babić, *L'image symbolique de la "porte fermée" à Saint Clément d'Ohrid*, Synthronon, Paris 1968, 145–151; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto* 69, 81–83; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 189–190; Orlova, *"Čto Ti prinesem, Hriste"*, 128–130. These frescoes were studied by other scholars as well, cf. C. Grozdanov, *Studii za ohridskiot živopis*, Skopje 1990, 84–101, with a complete list of the frescoes in question.

³³ Cf. *The Kariye Djami*, I, 36–37, 49–59; W. Grape, *Zum Stil der Mosaiken in der Kilisse Camii in Istanbul*, Panthéon XXXII/1 (1974), 3; H. Belting – C. Mango – D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, Washington 1978, 107–111, fig. 108.

³⁴ Following the publication of two serious discourses by M. D. Taylor (*A Historiated Tree of Jesse*, DOP 34–35, 1980–1981, 125–176) and A. M. Nasta (*L'Arbre de Jessé dans la peinture sud-est européenne*, Revue des études Sud-est européennes XIV/1, 1976, 29–44) a complete study on the Tree of Jesse has been published recently: Milanović, *The Tree of Jesse*, 48–59; for XIII century monuments cf. also D. Koco – P. Miljković-Peppek, *Manastir*, Skopje 1958, 73, 80; N. Μουτσόπουλος, *Καστοριά. Παναγία η Μαυριώτισσα*, Αθήνα 1967, 34, 53, πίν. 5, 35–37; Babić, *Priprate crkva kralja Milutina*, 117–118; B. Živković, *Sopoćani. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1984, 26; T. Παπαμαστοράκης, *Ένα εικαστική εγκώμιο του Μιχαήλ Η' Παλαιολόγου: Οι εξωτερικές τοιχογραφίες στο καθολικό της Μαυριώτισσας στην Καστοριά*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/15 (1989–1990), 226–232, εικ. 1, 4–10.

³⁵ Okunev, *Aril'e*, 231–233; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 91–93; D. Medaković, *Predstave antičkih filozofa i sivila u živopisu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, ZRVI 6 (1960), 43–55; N. Davidović-Radovanović, *Sibila carica etiopska u živopisu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, Zbornik LU 9 (1973), 29–42; Milanović, *The Tree of Jesse*, 50, 53, 56–57, figs. 14–16.

³⁶ Petković, *Spasova crkva u Žiži*, 74, fig. 78; Mijović, *Žiža*, 198–199; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 74–76; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 116–118.

³⁷ For the Tree of Jesse in Bogorodica Ljeviška cf. the works listed in note 35 as well as the drawings of B. Živković (*Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 80–82); for Dečani V. R. Petković – Dj. Bošković, *Manastir Dečani*, II, Beograd 1941, 51–53, t. CCLXIX–CCLXXI and V. Milanović, *Starozavetne teme i Loza Jesejeva*, Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani. Material and Studies, Beograd 1995, 219–239, fig. 7–18; for Mateič N. Okunjev, *Gradja za istoriju srpske umetnosti*. 2. *Crkva Svete Bogorodice – Mateič*, GSND VII–VIII (1929–1930), 109, fig. 20 and G. Millet – T. Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, IV, Paris 1969, pl. 54–55; for the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki cf. Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble*, 148–175 and N. Dionisopoulos, *Loza Jesejeva u Svetim apostolima u Solunu*, *Zograf* 21 (1990), 62–70.

³⁸ Frescoes of Jacob's sons from Bogorodica Ljeviška have been published only in the form of drawings (B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 14–15); in the Virgin Peribleptos they appear in medallions around the apse (Miljković-Pepok, *Deloto*, 48) and as full figures in the south dome of the Chora (*Kariye Djami*, II, pl. 66–78), cf. also B. Todić, *A Note on the Beateous Joseph in Late Byzantine Painting*, *ΔXAE*, 4/18 (1995), 89–96.

³⁹ Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 76–87, figs. 22–33.

⁴⁰ Todić, *Nagoričino*, 96–97. Emphasising David's place in the genealogy of Christ is of a considerably older date. On the well known miniature from Par. gr. 74 (XI century) with an extensive depiction of Christ's ancestors, an enthroned king David appears at the bottom of the representation surrounded by his descendants and prophets (cf. Sh. Tsuji, *The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74*, *DOP* 29, 1975, 197–202, fig. 15). Such a role of David's is going to be especially emphasised also in the Tree of Jesse, for example in Arilje.

⁴¹ Oktoechos, eighth tone. Wednesday, at vespers, first song. The frescoes from Gračanica have been published only as drawings (B. Živković, *Gračanica*, s. p., with some incorrectly interpreted names). In the Chora, after Hosea we find the images of Jehonia and Salatail (*The Kariye Djami*, II, pl. 66–78), replaced in Gračanica by those of Joshua and the Beateous Joseph. Incomplete genealogies, with omissions of some characters and additions of others which do not follow the right order were not exceptions but rather the rule in such representations in both Byzantine and Serbian churches.

⁴² These Chilandar frescoes (all repainted in 1803) have not been published. Old Testament kings and patriarchs are mentioned in general by Petković, *Pregled*, 340 and Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 111, as prophets and patriarchs.

⁴³ These Old Testament archetypes of the Virgin are mentioned at her feasts (Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 368; Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*, 73–75) and by numerous authors who wrote about the Virgin. On the prophets from Nagoričino cf. Todić, *Nagoričino*, 98, from Arilje B. Živković, *Arilje*, 6, from Petrova crkva Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*, 46, from Gračanica Todić, *Gračanica*, 127, from Chilandar Miljković-Pepok, *Deloto*, pl. CLXXIX–CLXXX.

⁴⁴ Most extensively on these representations in Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 28–29 and Todić, *Nagoričino*, 98–100.

⁴⁵ Cf. PG, 97, col. 1096; Jean Damascène, *Homelies sur la Nativité et la Dormition*, Paris 1961, 104; Cosmas Indicopleustès, *Topographie chrétienne*, II, Paris 1970, 263–265; Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 367; Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*, 92–94.

⁴⁶ Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 201; Athanase d'Alexandrie, *Sur l'incarnation du Verbe*, Paris 1973, 382, 390; cf. Todić, *Nagoričino*, 99.

⁴⁷ On representations of the Virgin as an image of the church in the apses of Byzantine churches: C. Cecchelli, *Mater Christi*, I, Roma 1946, 13–23, 304–305; Ch. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei*, Wiesbaden 1960, 102–108; A. Grabar, *Les voies de la création en iconographie chrétienne*, Paris 1979, 72–74.

⁴⁸ Cf. J. Popović, *Dogmatika pravoslavne crkve*, III, Beograd 1978, 260–261; Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*, 81. On her representations in art G. Galavaris, *The Representation of the Virgin and Child on a "Tokos" on Seals of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch*, *ΔXAE* IV/2 (1960–1961), 153–181.

⁴⁹ A. Grabar, *Sur les sources des peintres byzantins des XIII^e siècles*, CA XII (1962), 351–354; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 90.

⁵⁰ Todić, *Gračanica*, 151–152, figs. 31–32. Christ Emmanuel, depicted in a medallion, is found also in the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, at the summit of the triumphal arch above the Virgin Platytera in the main apse (Miljković-Pepok, *Deloto*, fig. 15), at the spot occupied by the Mandelion in Dragutin's chapel, Sušica and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos.

⁵¹ Mercenier, *La prière*, II/2, 20. Christ Emmanuel is shown this way in the 15th verse of the Akathistos in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, Τσιτουρίδου, *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ὀρφανός*, 151–152, πίν. 58.

⁵² Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 385. The theme of the star is thoroughly developed by Romanos Melodos in the First Hymn to Nativity (Romanos le Mélode, *Hymnes*, II, Paris 1965, 54–56); most extensively on the fresco from Gračanica in Todić, *Gračanica*, 151–152, and that from Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Τσιτουρίδου, *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ὀρφανός*, 62–65.

⁵³ Cf. Skaballanovič, *Hristianskie prazdniki*, I, 39–40, 43, 45 et passim; Mercenier, *La prière*, 82, 349, 418 et passim.

⁵⁴ Petković, *Pregled*, 340; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 67, 77; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 122–123, fig. 5; B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 81. At about the same time these scenes also appear in St. Sophia in Trebizond, the Protaton, the Virgin Peribleptos, the Chora, Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki, cf. Millet, *Athos*, pl. 32/2; D. T. Rice, *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, Edinburgh 1968, 149–151, fig. 112; Miljković-Pepok, *Deloto*, 51; *The Kariye Djami*, I, 224–225; II, pl. 228; IV, 334–336; Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble*, 135–136, Abb. 86.

⁵⁵ Petković, *Pregled*, 340; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 111. Isaiah's vision was interpreted as a prototype of the Virgin's conception: the spoon (or the pliers) is the Virgin's womb, the live coals are Christ, Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*,

69–70, cf. also Todić, *Nagoričino*, 106. Isaiah's vision from Ljeviška has been published as a drawing, B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 9.

⁵⁶ Petković, *Pregled*, 340; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 111, 123; Todić, *Gračanica*, 145–146. Most thoroughly on this composition in Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 135 and J. Radovanović, *Runo Gedeonovo u srpskom srednjovekovnom slikarstvu*, Zograf 5 (1974), 38–42, and on its liturgical sources in Skaballanović, *Hristianskie prazdniki*, I, 110; III, 89; IV, 115; Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 220, 367; II/2, 23.

⁵⁷ PG, 63, 186. The fresco from Chilandar was identified by V. R. Petković (*Pregled*, 140) and G. Babić (*Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 111) as the Burning Bush.

⁵⁸ Cf. Petković, *Pregled*, 140; Todić, *Gračanica*, 146 (in the form of drawing this fresco was published by B. Živković, *Gračanica*, s. p.). The scene has been best studied by Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 147–150, and its use in liturgical texts best explained by Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*, 68–69.

⁵⁹ Petković, *Pregled*, 79, 81, 340; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 123–124; Todić, *Gračanica*, 145. As an archetype of the Virgin this scene appears in the narthex of the Peribleptos in Ohrid, Millet – Frolov, *La peinture*, III, pl. 13/2; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 51. On the iconography of this theme cf. V. R. Petković, *Freske sa predstavom Premudrosti*, Zbornik u čast Bogdana Popovića, Beograd 1929, 317–321; Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 139–142; S. Radojčić, *La table de la Sagesse dans la littérature et de l'art serbes depuis la début du XIII^e jusqu'au début du XIV^e siècle*, ZRVI 16 (1975), 215–224; *The Kariye Djami*, IV, 338–343; Δ. I. Πάλλας, *Ο Χριστός ως η Θεία Σοφία. Η εικονογραφική περιπέτεια μίας θεολογικής έννοιας*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/15 (1991), 131–138.

⁶⁰ Cf. Skaballanović, *Hristianskie prazdniki*, I, 45; Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 82, 419; V. R. Petković, *Freske sa predstavom Premudrosti*, 321, note 1.

⁶¹ More extensively on all this in Todić, *Gračanica*, 142–143, fig. 27, while the long lasting interest of M. Gligorijević-Maksimović for this composition was recently rounded off in her text *Skinija u Dečanima – poreklo i razvoj ikonografske teme*, Dečani et l'art byzantin au milieu du XIV^e siècle, Beograd 1989, 319–334. With the same double meaning the Old Testament tabernacle was also represented around this time in the Protaton on Mount Athos and the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, cf. Millet, *Athos*, pl. 32/3; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 51.

⁶² Todić, *Gračanica*, 146 (schematic representation in B. Živković, *Gračanica*, s. p.); Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 157–159, πίν. 61–62. This theme was often painted during the XIV century, on its iconography cf. S. Der Nersessian in: *The Kariye Djami*, IV, 336–338.

⁶³ On this theme in Prizren cf. Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 77–78; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 118–119, and the most complete study on its iconography is that by V. Milanović, *"Proroci su te nagovestili" u Peći*, L'archevêque Danilo II et son époque, Beograd 1991, 409–423 (with fine observations regarding the example from Bogorodica Ljeviška).

⁶⁴ Ευγγόπουλος, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου*,

53–59; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 141–156, πίν. 53–59. On the Akathistos from the Elasson church cf. E. C. Constantinides, *The Question of the Date and Origin of the Earliest Akathistos Cycles in Byzantine Monumental Painting in the Light of the Akathistos of the Olympiotissa at Elasson*, XVI. Int. Byzantinistenkongress, Akten II/5, Wien 1982, 503–505; ead., *The Wall Paintings of the Panaghia Olympiotissa*, I, Athens 1992, 134–177. The Akathistos of the Virgin has been thoroughly studied in numerous instances, the last monograph on the subject has been published recently: A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos. Die Bildzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1989 (about the example from Hagios Nikolaos on pp. 9–10, 19–26, 31–34).

⁶⁵ In greater detail on the formation of certain scenes of the Akathistos T. Velmans, *Création et structure du cycle iconographique de l'Acatiste*, Actes du XIV^e Congr. int. des ét. byz., III, Bucarest 1976, 469–473. The liturgical use of the Akathistos is also attested by the fact that it is sung on matins of the Saturday of the fifth week of Lent, i.e. during the vigil of the previous day, cf. O. Welesz, *The Akathistos. A Study in Byzantine Hymnography*, DOP 9–10 (1956), 143–144; N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Icons in the Liturgy*, DOP 45 (1991), 45–57.

⁶⁶ However, differences do exist, reflected in their representations, so that we cite the texts of both hymns: "What shall we offer Thee, O Christ, who for our sakes hast appeared on earth as man? Every creature made by Thee offers Thee thanks. The angels offer Thee a hymn; the heavens a star; the Magi, gifts; the shepherds, their wonder; the earth, its cave; the wilderness, the manger; and we offer Thee a Virgin Mother" (Damascene's sticheron), "Today the Virgin gives birth to Him who is above all being, and the earth offers a cave to Him whom no man can approach. Angels with shepherds give glory, and Magi journey with a star. For unto us is born a young Child, the pre-eternal God." (Anatolios's sticheron).

⁶⁷ Mijović, *Žiča*, 190–198; Djurić, *Portrety*, 244–255; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 189–190; N. K. Moran, *Muzički gestovi u vizantijskom slikarstvu poznog srednjeg veka*, Zograf 14 (1983), 73; id., *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting*, Leiden 1986, 125; M. Αχειμάστου-Ποταμιάνου, *Η ερμηνεία μίας τοιχογραφίας στη Μονή της Βλαχέρνας κοντά στην Άρτα*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/14 (1988), 301–305; Orlova, *"Čto Ti prinensem, Hriste"*, 127–140.

⁶⁸ Along with many other authors, the apocryphal text has been published by E. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protoévangile de Jacques*, Bruxelles 1961. Based on a large number of monuments, the iconography of the cycle has been studied by J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, I, Bruxelles 1964.

⁶⁹ Apart from being mentioned in the book written by Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne (*Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*, 45–47, 103, 106, 109, 111 et passim), all these cycles from Serbian churches have been described, at times even more carefully studied, in monographs dedicated to the various monuments: Okunev, *Aril'e*, 230, 247, 252; Petković, *Pregled*, 339; Babić, *Sušica*, 304, 308, 314–332; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 170–179; Todić, *Gračanica*, 114–116; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 73–74, 92–93 (also Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 101–110). A cycle of the

Virgin was also painted in the north parekklesion in Žiča but we do not know how extensive it was because it no longer exists. Petković (Žiča, 70–71) was still able to see and describe the remains of the Blessings of the Three Priests and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (a drawing of the latter scene is published by Mijović, Žiča, 252).

⁷⁰ About these, so far either partly or completely cleaned frescoes from Chilandar cf. Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 74–75, fig. 25–29; Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 33, fig. 1. Only these two scenes from the cycle of the Virgin appear in the Protaton (Millet, *Athos*, pl. 28–29; Δ. Καλομοιράκης, *Ερμηνευτικές παρατηρήσεις στο εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα του Πρωτάτου*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/15, 1991, 206) and they are located in the same spot as in Chilandar. The cycle of the Virgin was also painted in the lateral conchs of the Vatopedi katholikon (Τσιγαρίδας, *Η Μονή Βατοπεδίου*, 408) so that we can assume that such a disposition of the entire cycle or just some of its scenes (the Birth of the Virgin and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple) was a local Athonite custom.

⁷¹ Babić, Sušica, 308; *The Kariye Djami*, I, pl. 88, 94.

⁷² *The Kariye Djami*, I, pl. 100; IV, 187–192; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*, 202. For the apocryphal text related to these two scenes cf. E. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protoévangile de Jacques*, 113–121.

⁷³ Traces of the Great Feasts are mentioned by all the authors who wrote about the frescoes of Petrova crkva after their discovery in 1956; somewhat more on them in Čorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*, 47. The appearance of the initials of the apostles' names above their heads in the Dormition is also old fashioned.

⁷⁴ A description of the Great Feasts from Arilje in Okunev, *Aril'e*, 229–230, 245, 248; they are published by Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 71–75, 78/1; for their iconography and similarity with older monuments cf. Millet, *Recherches*, 132–133, 229, 271 and Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 148–149. The cross in the Jordan appears on representations from the XI–XII centuries (Millet, *Recherches*, fig. 131, 136, 140, 141, 180), and, according to Millet, it represents a commemoration of the custom of immersing a cross during the rite of christening of the people on the Jordan of which we learn from testimonies dating as far back as the VI century (ibid., 206); an explanation could, however, be sought in the rite of blessing of the water during the feast of Epiphany, when the priest immerses a cross in the water and speaks of Christ who cleared away our sins and blessed the water with his baptism (Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 284–285). In the XIV century the cross is no longer represented in the Jordan. Under a strong influence of church services, Christ is shown trampling on snakes, for example in St. Nikita near Skopje (Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, pl. CVII). Apostles riding on clouds are shown in the Dormition since the XI century, a feature often repeated in Byzantine and, of course, Serbian art of king Milutin's age.

⁷⁵ Millet, *Athos*, pl. 85/1 (in the meantime the fresco from Vatopedi has been cleaned: Τσιγαρίδας, *Η Μονή Βατοπεδίου*, 408); Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 27/1; Mijović, *Žiča*, 161; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, fig. 40; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*,

162, 240. This theme was most thoroughly studied by A. Ευγγόπουλος, *Η περρωτή ψυχή της Θεοτόκου*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/6 (1972), 1–12. On the popularity of the idea of the winged soul among the Byzantines cf. an epigram by St. Gregory the Theologian, *Anthologie grecque*, I. *Anthologie palatine*, t. VI (livre VIII). Texte établi et traduit par P. Waltz, Paris 1960, 45. As a result of copying of older models, known already to Komnenian art, holy poets were painted (or repainted at the beginning of the XIV century) in the west bay of Žiča, perhaps related to the Dormition.

⁷⁶ Mijović, *Žiča*, 156. Sources on the Assumption of the Virgin: C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypsis apocriphae*, Leipzig 1866, 113–123; M. Jugie, *La Mort et l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge*, Città del Vaticano 1944, 119, 123. Plausible explanations of the theme in Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 154–156 and C. D. Kalokyris, *La Dormition et l'Assomption de la Théotokos dans l'art de l'église orthodoxe*, Αριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης, Επετηρίς Θεολογικής Σχολής 19 (1974), 133–143. The Virgin with her hands crossed over, as she is represented in Žiča, appears also in an Assumption scene painted on a Russian icon of the Dormition, now in the Tretyakov Gallery, *Gosudarstvennaja Tret'yakovskaja galereja. Katalog sobranija*, I, Moskva 1995, 57–59.

⁷⁷ Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 353. On the fresco from Žiča cf. Mijović, *Žiča*, 142–144; on that from Kastoria T. Malmquist, *Byzantine 12th Century Frescoes in Kastoria*. Agioi Anargyroi and Agios Nikolaos tou Kasnitzi, Uppsala 1979, 41–44, pl. 4.

⁷⁸ Hamman-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumental-malerei*, Abb. 281; Mercenier, *La prière*, II/1, 256, 258, 264.

⁷⁹ The last to write about this representation from Staro Nagoričino which has drawn the attention of numerous scholars was Todić, *Nagoričino*, 103–107, figs. 26–32, including a list of earlier works. The homily of Germanos II has been published by A. Wenger, *Un témoin de l'Assomption – une homélie attribuée à saint Germain de Constantinople*, REB XVI (1958), 43–58. For liturgical comparisons of the Virgin with the objects represented by the prophets in Nagoričino cf. Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*, 68–72, 78–79, 86, 94–95.

⁸⁰ The most complete analysis of the Nativity from Studenica in Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 138–143, fig. 93; the Protaton fresco has been published by Millet, *Athos*, pl. 10/2. On the tender embrace of the Virgin and Christ on icons G. Babić, *Epitafi Bogorodice koju dete grli*, Zbornik LU 21 (1985), 261–274; on the similarity of the Nativity and the Anapeson Todić, *Anapeson*, 160–162, and on the connection between the Nativity and the Lamentation H. Maguire, *The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art*, DOP 31 (1977), 162 and id., *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, Princeton 1981, 99–101.

⁸¹ Because of its many novelties and an interesting iconography, the Dormition from Studenica has drawn the attention of many scholars: Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 151–153; Radojčić, *Die Reden des Johannes Damaskenos*, 301–312 et passim; Todić, *Manastir Studenica*, 202–204; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 162–167 (with the most extensive list of sources); for the example of holy poets from Bačkovsko cf. E. Bakalova, *Bačkovskata kostnica*, Sofia 1977, 83–88.

⁸² The Prostagma of emperor Andronikos has been published several times, cf., for example, PG, t. 161, col. 1095–1108; for the Dormition in the mentioned churches Miljković-Pepk, *Deloto*, 110–117; Dufrenne, *Mistra*, pl.18; Mijović, *Žiča*, 157–158 and plates on pp. 32–34, 156, 159–165; A. N. Ovčinnikov, *Suzdal'skie Zlatye vrata*, Moskva 1978, drawings 40–51; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 52, 56, 71–72; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 162–166; Todić, *Gračanica*, 152–155; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 102–107, figs. 26–30.

⁸³ Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 45–47. In greater detail on the Dormition from Gračanica: Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 157–159; Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 192–193 et passim; Todić, *Gračanica*, 152–155. On the Dormition from the Virgin Peribleptos Miljković-Pepk, *Deloto*, 110–117.

⁸⁴ The most thorough text on the Descent into Hades from Gračanica is that by J. Radovanović, *Jedinstvene predstave Vaskrsenja Hristovog u srpskom slikarstvu XIV veka*, Zograf 8 (1977), 34–43 (= *Ikonografska istraživanja*, 89–103); cf. also Todić, *Gračanica*, 156–158; on representations of similar iconography with fine explanations E. Smirnova, *Une icône de la Descente aux Limbes d'une rare iconographie*, Zograf 21 (1992), 4–59 and E. Δεληγιάννη-Δωρή, *Κείμενο και εικόνα. Η μικρογραφία στον κώδικα Par. gr. 550*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/17 (1994), 381–385.

⁸⁵ Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 58/b; II, pl. LXVIII; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, Abb. 328; Babić, *Sušica*, 303–304, fig. 2; *Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, 260–261, figs. 94, 98 (P. Mijović); Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, πίν. 20; Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 127; Todić, *Gračanica*, figs. 37–38, 49–50. On the iconography of these scenes and their interpretation cf. Millet, *Recherches*, 90–91, 231, 244–254, 262–270; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 112, 117–118; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 88–89; Todić, *Gračanica*, 116–117. As an example of illustrated gospels cf. T. Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne, Florence, Laur. VI. 23*, Paris 1971, with a great number of examples.

⁸⁶ There are several learned discourses on these frescoes from the church of Sts. Peter and Paul: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 110–112; *Istorija Crne Gore*, I/1, 261–262; K. Wessel, *Das Himelfartsbild von Sveti Petar in Bijelo Polje*, JÖB 21 (1972); Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74, 265; P. Simić, *Freska Vaskrsenja Hristovog u Bijelom Polju i njena liturgijska podloga*, Zograf 6 (1975), 21–23; Radovanović, *Ikonografska istraživanja*, 103–106. On the sermon of John the Prodromos in Hades C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 392–393; for the angels in the Transfiguration cf. *Zbornik crkvenih bogoslužbenih pesama, psalama i molitava*, Beograd 1971, 347; for the quoted passage from the charter of Gračanica: Todić, *Gračanica*, 64 (the representation of the Transfiguration in this church, fig. 37).

⁸⁷ On the relation between liturgical readings and the order of the scenes cf. Millet, *Recherches*, 34–35 and N. Wibiral, *Zur Bildredaktion im Neuen Testament*, Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte XXV (Festschrift für Otto Demus und Otto Pächt) (1972), 9–28 as well as the best studies of this cycle: *The Kariye Djami*, IV, 245–302; Th. Gouma-Peterson, *Christ as Ministrant and the Priest as Ministrant of Christ in a Palaeologan Program of 1303*, DOP 32 (1978), 197–216.

⁸⁸ Mercenier, *La prière*, II/2, 123–129; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 53, 120.

⁸⁹ Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 128–129; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 109–110, πίν. 32.

⁹⁰ Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 82/3–4, 125/4; Miljković-Pepk, *Deloto*, 59; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 73, 75, 108, figs. 40–41, 60.

⁹¹ Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 49/a, b, 59; II, pl. LXVIII, LXI, LXIII, LXXXI; Todić, *Gračanica*, 82, 96–97, 108–109, 118–121, 158–159, 166–167, figs. 49–60; B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, s. p.

⁹² Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 37/1–2, 38, 41; Miljković-Pepk, *Deloto*, 55.

⁹³ Millet, *Athos*, pl. 64/2, 75/2, 77; Petković, *Pregled*, 339; Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 180; Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 86; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 86; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 84; Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 33–34, fig. 2–3.

⁹⁴ On the Trebizond church cf. D. Talbot Rice, *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, Edinburgh 1968, 129–133, 137–142; on the churches from Mistra: G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, Paris 1910, pl. 71–73/1–2, 75/4, 76–77/1, 78, 98 and Dufrenne, *Mistra*, 7, 58; on the church of the Chora monastery *The Kariye Djami*, I, 108–141; II, pl. 117–141; on the parekklesion of St. Euthymios in the basilica of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki: Γ. – Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Αθήνα 1952, 217–218 and Th. Gouma-Peterson, *Christ as Ministrant and the Priest as Ministrant of Christ in a Paleologan Program of 1300*, 176–216; on St. Catherine Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 207. The mosaics of Monreale have been studied by O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London 1949, 120, 134, and the frescoes from Mirož by M. N. Soboleva, *Stenopsis' Spaso-Preobraženskogo sobora Mirožskogo monastyra v Pskove*, Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo, Moskva 1968, 11–13.

⁹⁵ On the relation of representations of Christ's Passion and liturgy cf. D. I. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus – das Bild*, München 1965, 12–51; H. Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter. Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion*, Berlin 1981, 154–160; Dufrenne, *Problèmes iconographiques*, 32. On the representation of the entire cycle or particular scenes in the narthex cf. S. Tomeković, *Contribution à l'étude du programme des églises monastiques (XI^e–première moitié du XIII^e s.)*, Byzantion LVIII 1988, 140–154.

⁹⁶ Millet, *Athos*, pl. 68/1; Petković, *Pregled*, 339; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 52, pl. XVI; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 109–110, πίν. 32; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 111, fig. 91; Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 128.

⁹⁷ Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, pl. 42/3, 85/1. This scene is not often represented; slightly earlier it was also singled out by the artists working in the Protaton and the narthex of Vatopedi (Millet, *Athos*, pl. 20/1, 22/1; Miljković-Pepk, *Deloto*, fig. 121; Τσιγαρίδας, *Η Μονή Βατοπεδίου*, 415, εικ. 180, 184).

⁹⁸ Frescoes related to Passion lections in Serbian churches have mostly been published in a plausible manner: Millet, *Athos*, pl. 64/2, 67/1 68/1, 69/1 70–72, 73/1–2 (for Chilandar); Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 49b, 52a, 58a; II, pl. LXII, XIV, LXVI; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 76–77 (for Arilje); III, pl. 42/2–4, 43–44, 45/1 (for St. Nikita), pl. 83–94 (for Nagoričino); R. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetih apostola u Pečkoj patrijaršiji*, Beograd 1973, figs. 40–57 (for Peć); Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, Abb. 338–344; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, t. XVI–XXI (for the Prizren church); Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, πίν. 32–44 (for Hagios Nikolaos in Thessaloniki); B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, s. p. (for Gračanica).

⁹⁹ The iconography of all scenes has been meticulously studied, including some of our examples, by Millet, *Recherches*, 285–516. More detailed information about them can also be found in the monographs on the various monuments: Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 52–53; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 109–127; Todić, *Gračanica*, 121–123; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 110–113.

¹⁰⁰ Apart from the fundamental study by Millet (cf. previous note), on the cycle in Milutin's churches or some of its representations cf. S. Radojčić, *Ruganje Hristu na fresci u Starom Nagoričinu*, Narodna starina XIV (1939), 15–32; Dufrenne, *Problèmes iconographiques*, 32; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 80–96; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 74–75, 103; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 101; S. Radojčić, *Pilatov sud u vizantijskom slikarstvu ranog XIV veka*, ZRVI 13 (1971), 293–312; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 109–127; Todić, *Gračanica*, 121–123; Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 121–123; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 110–113.

¹⁰¹ Mercenier, *La prière*, II/2, 137. On Judas and his halo in the Last Supper from the Peribleptos cf. Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 91, fig. 32. In the Protaton, only Judas is represented without a halo in this composition, Millet, *Athos*, pl. 22/2.

¹⁰² Millet, *Recherches*, 498–508; Dufrenne, *Problèmes iconographiques*, 32. Women lamenting over Christ, scratching their faces, pulling their hair or raising their arms was a common phenomenon in the ritual of lamentation over the deceased in Byzantium, Ph. Koukoulès, *Sur les coutumes des Byzantins relatives à la mort*, Actes du IV^e int. des ét. byz., Athènes 1930, 238–241.

¹⁰³ Todić, *Anapason*, 134–165. Photographs of the frescoes from St. Nikita and Chilandar are published by Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 49/2 and Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, fig. 18 (only the head of Christ). The association of the Anapason with Passion lections is most conspicuous in the churches of Berende and Zrze, dating from around the middle of the XIV century, where the Anapason is painted after the scene in which Joseph asks Pilate to bury the body of Christ (Zrze), i.e. after the Entombment (Berende), cf. E. Bakalova, *Stenopisite na c'rkvata pri selo Berende*, Sofia 1976, 29–31, fig. 19; Z. Ivković, *Živopis iz XIV veka u manastiru Zrze*, Zograf 11 (1980), 74, fig. 6.

¹⁰⁴ For Christ's Resurrection appearances in Milutin's churches cf. Millet, *Athos*, pl. 62/4, 63/1, 3; 73/1, 3; Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 44c, 48a–b, 51a–b; II, pl. LXXVIII–LXXIX; Petković, *Pregled*, 339; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*,

III, pl. 34/1–3, 45/2, 95/1–2, 96/1–2, 97/1–2, 98/1–2, 4; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 52, 56, fig. 13–14, drawings 11–12 and on pp. 121–123; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 106–108, πίν. 31; Todić, *Gračanica*, 123–124, pl. VI, figs. 43–44; B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, passim; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 108–110.

¹⁰⁵ PG, t. 46, col. 633; t. 132, col. 621; N. Pokrovskij, *Evangelie v pamjatnikah ikonografii preimuščestvenno vizantijskih i russkih*, St. Peterburg 1892, p. XXXVIII, note. 5; Millet, *Recherches*, 541–542; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 109–110; Τσιγαρίδας, *Η Μονή Βατοπεδίου*, πίν. 202. Later on, also in the XIV century, St. Gregorios Palamas was going to dedicate a special homily to the Virgin who was the first to see the resurrected Son, PG, t. 151, col. 236–248.

¹⁰⁶ Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, pl. XII; the Chiladar fresco has not yet been published or mentioned in existing bibliography. For the Protaton cf. Millet, *Athos*, pl. 5/2; Δ. Καλομοιράκης, *Ερμηνευτικές παρατηρήσεις στο εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα του Πρωτάτου*, 208–209; for the Virgin Peribleptos Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 50, sch. III. On the iconography of Christ the Priest D. Ajnalov, *Novyj ikonografičeskij obraz Hrista*, SK, II (1928), 19–23; A. M. Lidov, *Christ as the Priest in Byzantine Church Decoration of the 11th and 12th Centuries*, XVIII Congrès int. d'ét. byz. Résumés des communications, Moscou 1991, 659–660; id., *Hristos-svjaščennik v ikonografičeskikh programmah XI–XII vekov*, VV 55 (1994), 187–192.

¹⁰⁷ For Ljeviška cf. Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, drawing on page 121 and B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška. Les dessins des fresques*, 39; for Staro Nagoričino Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 96/1–2 and Todić, *Nagoričino*, 110, figs. 61–62; for St. Sophia at Trebizond, D. Talbot Rice, *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, 125–126, pl. 48/A, fig. 88; for Gračanica, Todić, *Gračanica*, 124, fig. 44 and B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, s. p. The fresco from St. Nikita, quite badly damaged, has not been identified or published to date.

¹⁰⁸ The Chilandar fresco has been published by Millet, *Athos*, pl. 62/4, but identified curiously as Calling of Matthew and Mission of the Apostles, while N. Gkioles, the author of the fine study on the Mission of the Apostles (*“Πορευθέντες...” – εικονογραφικές παρατηρήσεις*, Δίπτυχα 1, 1979, 121, σημ. 50), did not notice its meaning; Petković (*Pregled*, 339), probably adhering to Millet, names this scene in the same manner as that author. On the fresco from Timotesubani cf. E. L. Privalova, *Rospis' Timotesubani*, Tbilisi 1980, 40–47; on that from Kokar Kilise N. – M. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres du Cappadoce*, Paris 1963, 128–138, pl. 63–64. On the scroll and its meaning cf. K. Wessel, *“Buchrolle”* in: Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst, I/5, Stuttgart 1965, col. 784–795. Cf. also B. Todić, *Predstava Hrista s apostolima na zapadnom portalu Studenice*, Saopštenja XXVI (1994), 13–22.

¹⁰⁹ Okunev, *Aril'e*, 228; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, pl. IX; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 114, pls. VIII–IX; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 73–75, πίν. 12–13; Todić, *Gračanica*, 113, pl. II; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 90–91, figs. 92–94. On the iconography of the Communion and its meaning: Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 184–196; A. M. Lidov, *Shizma i vizantijskaja hramovaja dekoracija*, Vostočnohristianskij hram. Liturgija i iskusstvo, St.

Peterburg 1994, 17–27. On Christ the Archpriest: V. J. Djurić, *Ravanički živopis i liturgija*, Manastir Ravanica – spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici, Beograd 1981, 53–56; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 214–221; A. M. Lidov, *Hristos-svjaščennik v ikonografičeskikh programmah XI–XII vekov*, 187–192. On the appearance of Judas in this composition: Okunev, *Aril'e*, 228–229; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 88–93; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 114–115.

¹¹⁰ The composition of Celebration of Holy Liturgy has been studied quite thoroughly in monographs of the various monuments: Okunev, *Aril'e*, 229, 244–245; Mijović, *Žiča*, 129–130; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, pls. V–VIII, figs. 116–117 (drawings); Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 66–72, πίν. 3–8; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 114–131, figs. 73–78; Todić, *Gračanica*, 80–81, 140–141, fig. 33; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 91, 126, figs. 95–98. The most comprehensive text on this composition is that by G. Babić, *Les discussions christologiques et le décor des églises byzantines au XII^e siècle*, Frühmittelalterliche Studien 2 (1968), 368–386, significant additional information in: Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 198–214; R. F. Taft, *The Great Entrance*, Roma 1975; A. M. Lidov, *Shizma i vizantijskaja hramovaja dekoracija*, 19–20. On the inscriptions upon the bishops' scrolls Ch. Walter – G. Babić, *The Inscriptions upon Liturgical Rolls in Byzantine Apse Decoration*, REB XXXIV (1976), 369–380.

¹¹¹ Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 217, πίν. 108; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 73, fig. 83 (legend switched with that of pl. 85). On painted crosses of this type cf. D. Talbot Rice, *The Leaved Cross*, BS 11 (1950), 72–81; J. Fleming, *Kreuz und Pflanzenornament*, BS 30 (1969), 88–115; Babić, *Les croix*, 1–13.

¹¹² All mentioned Old Testament scenes from the sanctuary and the south parekklesion of Gračanica are clearly the archetypes of the Virgin, the New Testament church and the Eucharist, Todić, *Gračanica*, 113, 133, 141–148 (there also on the other Old Testament scenes in the church, also related to the liturgy).

¹¹³ Millet, *Athos*, pl. 79; Okunev, *Aril'e*, 231, 250; Petković, *Pregled*, 7, 340; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 67, 77, 139 (drawing); Babić, *Priprate crkva kralja Milutina*, 106, 111, 112, 122–123; on the scene of Wisdom Hath Buildd Her House from Chilandar and its relation to the portraits of ktetors cf. Djurić, *Narthex de Chilandar*, 112–116, and on the Teaching of St. John Chrysostomos in the same church A. Xyngopoulos, *Restitution et interpretation d'une fresque de Chilandar*, Hilendarski zbornik 2 (1971), 93–97.

¹¹⁴ Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 53a, 54b, 56b, 63a–b; II, pl. LX; Todić, *Gračanica*, 141–146; the disposition and relevant schematic presentation of the compositions in B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, s. p.; on the iconography of these paintings from Gračanica and similar representations in Byzantine and Serbian art cf. Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 63, 135–142, 145–147, 157–160; N. Beljaev, *La figuration de "L'Arche d'Aliaance" dans la peinture balkanique du XIV^e siècle*, L'art byzantin chez les Slaves, I/2, Paris 1930, 315–324; N. M. Malickij, *K istorii kompozicii vethozavetnoj Troicy*, SK II (1928), 33–45; V. R. Petković, *Freske sa predstavom Premudrosti*, 317–321; S. Radojčić, *La table de la Sagesse dans la littérature et de l'art serbes depuis la début du XIII^e jusqu'au début du XIV^e siècles*, ZRVI 16 (1975), 215–224; J. Radovanović, *Runo Gedeonovo u srpskom srednjovekovnom slikarstvu*, Zograf 5

(1974), 98–42; M. Gligorijević-Maksimović, *Skinija u Dečanima – poreklo i razvoj ikonografske teme*, Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani. Material and Studies, Belgrade 1995, 319–334.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 38b, 39a, 55a, 56a; II, 22, 34, pl. XLII/1, XLIV–XLVI, LXX; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 170, 175, 237; Todić, *Gračanica*, 114–116, 150; B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, s. p.

¹¹⁶ About these frescoes from Žiča cf. Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 46; Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIII^e siècle*, 162–163; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68–69; V. J. Djurić, *Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba*, Sava Nemanjić – saint Sava. Histoire et tradition, Beograd 1979, 252; Mijović, *Žiča*, 134–168; B. Todić, *Ikonografska istraživanja žičkih fresaka XIII veka*, Saopštenja XXII–XXIII (1990–1991), 26–34; Todić, *Sionskaja cerkov'*, 34–36. The Mission of the Apostles no longer exists, the scene is best described by Petković, *Spasova crkva u Žiči*, 51–52, although wrongly identified, and its remains are recorded in drawing by M. Valtrović (cf. Mihailo Valtrović i Dragutin Milutinović kao istraživači srpskih starina, Izlozi Srpskog učenog društva, Beograd 1978, 198). On the Zion church A. Heisenberg, *Ikonographische Studien*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akad. der Wissensch., Philos.-philol. Klasse (1921), München 1922, 94–99; M. Vincent – F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie d'archéologie et d'histoire*, II/3, Paris 1922, 421–459, with an excellent choice of sources, pp. 472–481. On the frescoes from the church of the Holy Apostles in Peć cf. B. Todić, *Najstarije zidno slikarstvo u Sv. apostolima u Peći*, Zbornik LU 18 (1982), 19–38; Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 48–51. The "Zion" feasts in Žiča were not of an illustrative nature but were rather in the function of representing the essential New Church as attested also by the omission of other events traditionally associated with Zion.

¹¹⁷ Nikodim's prologue to the Typikon from 1319 has been published several times (cf. Dj. Daničić, *Rukopis arhiepiskopa Nikodima*, Glasnik DSS 11, 1859, 189–193; SSZN, I, 22–24; L. Mirković, *Tipik arhiepiskopa Nikodima*, Bogoslovlje XVI/2, 1957, 13–15) and interpreted, in particular the passages which are also the subject of our discussion. Cf. the works of S. Radojčić, V. J. Djurić and B. Todić from the previous note, as well as R. M. Grujić, *Palestinski uticaji na sv. Savu pri reformisanju monaškog života i bogoslužbenih odnosa u Srbiji*, Svetosavski zbornik 1, Beograd 1936, 291–293 and V. Korać, *Sveti Sava i program raškog hrama*, Sava Nemanjić – saint Sava. Histoire et tradition, 242.

¹¹⁸ Todić, *Gračanica*, fig. 44; Todić, *Nagoričino*, figs. 48, 71, 80. The Zion church received its basilical form in the VII century, M. Vincent – F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, 455–459. The appearance of the resurrected Christ before the apostles on Zion is mentioned in numerous texts, whether in general or just as a list of events; the event with the apostles offering Christ a fish is associated with Zion by Hesychios of Jerusalem, PG, t. 93, col. 1445.

¹¹⁹ Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 71, πίν. 5–6. For the mentioned scene from Melnik cf. A. Ευγγόπουλος, *Παρατήρησις εις τας τοιχογραφίας του Αγ. Νικολάου Μελενίκου*, Επιστημονική επετηρίς της Φιλοσ. Σχολής Θεσσαλονίκης 10 (1950), 115–128. L. Mavrodinova, *C'rkvata*

Sveti Nikola pri Melnik, Sofija 1975, 14–21; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 132–133; Todić, *Sionskaja cerkov'*, 36–37. On the legend that these first bishops of Jerusalem resided in the Zion church cf. M. Vincent – F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, 449, 476, 477 and N. D. Uspenskij, *Vizantijskaja liturgija*, Bogoslovskie trudy 23 (1982), 5–6, 8 (with sources and bibliography).

¹²⁰ The lack of more comprehensive studies on the decoration of nartheces represents a great lacuna in the historiography of Byzantine and Serbian medieval art. Apart from general works and those focused on architecture, cf. Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 105–125; S. Tomeković, *Contribution à l'étude du programme du narthex des églises monastiques (XI^e – première moitié du XIII^e s.)*, Byzantion LVIII/1 (1988), 140–141; B. Todić, *L'influence de la liturgie sur la décoration peinte du narthex de Sopoćani*, Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo, Moskva 1997, 43–58.

¹²¹ Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27–28; Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 131–137. On the portraits from the entrance to Studenica monastery V. J. Djurić, *Portreti na kapiji Studenice*, Zbornik Svetozara Radojčića, Beograd 1969, 105–111. About the emphasis on brotherly love and cooperation with the archbishop during the raising of churches Radojčić, *Gračaničke freske*, 173. In discussing the programme of fresco decoration of Dragutin's chapel, Gordana Babić has long since noticed that it is much more similar to that of nartheces than to that typical of parekklesia, Babić, *Les chapelles*, 169.

¹²² On the portraits of historical personages and the council of Nemanja cf. the chapter entitled "The Image of Serbian History" in this book, on Ecumenical Councils Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 109–110 (for Arilje), on the frescoes from the narthex of Sopoćani V. J. Djurić, *Sopoćani*, Beograd 1991, 43–51; B. Todić, *L'influence de la liturgie sur la décoration peinte du narthex de Sopoćani*, 52–53.

¹²³ Okunev, *Aril'e*, 251–252, pl. XII/4; Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (III)*, 107. Services for the dead including the censuring of the graves in the church were performed on the second week before Lent, A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskikh rukopisej*, I, Τυπικά, 1, Kiev 1895, 503–504; cf. also Petković, *Žiča*, 173–187; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 168.

¹²⁴ The most comprehensive texts on these personifications from the Prizren church are Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 93; I. Djordjević, *Stari i Novi zavet na ulazu u Bogorodicu Ljevišku*, Zbornik LU 9 (1973), 15–26; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 74 and note 64.

¹²⁵ Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 93, 95; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 66–67, 74–78; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 116–123, 124. On the Tree of Jesse Milanović, *The Tree of Jesse*, 50 et passim; cf. also our notes 34 and 37. On the composition of "The Prophets From Above" G. Babić, *L'image symbolique de la "Porte Fermée" à Saint-Clément d'Ohrid*, Synthronon, Paris 1968, 150; V. Milanović, "Proroci su te nagovestili" u Peći, 409–423.

¹²⁶ Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 93–94; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 79–80; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 112–113. For the example from the Chora cf. *The Kariye Djami*, I, 110–117; II, pls. 211–227.

¹²⁷ Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 92–93; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 112. Two significant studies on the Last Judgement include a great number of examples and an interpretation of this theme: N. V. Pokrovskij, *Strašnyj sud v pamjatnikah vizantijskogo i russkogo iskusstva*, off-print from Trudy arheologičeskogo s'ezda v Odesse, III, Odessa 1887 and B. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausende – Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtbildes*, Wien 1966. On the sinners represented in this composition M. Garidis, *Les punitions collectives dans le Jugement dernier (du XII^e au XIV^e siècle)*, Zbornik LU 18 (1982), 1–17.

¹²⁸ On the portraits of bishops of Prizren, Serbian archbishops and the Nemanjids in Bogorodica Ljeviška cf. the chapter of this book entitled "The Image of Serbian History". In Serbian art, the text written on the gospel in Christ's hands usually appears on representations related to bishops, cf. Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 216 (and note 47); V. J. Djurić, *Ikona o hirotoniji gračaničkog mitropolita Nikanora*, Zbornik LU 27–28 (1991–1992), 306–308.

¹²⁹ On these frescoes cf. Petković, *Žiča (IV)*, 78–79, as well as Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 97; Mijović, *Žiča*, 198–199; Mijović, *Menolog*, 13; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 112–113; G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, Belgrade 1988, 20–21.

¹³⁰ Along with the other mentioned examples of representations of apostle Peter with the church, the fresco from Žiča has long since drawn the attention of scholars: F. Grivec, *Na sem Petre*, Slovo 4–5 (1955), 37–45; id. *Ohridska slika Na sem Petre*, Slovo 9–10 (1960), 177–181; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 74–75; Ch. Walter, *The Triumph of Saint Peter in the Church of Saint Clement at Ohrid and the Iconography of the Triumph of the Martyrs*, Zograf 5 (1974), 30–34. A great number of epithets of Peter and Paul as well as verses in their honour has been collected by D. T. Strotmann, *Les coryphées Pierre et Paul et les autres apôtres*, Irénikon XXXVI (1963), 164–176, also the source of our citation.

¹³¹ This composition from Žiča is the subject of a special study by Z. Gavrilović, *The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in the Painted Programme of Žiča Vestibule*, JÖB 32/5 (1985), 185–193; cf. also Mijović, *Žiča*, 187–190. On the iconography of the theme cf. also the works of O. Demus in DOP 14 (1960), 89–119 and T. Velmans in Zograf 14 (1983), 40–51.

¹³² This fresco from Žiča, which can certainly be regarded as an iconographic form of the theme "What shall we offer you, Christ", has been the subject of scholarly interest in several instances, cf. note 61 in the chapter entitled "The Image of Serbian History" and note 67 of this chapter.

¹³³ The basic study on painted menologia is that by Mijović, *Menolog* (on the example from Nagoričino 7–11, 35–39, 71, 119–120, 259–284; on the same subject also V. R. Petković, *Kalendar u starom živopisu srpskom. Freske u Sv. Djordju u Starom Nagoričinu*, Starinar III/1, 1923, 3–18; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 79–85, 115–117). In those days the menologion was also depicted in Gračanica (Todić, *Gračanica*, 99–106, 124–126) and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki (Τσιτουρίδου, Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ὀρφανός, 180–189).

¹³⁴ On the painted decoration of the Gračanica narthex cf.

Todić, *Gračanica*, 106–108, 129–132, 159–165, 170–178, including all previous bibliography.

¹³⁵ Probably because they were entirely repainted in 1803, these Chilandar frescoes did not attract much scholarly attention, so that they are barely known to scientific circles. V. R. Petković (*Pregled*, 340) mentioned that scenes from the lives of Sts. Isidore, Dorotheus, Pachomios, Macarios, Nathaniel, Anthony and Paul the Theban are located in the narthex; after him, but with great mistakes, they were also listed by G. Babić (*Priprate crkva kralja Milutina*, 111); the cycles of Sts. Euphrosinos, Anthony, Paul the Theban, Pambos, Macarios, Pachomios, Paphnutios, Macarios of Alexandria, Dorotheus, Isidore, Nathaniel, Paul the Simple and others were also mentioned by Djurić, *Chilandar*, 84. On the cycles or particular scenes dedicated to these holy monks cf. S. Tomeković, *Place des saints ermites et moines dans la décor de l'église byzantine*, Liturgie, conversion et vie monastique, Roma 1989, 307–331, also and Petković, *Žiča* (IV), 68–70; Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres*, I/2, 557–566; Š. J. Amiranašvili, *Istorija gruzinskog iskustva*, I, Moskva 1950, 180–181; Th. Gouma-Peterson, *The Parecclesion of St. Euthymios in Thessaloniki*, The Art Bulletin LVIII/2 (1976), 168–183; P. Miljković-Peppek, *Veljusa*, Skopje 1981, 223–224; Τσιτουρίδου, 'Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός, 176–179; S. Tomeković, *Note sur saint Gerasime dans l'art byzantin*, Zbornik LU 21 (1985), 277–284; B. Penkova, *K'm idejno-s'd'ržatelnija kontekst na stenopisite ot c'rkvata "Sv. Četirideset m'čenici" v'v Veliko T'rnovo*, Palaeobulgarica 4 (1995), 75–93.

¹³⁶ Cf. P. Evdokimov, *La signification liturgique des portes dans les églises orthodoxes*, Bible et vie chrétienne 51 (1963), 60–66; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 4–20; J. Darrouzès, *Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique d'après un rituel*, REB 34 (1976), 64–69; R. F. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 178–215, 311–349.

¹³⁷ On the images from Arilje cf. Okunev, *Aril'e*, 233–236, 246, 253; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 61; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 25–26, drawing 6; on those from Studenica Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 43; V. J. Djurić, *Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba*, 247–248; Todić, *Manastir Studenica*, 140, 154; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 21–23; O. Kandić, *Oblik kamene oltarske pregrade Bogorodičine crkve u Studenici*, Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200, Beograd 1988, 141–152; for Sopoćani: Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 24–25; V. Korać, *Oltarska pregrada u Sopoćanima*, Zograf 5 (1974), 23–29.

¹³⁸ Mijović, *Žiča*, 145–147; V. J. Djurić, *Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba*, 249–250; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 23.

¹³⁹ In greater detail on all this in Todić, *Gračanica*, 127–128.

¹⁴⁰ The iconostasis of Nagoričino and the paintings surrounding it were the subject of special attention of: N. Beljaev, *Obraz Bož'ej Materi Pelagonitisy*, BS II (1930), 387–392; A. Grabar, *Deux notes sur l'histoire de l'iconostase d'après des monuments de Yougoslavie*, ZRVI 7 (1961), 17–22; P. Miljković-Peppek, *Umilitelnite motivi vo vizantiskata umetnost na Balkanot i problemot na Bogorodica Pelagonitisa*, Zbornik na Arheološkiot muzej vo Skopje II (1958), 1–27; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 78–80; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 27–31; I. M. Djordjević, *Dve molitve kralja Stefana Dečanskog pre bitke na Velbuždu*, Zbornik LU 15 (1979), 136–140; L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Pelagionitissa*

et Kardiotissa – variantes extrêmes du type Vierge de Tendresse, Byzantion LIII/1 (1983), 9–16.

¹⁴¹ On the images by the altar in St. Nikita cf. Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 78–80; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 26–27; on those in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos Τσιτουρίδου, 'Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός, 76–82; on the Anapeson in Chilandar and St. Nikita, and the iconography of this theme in general, Todić, *Anapeson*, 134–165, also Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 180; Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, fig. 18; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 49/2; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 58–60, Taf. 4/A. The Anapeson from Chilandar, which was not repainted in the XIX century, was only partly known until now and this is the first time it is described in greater detail.

¹⁴² Cf. S. Ćurčić, *The Original Baptismal Font of Gračanica and Its Iconographic Setting*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja IX–X (1979), 313–320; id., *Medieval Royal Tombs in the Balkans – An Aspect of the "East or West" Question*, The Greek Orthodox Theological Review 29/2 (1984), 175–194; D. Popović, *Grob arhiepiskopa Danila II*, L'archevêque Danilo II et son époque, 329–342; ead., *Srpski vladarski grob u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1992; B. Todić, *Ikongrafska istraživanja žičkih fresaka XIII veka*, 30–32.

¹⁴³ The paintings surrounding the throne in Peć were discussed in two instances by V. J. Djurić, "Presto svetoga Save", Spomenica u čast novoizabranih članova Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, Beograd 1972, 92–104 and Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 213–216, 236–237; the frescoes surrounding the throne in Dečani have been listed in V. R. Petković, *Manastir Dečani*, II, Beograd 1941, 25, 27, and were also the subject of a text by M. Radujko, *Program živopisa oko "kraljevskog" prestola*, Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani. Material and Studies, 301–306, who interpreted them in the light of royal ideology. On the types and locations of such seats cf. J. Darrouzès, *Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique d'après un rituel*, 54–59, 69.

¹⁴⁴ Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*, 45, fig. 6.

¹⁴⁵ On the saints in the south choir of Arilje cf. Okunev, *Aril'e*, 234–237, 246–247, 253; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 86/2–3, 87/1, 3.

¹⁴⁶ Todić, *Gračanica*, 70–71, 168–169, figs. 33, 109.

¹⁴⁷ Todić, *Nagoričino*, 123. Gordana Babić (*Živopisani ukras*, 31, fig. 26) was the first to draw attention to this fresco. Hegoumenos Venjamin recorded his merits in the decoration of the church in the ktetor's inscription and by placing an image of his holy namesake by the figure of Christ in the narthex (cf. infra). A figure of the Virgin was painted by the seat of the hegoumenos in the katholikon of Chilandar, but opposite it was the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, the feast to which this church was dedicated. It is possible, however, that an icon of the Virgin was located by the throne, on a proskinitarion, and this would have been the figure before which St. Symeon Nemanja was interceding on behalf of his descendant, the second ktetor, king Milutin. This could perhaps have been the present-day icon of the Tricheiroussa, which would mean that it is of a somewhat older date than what is generally assumed now, or some other icon of which all track is lost, cf. G. Stričević, *The Donor's Composition in Chilandari*, XVIII^e Congrès inter-

national des études byzantines. Résumés des communications, II, Moscou 1991, 1123–1130.

¹⁴⁸ The recently published all-encompassing study of the cycle of St. Nicholas (Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*) includes thorough data on the sources of this cycle and meticulous examinations of all examples known to the author, including those found in Serbian monuments, on them cf. pp. 40–43, 66–126, 130–142, 155–162; Cf. also Okunev, *Aril'e*, 254; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 81–82; III, pl. 112/3, 127/1–2; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 134, 136, 138; B. Živković, *Arilje*, 5; id. *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 34–37; id. *Gračanica*, s. p.; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 64; Todić, *Gračanica*, 110, 134; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 160–175, πίν. 63–69; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 74, 93.

¹⁴⁹ The two most thorough studies on the cycle of St. George are those by J. Myslivec, *Svety Jiri ve vychodokrstanskem umeni*, BS V (1933–1934), 304–369 and T. Mark-Weiner, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George in Byzantine Art*, New York Univ. 1977; on the sources significant for this cycle cf. K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung*, Abhandlungen der Königl. Bayerischen Akad. der Wissenschaften. Philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse, XXV. Band, 3. Abhandlung, München 1911. Myslivec's study refers mostly to the cycle from Nagoričino; on this cycle cf. also Todić, *Nagoričino*, 113–115; reproductions of frescoes in Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 101–104. The remains of the cycle of St. George from Bogorodica Ljeviška are, so far, best published in the form of drawings, B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 64–65.

¹⁵⁰ The bibliography on St. Demetrios, his vitae and services dedicated to him is indeed extensive; of the works related to his cycle we should single out the following: Γ. – Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, 187–210; Α. Ευγγόπουλος, *Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος της ζωής του αγίου Δημητρίου*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1970; Ch. Walter, *Studies in Byzantine Iconography*, London 1977, V (157–178); Radovanović, *Ikonografska istraživanja*, 117–125; Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 192–198. Only mentioned in older works, the Prizren cycle of St. Demetrios has recently been published in the form of drawings: B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 61–63.

¹⁵¹ Excellent studies have been written about the mentioned relics and their relation to the tomb of St. Demetrios by A. Xyngopoulos (*Βυζαντινόν κιβωτίδιον μετά παραστάσεων εκ του βίου του αγίου Δημητρίου*, Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς, 1936, 101–136), A. Grabar (*Quelques reliquaires de saint Démétrios et la martyrium du saint à Salonique*, Antiquité et Moyen âge, I, 435–453), C. Walter (*St. Demetrius – the Myroblytos of Thessalonika*, Studies in Byzantine Iconography, 159–165) and A. Mentsos, *Το προσκύνημα του Αγίου Δημη-*

τρίου Θεσσαλονίκης στα βυζαντινά χρόνια, Αθήνα 1994; on the tomb of this saint, according to the sources and the results of archaeological exploration, Γ. – Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, 6–23, 58–63 et passim; on the cult of St. Demetrios in Serbia cf. I. M. Djordjević, *Der heilige Demetrios in der serbischen Adligen Stiftungen aus der Zeit der Nemaniden*, L'art de Thessalonique, 67–73; J. Radovanović, *Heiliger Demetrius – die Ikonographie seines Lebens auf den Fresken des Klosters Dečani*, ibid., 75–88; Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 198.

¹⁵² The cycle of St. Stephen in Žiža has mostly drawn the attention of the authors of monographs on this monastery: Petković, *Žiža* (IV), 74–75, 78; Mijović, *Žiža*, 173–174; as well as M. Čorović-Ljubinković, *Odras kulta sv. Stefana u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti*, Starinar, XII (1961), 50–51; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 145; the frescoes have been published by Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, I, pl. 58/2–4, 59, and drawings of these frescoes by B. Živković, *Žiža*, 35–36.

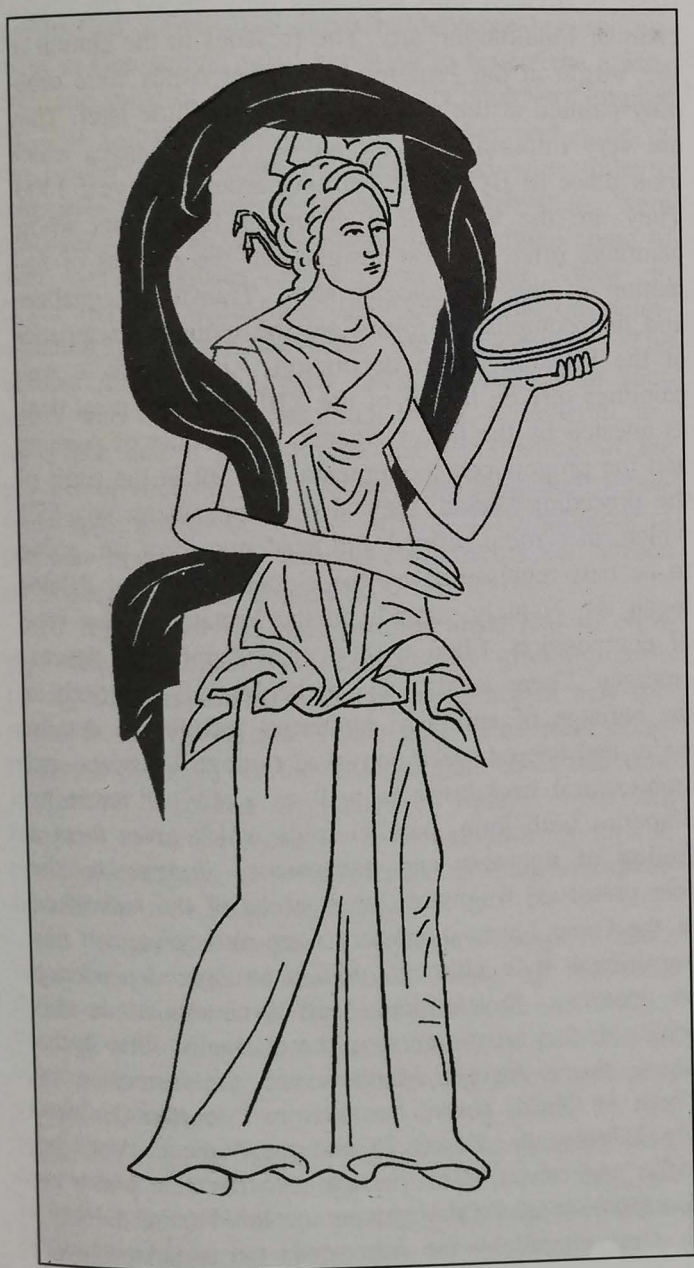
¹⁵³ The last remains of the cycle were carefully described by Petković, *Žiža* (IV), 68–70; the Dormition of St. Sabas has been published in Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, I, pl. 58/1; on the remains of the cycle in Žiža cf. also Babić, *Les chapelles*, 145–146.

¹⁵⁴ The architecture of monastery refectories is the subject of a recently published extensive study by S. Popović, *Krst u krugu. Arhitektura manastira u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Beograd 1994 (on the remains of the refectory in Banjska, 255–259); on the refectory in Chilandar cf. S. Nenadović, *Jedna hipoteza o arhitekturi hilendarske trpezarije*, Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture XIV (1963), 1–12; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 76–78. On liturgical relations between the church and the refectory S. Tomeković, *Place des saints ermites et moines dans le décor de l'église byzantine*, 314–331 (with sources); cf. also the following note.

¹⁵⁵ A complete study of the iconography of XIV century frescoes in the refectory of Chilandar has been written by Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 41–49. On the decoration of other refectories mentioned here cf. A. Ορλάνδος, *Η αρχιτεκτονική και βυζαντιναί τοιχογραφίαι της Μονής Θεολόγου Πάτμου*, Αθήνα 1970, 175–255; A. Vol'skaja, *Rospisi srednevekovyh trapeznyh Gruzii*, Tbilisi 1974, 30–66, 98–136, 152–155; H. und H. Buschhausen, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien*, Wien 1976, 185–232. On this occasion we did not reflect on the other mediaeval refectories the programme of which is not similar to that of Chilandar nor on those from the post-Byzantine period; we would, however, like to single out a study on the later decoration of the Chilandar refectory: Z. Kajmaković, *Georgije Mitrofanović*, Sarajevo 1977, 189–267.



ARTISTIC CURRENTS AND PAINTERS



The generous patronage of king Milutin and his contemporaries came at a time of renewed artistic impetus in the restored Byzantine Empire and introduced Serbian painting to the main artistic currents of Constantinople and Thessaloniki, currents which also produced progressive and beautiful works of art on Mount Athos, in Veria, Ohrid, Mistra and elsewhere. The hiatus in artistic production, so obvious in the Byzantine world during the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–1261), was evaded only in Serbia, a state which at that time was experiencing a constant economic, political and cultural rise. At first, during the second half of the XIII century, recuperation in Byzantium was slow and apparently related to the renovation of scriptoria and book illumination workshops, above all in the city of Constantinople, and the reattachment of strings in the line of development that was cut off by the Crusaders in 1204. The surviving XII century monuments indicate that the system of church decoration received its final form in the course of that century, based on the framework established during the previous hundred years. Within that system, major themes stood out as specific entities, gathered and arrayed in accordance with liturgical lections and rites. The translation of complex theological ideas, in their liturgical guise, into the language of the visual arts resulted in the creation of an iconography full of novelties which, being a reflection of the texts read or sung at church services, often favoured narration over symbolic and hidden meanings, familiar only to a limited number of individuals of exceptional theological erudition. The as yet insufficiently explained art of the late Komnenian period shows that the process of simplification of the visual image, in the sense of an inclination towards a greater clarity of its message, a strict composition, monumentality, plastic forms and a uni-

form treatment, was gaining ground as a progressive style and becoming predominant. It was formulated already around the year 1200, as we can deduce from certain frescoes from Serbia, Georgia and Cyprus as well as from a number of icons now kept at different locations. And as to its fate in subsequent times, it is best exemplified by a series of well preserved first class monuments in Serbia – Mileševa, Peć, Morača or Sopoćani.

However, in Byzantine painting of the eight and ninth decades of the XIII century there is a tendency of departure from monumental, bold forms and a growing interest for more detailed narration. At the same time the proportions of the human figure are changing and space is being enlarged and given more depth by multiplying picture planes. The new iconography conditioned the appearance of a different composition and a different arrangement of landscape and architectural elements within the picture. The changes in its appearance which took place at this time are easier to follow in book illumination than on frescoes and mosaics because the miniatures in question were created in the leading artistic centres.¹ Although the art of book illumination was often based on direct copying of much older works, even those of the X and XI centuries, one group of manuscripts displays significant changes and a desire to replace the plastic style of the XIII century with the new concepts of Palaiologan painting.² These first class works of art disclose a tendency to seek new forms of expression and they could only have been created in a centre of great artistic tradition. First and foremost, we should assume that the centre in question was Constantinople where emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, immediately upon the liberation of the city (1261), restored the palace scriptorium which produced a great number of illuminated manuscripts. However, we should also take into consideration the city of Thessaloniki, an equally important centre of book illumination.³

Shortly after the creation of such miniatures, a series of wall paintings emerged in Byzantium during the last decade of the XIII century, imbued with tendencies to discard more assertively the already mannerist forms from the middle of the century. The earliest precisely dated frescoes are those in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (1294/1295), an endowment of the megas hetaireiarches Progon Sgouros. They are the work of several painters lead by Michael Astrapas and Eutychios, two artists whom we meet for the first time in this church and who are going to play an exceptionally important role in the transformation of

Serbian painting at the beginning of the XIV century. The frescoes in the Virgin Peribleptos represent the turning point between two centuries. They are related to earlier art by the monumentality of their compositions, the broad forms and size of the figures while accepting the new artistic expression by introducing a large number of characters into the scenes and enriching them with picturesque spatial elements, extensive storytelling and an occasional dramatic tone of expression. Despite their boldness and assertiveness, their rich colour scheme, which often verges on the indelicate, and the occasionally twisted shapes and contrasts of light and shadow as well as the way the painted flesh is divided into segments only herald the classicism of Palaiologan art.⁴ The frescoes in the church of the Virgin at the Protaton on Mount Athos were probably painted at the same time or just a little later. They are very important for the study of the changes which took place in Byzantine painting around the year 1300. They are the work of a group of fine artists whose paintings offer the best insight into the process of formation of the Palaiologan style. Transitional qualities and unaccomplished forms are the main characteristics of the Protaton fresco decoration. Although these wall paintings rely on the art of the XIII century a great deal, as attested by the heavy figures, the manner of painting and the pronounced monumentality – all in the spirit of the preceding period, they also include many novelties which, in a more refined and academic form, are going to be best represented by the classical phase of Palaiologan art. Namely, already in the Protaton a new type of composition, filled with a great number of figures, emerges. There is also an "archeological" approach to the heritage of antiquity, numerous picturesque details, wider and deeper space conveyed through landscape and architectural backdrops as well as a way of rendering draperies with long, parallel folds which gives them a feeling of lightness and transparency. Judging by the sole preserved fragment, the frescoes of the katholikon of the Great Lavra monastery were also painted in this transitional style although with a stronger dependency on linearism.⁵ Several icons and some miniatures also belong to this artistic current: the evangelist John in the Lavra, the evangelist Matthew and the Ascension of Christ in Ohrid, gospel books from Princeton (University Library, gr. Garrett 2) and the Vatican (Vat. gr. 1153) and others.⁶ The passage into the next phase of development of Palaiologan art occurred quite quickly, as demonstrated by the frescoes in the parekklesion of St. Euthymios in Thessaloniki (1303).⁷

Adherence to Tradition

These commotions, aimed at finding a new style of expression, which stirred Byzantine art during the last years of the XIII century hardly even touched contemporary Serbian art. Magnificent edifices of harmonious forms with marble revetment and coloured sculptural decoration on their facades and gilded stucco friezes in their interiors were no longer being built in Serbia nor were there any first rate painters at work in its churches, injecting into them the spirit of metropolitan art and leaving behind masterpieces – as they did once in Studenica, Mileševa or Sopoćani. Already at some time around 1275 queen Jelena could not manage to find a first class artist to decorate her endowment in Gradac and fulfil her wish to repeat the splendour and spirit of Sopoćani. Her sons could not engage the best Constantinopolitan artists either and none of the painters they found in Thessaloniki were able to outmaster their contemporaries. Although there were practically no poor artists among them, unlike some of their contemporaries working on Mount Athos, in Ohrid and in Thessaloniki, they still lacked the determination to break up with old conceptions. The Serbian milieu had already been in touch with such artists who relied on traditional forms, a moderate use of colour and a predominant use of shading in the process of modelling, a correct drawing and a cautious approach to novelties. Around 1265 painters of this sort worked in the parekklesia flanking the narthex of Sopoćani and in Bogdašići.⁸

At the end of the XIII century artist had to comply with theological requirements of growing complexity and this conditioned the emergence of new formulas in the visual arts. These new ideas were materialised only partly on the frescoes painted at that time in Serbia. Unbroken sequences of images were still rare and appeared more as a continuance of similar compositions seen in previous periods than an expression of the new Palaiologan style.

In Dragutin's chapel at Djurdjevi Stupovi there were only several compositions. Those on the vault followed the scheme of the Ecumenical Councils while the two or three most prominent figures in these scenes always stood out in dimension among the others. The curved surface of the vault was well suited for the application of inverted perspective which actually does appear here in several instances. On the other hand, the Holy Trinity constitutes a separate, accomplished compositional unit in the shape of a semicircle. However, skilfully organised pictures such as this one were rare

in Serbian painting at the close of the XIII century. Apart from this example, an occasional clear, unfettered composition of symmetrical structure, reduced only to the indispensable characters, appears only in Arilje although, even there, most of the frescoes include a greater number of figures arranged without any specific order and, we might say, with an intentional disregard for symmetry (the Betrayal of Judas and the Raising of Lazarus, for example). In Arilje, painted architecture is rarely a part of the composition and its projections are not always based on the same system. The painters working in Arilje were somewhat more consistent in shaping the landscape and integrating it with the figures – this is accomplished partly successfully in the Nativity and far better in scenes related to the righteous Abraham. Breakthroughs into the depth of compositional space are even more scarce and achieved, for example, through a diagonal position of the bed upon which Anne reclines in the Birth of the Virgin or the slanted line of the staircase in the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. It is important to note, however, that in Arilje light is certainly used as an important element of the composition not only to point out the conceptual focus of a scene but also as a means of stronger bonding of all visual points into an accomplished unit, as in the Baptism or the Dormition.⁹

The break with the main current of Byzantine XIII century painting, as well as with the emulation of works of mediocre artistic qualities, is also felt in the use of colour. A sort of dim light prevails on the frescoes, colour no longer imbues all the images but is there, occasionally, only to single out a certain figure and to enhance the picturesque qualities of a scene or an architectural form. As a result, colour harmonies become more and more simple and are finally reduced to contrasts of light and shadow. Still, the frescoes of Dragutin's chapel seem to have retained a certain degree of freshness typical of the better works of this period. A warm reddish ochre is used to paint the flesh and parallel white lines appear as highlights producing solid, well defined forms. In instances where the net of fine lines is not applied in the modelling of faces, shading is gradual, with deep, green tones, and the general impression more striking.

The few surviving frescoes from the third layer of decoration of Petrova crkva show traces of intense burning which has greatly altered their original appearance. Only the remaining unharmed surfaces – one angel and several bishops in the altar and one holy stylite in the narthex – indicate that these frescoes

were dominated by pale shading, almost without any green tones at all, and a rather copious use of brown. Light colours, the use of linearism in modelling and red highlights on the cheekbones of the angels are reminiscent of some Komnenian models which the painters working in Petrova crkva must have had in mind.

In Arilje, too, the colours were mostly stifled, lacking in tone variations and co-ordinated in such a manner that their loudness masked the absence of light and shade contrasts. Here, too, green was the basic colour used in rendering flesh. It is closer to that of Dragutin's chapel rather than to the shade used in Petrova crkva. Coats of ochre were applied over it, lighter on the cheeks and darker in the shaded parts, thus creating an impression of gradual transition between the two colours. A similar technique of painting was used also for the portraits, the only difference being the warmer colours chosen for them. Reddish-yellow ochre and brown prevail over green, used to paint the faces of saints. Meanwhile, the light and shade principle was still predominant on some frescoes: the Communion of the Apostles, Birth of the Virgin, Road to Calvary and certain prophets or single figures on the pilasters. There, the treatment of flesh was reduced to the indispensable measure, the green is closer to olive and, because there are no gradual transitions of its hues, the contrasts are very strong and abrupt. This is even more accentuated by the appearance of deep green spots, very conspicuous around the eyes, the nose and on the neck. Essentially, this technique was closer to some older works of the XIII century while being very rare or entirely discarded in Serbian and Byzantine painting of the early XIV century. In order to reconcile plastic forms with a tonal use of colour, some of the faces in Arilje – of John the Prodromos, the apostles Peter and Paul or queen Jelena – are furrowed, as seen occasionally in earlier or even contemporary art. These different concepts in the treatment of colour and form are clearly reflected by the frescoes of Arilje. In instances where tridimensionality was intended, the drawing would become more precise, the shapes more polished up and the act of applying paint slower while the coats of paint grew in thickness. In other instances, however, there is an obvious improvisation in drawing, colour is applied more freely, briskly and energetically and the embellishment of images is entirely disregarded while painters rely increasingly on contrasts of light and shade. Apart from frescoes of this quality, we also find in Arilje a series of paintings of an altogether different nature. There, green is either almost entirely omitted – as on the portraits of Serbian archbishops,

the Sacrifice of Abraham or the Council of Nemanja and the Ecumenical Councils – or used, as in the south parekklesion, rather ineptly.

The Vatican icon of Sts. Peter and Paul, with portraits of queen Jelena and kings Milutin and Dragutin, displays almost all the traits of the still deeply traditional art which marked the close of the XIII century, enhanced also by a presence of certain western influences. The solid, although almost rigid drawing stresses the contours while the dark green, violet and red are carefully balanced. Together, they produce an icon which stands out as one of the most successful Serbian works of art from the end of the XIII century.¹⁰

The use of colour nuances being quite restricted in the art of these monuments, drawing was becoming increasingly predominant. Still, except for the occasional frescoes in Petrova crkva and Arilje, it never drifted into indelicacy nor did it ever result in deformity, as was the case with some contemporary provincial Byzantine works. XIII century classicism was too strong to be forgotten so quickly, at least in Serbia. It persisted longest on the standing figures of the first register, always treated with greater care and underpainted. The tendency to embellish the depicted forms checked the predominance of linearism and softened its bold expressionism, especially in the case of portraits of living persons in Djurdjevi Stupovi and Arilje. The portraits of kings Milutin and Dragutin in the latter church rank among the best of their sort in Serbian medieval art. Although imbued with a certain degree of conscious embellishment, the efforts to render the physical beauty of the young kings give them an air of uncommon nobility, an appealing appearance and a graceful, representative quality.¹¹

Apart from the mentioned Vatican icon, the frescoes of Dragutin's chapel should also be included in the group of finer art works which make no major breaks with traditions of the XIII century. The better preserved frescoes – Sts. Joachim and Anne, the Holy Trinity and several half-figures – show that their creator ranked among the better artists of the day and that he was educated on the good models offered by the generation before him from which he adopted the full and solid shapes still imbued with the heritage of Byzantine classicism. The wall paintings of Arilje, on the other hand, oscillate in quality and, on the whole, present a different picture. As opposed to the composed air of Dragutin's chapel, in Arilje we come across more expressive forms and compositions which are no longer reduced only to the chosen few figures arranged around the conceptual focus of the picture.

Here, their gestures are overemphasised and their stances unexpected. The characters we see here have nothing in common with the classicism of the 1260's nor with those from Dragutin's chapel. Divergences from traditional models are most obvious in the Nativity, certain parts of the Dormition, the Birth and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. The unskilled work of the poorest artist of the group working in Arilje left these frescoes completely isolated in Serbian art of the XIII and XIV centuries. There were, of course, other, much better painters in that same group. Although they, too, were reluctant to discard XIII century concepts, their manner of painting is special and they did have the skills to produce works of great artistic value such as the portraits in the narthex, the prophets in the dome, the Annunciation and an adjacent figure of prophet David or those of Christ and the Virgin in the south part of the naos. Paintings of this sort represent the natural close to the path of development of high quality art in XIII century Serbia.¹²

Today, scholars of medieval art are especially interested in the possibility of discovering the identities of painters and finding out whether they had apprentices as well as in revealing where and upon which models they were educated. This sort of curiosity faces many difficulties because artists' signatures are very scarce in the Middle Ages while their method of work, in particular on great monuments, is still pretty vague. The state of preservation of Serbian art from the close of the XIII century does not open up great possibilities for the study of these questions. Still, it does seem certain that, during that period, painters from abroad were engaged to perform the required services and that, upon completing their tasks, they left Serbia. Thus, there were no resident groups of artists working in Serbia for longer periods of time. Because of the fragmentary state of preservation of the frescoes in Petrova crkva, we could easily make mistakes in assessing their value and assigning them to a number of different artists. Even if they are the work of several painters, their style, based on good drawing and a lighter palette, is quite homogeneous. With a certain degree of caution, we could single out two different techniques of painting accompanied by two different styles of lettering in the inscriptions. Some of the images in the dome, as well as Aaron in the south-east squinch and certain figures in the bottom register (St. Christopher, St. John the Merciful, St. Ephraim the Syrian), display a strong linearism, rigid drawing, large eyes, thick contours and a more pronounced inclination

towards ornamented draperies. Other figures, on the other hand, show an absence of these traits: the archangel and the heads of the bishops in the altar, St. Nicholas and St. Symeon the Stylite in the narthex. Bold contours are no longer used to delineate the figures while the colour nuances on the pale green base of the faces are soft and gentle. Works of this sort, which we are inclined to ascribe to the hand of a different painter, are closer, although only partly, to the transitional monuments from the end of the XIII century. It is difficult to say who these painters were because no true counterpart of their work can be found in any of the monuments known so far. It is only certain that they adhered to XIII century traditions and that, relying mostly on linearism, they were cautious in the use of colour and the brightening of their palette.¹³

The frescoes of Dragutin's chapel are also based on solutions from the middle of the XIII century but their quality is considerably higher. The artist working there produced solid shapes, monumental in form and intensive in colour. The occasional incursions of the Greek language in the inscriptions disclose his origins, further attested also by similarities with certain contemporary monuments from Constantinople and Mistra, and it is not impossible that he reached Serbia from the Byzantine capital.¹⁴

Today, it is no easier to unravel the origins of the artist who painted the icon of the holy apostles Peter and Paul for queen Jelena and her sons in order that they may present it to the church of St. Peter in Rome. This icon was certainly made in Serbia because the inscriptions by the apostles are written out in Serbian. Moreover, its characteristics – large figures, carefully painted in dark colours lacking the brilliance which is so typical of slightly later art, a sure drawing and a recognisable plasticity of the figures – link it to the sort of art produced in Serbia towards the end of the XIII century. The already noticed resemblances to some of the frescoes from Arilje could indicate Thessaloniki as the point of origin of its author. On the other hand, it is possible that this icon is the work of a Greek or a Serbian artist from one of the workshops in the littoral region under queen Jelena's administration because, probably as a result of her personal desire and in view of the icon's future destination, the saint who is shown blessing the queen is wearing the robes of a Catholic bishop.¹⁵

Finally, the vacillating quality of the wall paintings of Arilje indicates that several artists of different skills and abilities worked side by side in this church. Apart from the two who had mastered their craft and showed

indisputable artistic virtues, there were also those who were barely skilled in the art of painting and were thus relegated to the less conspicuous parts of the church interior. The two better artists worked simultaneously, at times even side by side. One of them worked on the decoration of the dome. His faces of the prophets Joel, Jonah and Malachi are easily recognised. They are broadly lighted and have narrow green patches of shading, a reddish ochre is the basic colour used with short highlights in white and red. His compositions of the Baptism and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple are refined, with harmonious figures and a carefully painted architecture. There, as in the Annunciation, the Betrayal of Judas, the Communion or the central part of the Dormition, his work is characterised by bright colours with gradual transitions between the illuminated and the shaded parts and a more freehand treatment of the folds on the clothes. His manner of painting is discerned on the figures of prophet David and St. Laurus and he was certainly the author of most of the frescoes in the bottom register (including the figures of the ktetors, Christ on the south-west pilaster, archbishop Jevstatije and bishop Jevsevije) and, probably, of all the figures on the west wall of the south choir. The other painter working alongside him produced the Entry into Jerusalem, the Nativity and two scenes from the cycle of the Virgin, her Birth and Presentation in the Temple, as well as several single figures, most certainly those in the bottom register around the iconostasis, along with the portraits of Dragutin's children in the narthex and the Nemanjids in the naos. His paintings are characterised by non-classical figures, their colours are not strong and the shading abrupt while the folds on the draperies are soft. When he was more attentive in his work – as in the lowest register – he was able to create some accomplished paintings based on a use of nuancing and line. Apart from those two, other artists, inferior to them, were also working on the decoration of Arilje. One of them assisted the first of the two better artists discussed above in the painting of the Dormition and he barely managed to render the figures of the apostles showing them in profile while painting their eyes as if they were standing frontally, lifting them off the ground and clothing them ineptly. Probably the least able among them painted the frescoes in the parekklesion of St. Nicholas. His style is difficult to define because he is one of those inferior artists who could appear at any given time even though there were only a few of them in the history of Serbian medieval art.¹⁶

All in all, painting in Serbia at the end of the XIII

century did not have the characteristics of transitional art except, to a certain point, in the domain of iconography. For that reason, when a new art of a different nature emerged after the year 1300 it never had a true precursor in the painting which marked the first decades of Milutin's rule. A certain isolation, so to say, of Serbian art from the end of the XIII century and its dependency on the experiences of artists of the previous generation is not the result only of the ineptness or unlearnedness of the painters. The frescoes of Dragutin's chapel at Djurdjevi Stupovi or even those of Petrova crkva and a part of the decoration at Arilje show us that its creators were not lacking in talent or knowledge. With the exception of certain frescoes from Arilje which are the work of a beginner, the other ensembles, together with the icon of Sts. Peter and Paul, are the work of fine painters who probably came to Serbia from different centres of Byzantine art and stayed there for varying periods of time. It is widely accepted in scientific circles that the artists who worked at Arilje came from Thessaloniki. The Greek origins of the better educated painter who produced the frescoes of Dragutin's chapel are also indisputable. During the period of turmoil in Byzantine book illumination and wall painting which lasted through the second half of the XIII century, no particular artistic current became predominant. Apart from emulating the great art which had produced Sopoćani or St. Sophia at Trebizond, painting of this period was also turning towards models set by the X and XI centuries as well as the examples of the waning, late Komnenian art. This resulted in a motley situation in the field of artistic production. However, during the final decade of the XIII century there were some more decided turns towards a new art which was basically dependent on the type of picture formulated in Sopoćani. Quite understandably, these turns were accompanied by hesitations and misunderstandings regarding colour harmonies and classicist drawing. This classicist current, which originated in Constantinople and Thessaloniki, was to reach Serbia only after 1300.¹⁷

Taking into consideration testimonies regarding the Thessalonikan origins of the painters working in Arilje, should we assume that art created during the last decade of the XIII century in that Byzantine city is actually similar to that of this Serbian church? It seems that the answer could indeed be affirmative. Still, we should not lose sight of the fact that, in those days, there were also other workshops active in Thessaloniki which were more open towards artistic impulses coming from Constantinople. Such workshops were to pro-



115
Petrova crkva in Ras, *The righteous Melchizedek*, around 1280

116
Petrova crkva in Ras, *St. Symeon the Stylite*, around 1280

duce the likes of Michael Astrapas, Eutychios, Georgios Kalliergis, Michael Proeleusis and others who were to work not only in Thessaloniki but also in Serbia, Veria, on Mount Athos and even in Constantinople.¹⁸ Other Thessalonikan artists of the last decades of the XIII century – those whose painting was based on conventional forms, in a slightly simplified classicist variation, and rather dull colours – wandered far from their home town in search of work. Apart from Arilje, we also find their works on Attica, in the Omorfi Ecclesia church in Athens (around 1300). In the group of artists working on the frescoes in this church, the one who painted the south parekklesion stands out. His classicists forms, colour-



117
Arilje, *Betrayal of Judas*, detail, 1295/1296





119
Arilje, Annunciation, detail: archangel Gabriel, 1295/1296



ing and use of dark green shadows offer the closest parallels to the art of the first, and the best painter of Arilje. At a slightly earlier date, around 1280, an artist working on the compositions of the Pentecost, Annunciation, Ascension and the Hospitality of Abraham in the church of St. Demetrios of Katsoures near Arta produced paintings which are similar in spirit to the creations of the nameless artists of Arilje or Athens. Moreover, the prophets in the central dome of the church of the Virgin Parigoritissa at Arta, decorated with mosaics towards the end of the XIII century, are also reminiscent of Arilje – in colour, typology, drawing and the play of light and shadow. The fact that this art represents the antithesis of the contemporary style typical of Arta and Attica only goes to prove that these painters came from another centre. The close relation of this art with the frescoes of Arilje,¹⁹ almost certainly the work of artists from Thessaloniki, points to this Byzantine city as the place of their origin.

It is very difficult to find such close parallels in contemporary Byzantine art for other frescoes produced during the final decades of the XIII century in Serbia. Those of Dragutin's chapel are rather similar in drawing, the stunted proportions of figures and shading to the cycle of Sts. Cosmas and Damian from the south aisle of the church of St. Demetrios at Mistra (shortly after 1292) and even closer to the paintings from the Constantinopolitan church of St. Euphemia (around 1280) with which they share the typology of characters, the manner of drawing and a lighter palette.²⁰ These similarities testify that, in the decoration of the parekklesion of unknown dedication at Djurdjevi Stupovi, king Dragutin may also have engaged an artist of Constantinopolitan background, an adherent of the traditional style who was moderate in introducing novelties to the manner of painting formulated around the middle of the XIII century. This style obviously suited the notions of the Serbian milieu, still under the influence of the great art of Sopoćani the spirit of which hovered above it and re-emerged occasionally, although only in its exterior appearance, only to dwindle out gradually on the walls of Gradac and the endowments of king Dragutin.

These comparisons with Byzantine frescoes show, on the one hand, that towards the close of the XIII century Serbian painting was no longer the leader in the field in the Orthodox world. At that time new works of art of different forms and a different spirit were already being created in Constantinople, Mistra, Thessaloniki and its environs, on Mount Athos and in Ohrid. On the other hand, they also indicate that no

decisive step was taken at that moment to overcome the conventional conceptions. Still, Serbian art of this period never stooped to the level of the poor and provincial painters working on the territory of the archbishopric of Ohrid, in Epirus, on Attica or the Greek islands. Owing to its contacts with artists from Thessaloniki and perhaps even Constantinople, although, truth to tell, not the very best of them, Serbian art did manage to retain rather high standards and produce some works which certainly do deserve our attention. In that manner it stayed in touch with the greatest artistic achievements of the previous period and was ready to adopt the new art immediately after 1300 and thus rejoin the most progressive currents of Byzantine painting.

Intimations of a New Art

It is certainly not accidental that the first signs of this new art appeared only after king Milutin turned towards the Byzantine Empire and married a member of the Byzantine imperial family in 1299. This event opened wide the doors for a thorough spread of Byzantine customs, ideas, systems of values – political, legal and ideological – and Byzantine culture in Serbia, easily recognised in literature, architecture and art of that era. On the other hand, in considering the beacons of these artistic conceptions, we should not disregard the fact that the new style of painting, much closer to the progressive currents of the cultural and spiritual centres of Byzantium, first appeared in the churches which were under the jurisdiction of the Serbian archbishopric. It would be most truthful to say that, following the year 1300, a set of favourable circumstances had converged in Serbia as a result of the king's pro-Byzantine policy and the strong support he received from the Church, lead by former Chilandar monks who were apparently well acquainted with the cultural developments on Mount Athos and in nearby Thessaloniki.²¹ The monuments preserved in those two centres clearly disclose a restlessness to discard the old, weary and waning forms, typical of the generation of artists who worked in Arilje, and to focus all attention on what was going on in Constantinople. Although there are no explicit confirmations, we can claim, albeit cautiously, that the role of instigator of the new, Constantinopolitan style of art belongs to a generation of young artists from Thessaloniki. The first precisely dated monument, the Virgin Peribleptos from 1294/95, is located in Ohrid but it is beyond doubt that its

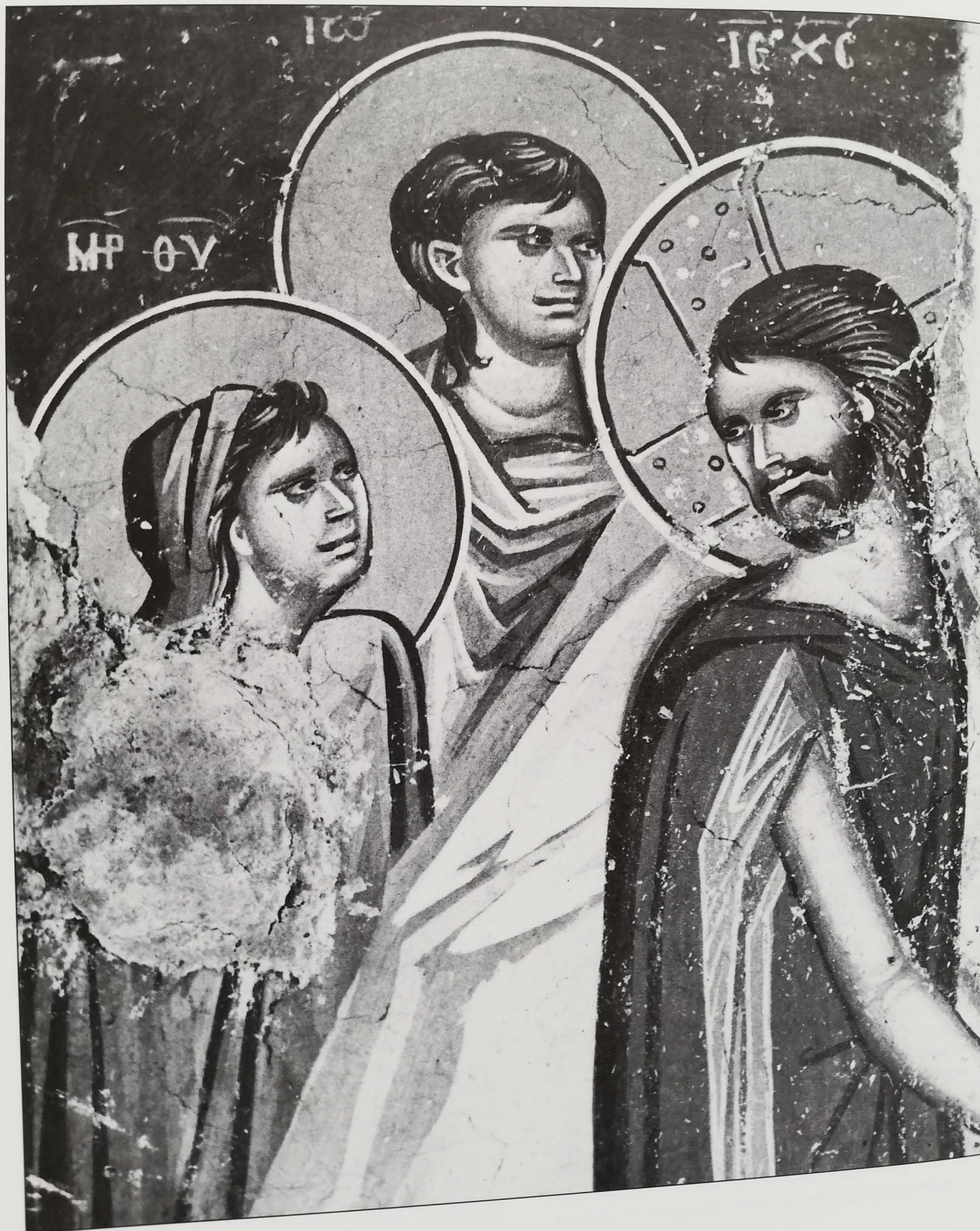
artists came from another centre. Most recent research has confirmed, irrefutably it seems, that Michael and Eutychios came from Thessaloniki. The style which Michael and Eutychios adopted was accepted in the years around 1300 by the most prominent representatives of the Athonite milieu, as attested by the church in the Karyes, its capital, and the most prestigious monastery on Athos, the Great Lavra. Commissions of this sort paved the way for the emergence of a different art which bonded tradition with new principles of artistic production, not only in iconography but perhaps even more in the creative spirit and the domain of form. Painters who worked in this style received recognition from a high imperial official, the army commander Michael Tarchaniotes Glabbas, who, in 1303, employed artists from their ranks to decorate his parekklesion of St. Euthymios by the basilica of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki.²² This could mean that their manner of painting was close to that of the Constantinopolitan artists which Glabbas had known and admired. During the following decades, a strong merging of Thessalonikan and Constantinopolitan style of painting was going to take place which only goes to prove how fast the Thessalonikan artists matured and how open their work was to changes effectuated under influence of the refined art of the capital.

The Serbian milieu, always open to progressive trends coming from Constantinople and Thessaloniki, lagged behind those two cities as well as Ohrid and Mount Athos by only about ten years. The circumstances which ensued after 1299, despite the ongoing serious dynastic conflicts, enabled it to access and adopt quickly the new and appealing style which had already been accepted in the neighbouring regions of Byzantium. The brief delay may have been caused by the general tumultuous climate on the Serbian political scene and an absence of great artistic projects in the first years after Milutin's break-up with his brother. During that time Milutin was mostly preoccupied with a tense struggle to remain in power which left him little time to consider restoring the old or raising new endowments. Greater care was devoted only to the most necessary interventions which had to be undertaken in the sees of the Serbian Archbishopric, Žiča and Peć. The restoration of the church at Žiča, the original archbishopric see, was long and gradual because it appears that the destruction it suffered around 1290 was quite extensive. The new, permanent see of Serbian archbishops at Peć was restored around 1300 and it is possible that even king Milutin himself was involved in this enterprise. At that time, the west part of the old

church of the Holy Apostles, an endowment of archbishop Arsenije I (around 1260), was remodelled and decorated with wall paintings. In both iconography and style, those frescoes from Peć marked the emergence of the new art in Serbia. Except for a few weaker spots, they have practically nothing in common with the frescoes of Arilje created, perhaps, less than a decade earlier.²³

For the first time in the Serbian milieu, elongated figures of bright colour, painted against a striking dark blue background, appeared in Peć. They were united by a well balanced composition in which the landscape and the architecture not only complemented each other but even fused into one, thus enlivening the entire setting. The clear and unclouded Sopoćani style picture in which each element was carefully chosen and arrayed, a trade mark of the XIII century, is no longer present in Peć. Not only are the scenes arranged in sequences without any vertical borders dividing them into different, closed-off units, but there is also a multitude of new characters populating the familiar compositional schemes and transforming their appearance. Large, sturdy figures, looking just a little awkward in their tight, short hitons, have discarded their static postures, they turn in animated gesticulation, bend and rise above one another. Quite unexpectedly, figures of greatly diminished stature, servants of Caiaphas in his palace or grammatics at the court tribunal, appear among soldiers of athletic physique. Contrasts like these, together with the agitated groups of figures and the dynamic architecture with which they intermingle, introduce a specific and rarely seen restlessness and drama to the picture. Christ is the only person peacefully suffering his passion while none of the other figures make so much as an attempt to hide their heightened emotions: the apostles express surprise and bewilderment at the fact that their teacher is about to wash their feet, the Jews show their anger and unconstrained rage, the soldiers parade power and ruthlessness, the grammatics the fervour of disputation, apostle Peter discloses his fear and endless sorrow for the teacher he has renounced, the Virgin and John intimate their painful loss of son and teacher. All that agitation, the pronounced facial expressions and the strong gestures were typical of transitional styles in the history of Byzantine painting and meant a departure from a classical order and studied arrangement of elements within a picture now dominated by details.

The minor changes which were introduced to the frescoes of Peć, and not only in the field of iconography, represent a new treatment of the picture charac-



121
Peć, Holy Apostles, Christ before the cross, detail, around 1300



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Peć, Holy Apostles, *Betrayal of Judas*, detail, around 1300

terised as much by a different regard of artistic heritage as an expressedly personal approach – of course, in the measure in which such a thing was possible in Byzantine art, especially at a time of transition between different styles. The interesting and enticing question regarding the role of heritage in the formation of this manner of artistic expression should not, however, overshadow the novelties displayed by the Peć frescoes, full of fresh details which did transform the visual image of painting regardless of their questionable purpose and credibility within it. Leaving behind conventional rules, the artists working at Peć displayed a special predilection for representing youthful, at times even child-like characters, depicting even the apostles as beardless youths with small heads resting on strong conical shaped necks and the Virgin as a young plebeian woman with uncovered hair and an entirely unclassical appearance. They devoted great care to the painting of two groups of soldiers wearing short hitons, armour, helmets of imaginative shapes and attractive turbans and sashes while sporting large, ornamented shields, swords, maces and spears with blades glistening against the night blue sky. Quite unexpectedly, they were successful in convincingly rendering the tribunal with young jurists engaged in lively discussion, raising their arms and pointing at one another or the scriptures before them, tapping each other on the shoulder. They gave a documentary credibility to Christ's trial before Caiaphas by rendering a candlestick bearer behind the Jewish high priest and a scribe dipping his quill into the inkwell and putting down on parchment the accusations against Christ. Taking care that the recognisable iconographic scheme of the composition is not disturbed, the artists working in Peć rendered in great detail the household of Caiaphas, including the servants gathered around the fireplace, the servant girls standing in the doorways, the rooster whose crowing confronts Peter with the horrible truth that he has renounced his teacher, Pilate's wife who appears at a window warning her husband to be careful in pronouncing the sentence. Finally, in the Road to Calvary, they singled out the centurion Longinus leading his company.

In Peć, this sequence of unusual details was augmented by the conspicuously emphasised architectural background of indisputable scenic qualities. This is one of the reasons behind certain inconsistencies in its depiction: it is often reduced to large, simplified forms, always seen from above and in inverse perspective, it rises high above the human figures and its many protrusions and openings provide strong lighting, it has

undergone transformation – from a simple indicator of location to an important element of the picture. Occasionally the treatment of painted architecture is aimed at rendering interiors (Christ Before Annas). The imaginary porch of Caiaphas's house is marked by a row of columns supporting arcades while entrances to Roman houses include coffered ceilings and relief ornaments in the lunettes above the openings. The appearance of architectural backgrounds of this sort, most often of very imaginative shapes, and attempts to make them a part of the compositional structures rank among the well known efforts undertaken at the close of the XIII and the beginning of the XIV century in order to give painted architecture a place of greater importance, whether as an element of the composition or simply a picturesque detail. Another significant novelty displayed by the frescoes in the west part of the Holy Apostles at Peć is the light palette and the warm colour harmonies, the antithesis of those seen in Arilje. True, these harmonies are still not entirely coordinated with the contrasts on the draperies (as opposed to the faces and hands), dominated by a basic cold green and careful nuancing leading from this cool colour to the warm, well lighted spots. Moreover, the departure from tonal painting occasionally lead to uncoordinated colour harmonies and even a clashing of colours as well as insertions of often very bright reflections of light or deep shadows on the faces. Still, on the whole, flesh was rendered in carefully blended strokes which underlined the plasticity of forms and their refined roundness. Those frescoes which are completely free of any empty ornamentation and artificial expressiveness – such as St. Nicholas, St. Constantine and Helena – rank among the best works of the transitional period in both Serbian and Byzantine art from around 1300.

The uniform frescoes in the west part of the church of the Holy Apostles represent a remarkable ensemble which announces the emergence of a new style of painting in Serbia. They could be the work of two different artists because scenes such as the Renouncement of Peter, Washing of the Feet, the Virgin with Child and parts of other compositions display colder colour tones and certain faults in the drawing. Other frescoes are the work of another artist and they are characterised by warmer colours, dark red and blue, and outlines which mark the contours of more solid shapes. The agitated composition, the use of large scale architectural backdrops which create an effect of spatial depth, the facial types and the colour scheme which is often devoid of refined harmonies make these frescoes from Peć a part of a group of monuments from around



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Peć, Holy Apostles, High priest Annas with the pharisees,
around 1300

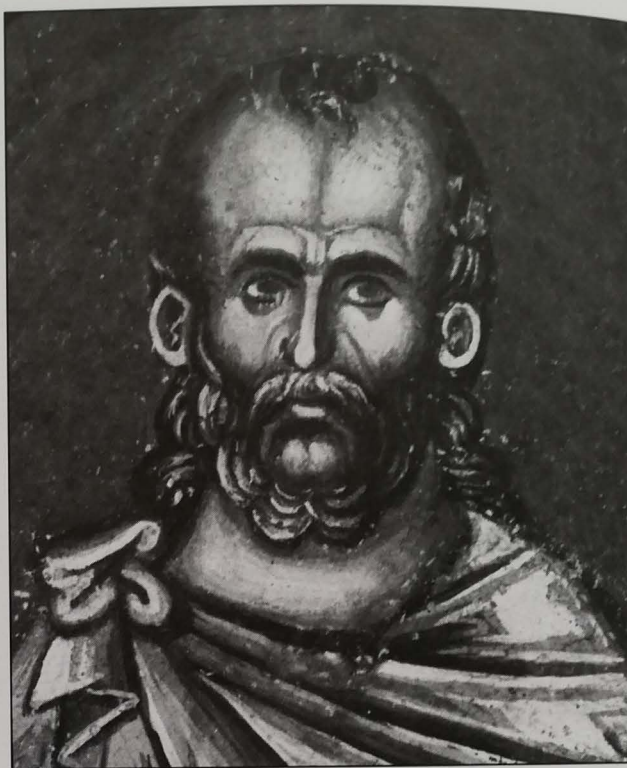
1300 marked by an expressed desire to discard old shapes and introduce abrupt, at times even inconsistent and one-sided changes. Because these frescoes share the qualities of those from the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, the Protaton, Žiča and a part of the decoration of Vatopedi, it is possible that the artists working on the mentioned ensembles originated from the same artistic centre which, at the turn of the century, fostered art of this sort.²⁴ The Peć frescoes are probably not the work of Michael and Eutychios since it is difficult to fit them into their line of development which can be followed from the Virgin Peribleptos to the church of St. Nikita near Skoplje. It is, nevertheless, undeniable that they are close to their early works.



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Žiča, Annunciation to Zachary, detail, around 1310



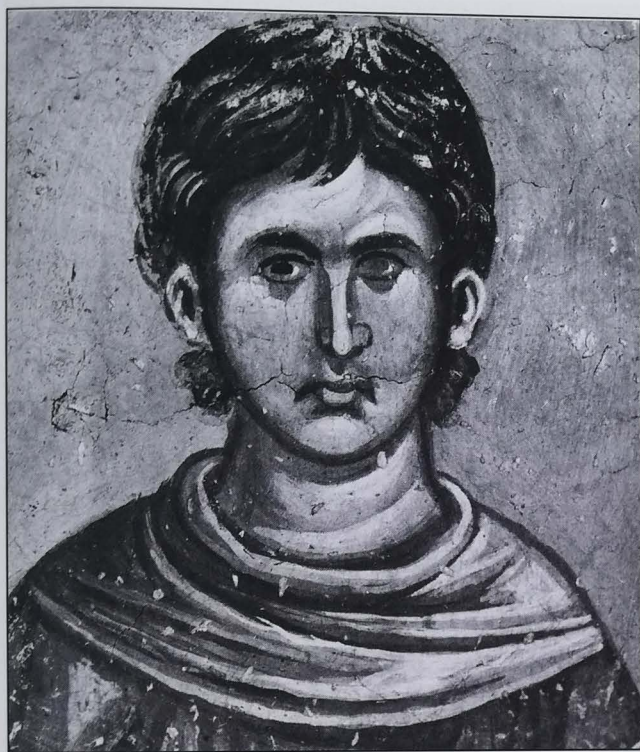
The reconstruction of the other archbishopric see, the one at Žiča, which had suffered destruction at the hands of Kuman troops during the 1290's and was subsequently under restoration for a long time, ending only in the days of Danilo II (1324–1337), did not include painters of such high performances, curios of the new, progressive art that was emerging in Thessaloniki and its environs. Still, it is possible that they did come from that milieu. However, no member of this group of artists had a personality strong enough to impose his manner of work on the others. The painters who worked at Žiča belong to the same artistic current which had already produced the decoration of Arilje and other similar ensembles. On the other hand, they also appear to have been inspired by new trends which they adopted cautiously and not always too assiduously. Still, memories of conventional, balanced forms and dark colours were obviously intense among them. This reasonably successful mixture of conservative ideas and new types of figures of saints, enlivened by a brighter palette, produced some rather accomplished works at Žiča, in particular those painted by the best artist of the group. The archaic qualities of these paintings are only underlined by the fact that in the sanctuary and the naos they virtually only repeat the paintings of the older layer frescoes dating from the days of St. Sava and Prvovenčani. The indisputable intention of the new ktetors and artists to repaint the old pictures in their original locations predetermined the size and even the appearance of the new wall paintings. That is why the apse is taken up by towering figures of bishops, as well as their half-figures enclosed in frames that resemble icons hanging on the walls, and the space in front of the iconostasis is reserved for the especially chosen saints standing under painted arcades. All this looked pretty archaic in an early XIV century monument and was reminiscent of late Komnenian models and the monumental art of the 1220's which the first ktetors of Žiča had originally chosen for their endowment. This XIII century decoration – including apostle figures and other scenes in the choirs – is exactly what the new generation of artists of king Milutin's time encountered in Žiča. Still, despite the predetermined themes and even the size and some outward features of the individual pictures, the wall paintings produced at the beginning of the XIV century do display the concepts of the younger generation of artists, their knowledge and capability,²⁵ which are still conspicuous, even after all the damage and occasional losses of the upper layer of paintings.



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Žiča, *Holy martyr in a medallion*, around 1310

There is a number of painters from this group of artists who worked on the fresco decoration of Žiča during the days of archbishop Jevstatije II (1292–1309) and his successor Sava III (1309–1316) whose creations are easy to point out. The general archaic quality of Žiča's wall paintings is especially conspicuous in the work of the artist who decorated most of the altar space and painted only a few frescoes in the naos. His work is characterised by a monochromatic and extremely cautious treatment of figures as well as by contrasts of pale green and reddish surfaces. He stressed the plastic qualities of faces by painting circular lines around the cheekbones as well as by relying on a gentle deformation of facial features and painting vertical lines which cut across the heads, in the manner of the early works of Michael and Eutykhios and one of the artists from Arilje. The relation with the Virgin Peribleptos is, however, only superficial, incidental, while there is more consistency in the correlation with Arilje. Together with the reserved and timid colour scheme, Žiča also shares with Arilje a similar manner of rendering heads, especially those of older persons like St. Sabas the Sanctified or St. Nicholas. The drawing in these cases is rigid, the foreheads are wrinkled and there is an excessive use of



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Žiča, *Holy martyr in a medallion*, around 1310

blue and olive which induced the painter to rely mostly on linearism and tonal effects. Although his figures are still massive and heavy, their general mien is significantly different from that seen in Arilje because their staunchness has been diminished by a livelier colouring of the clothes. These display sharp folds and bright lighting, typical of the transitional art from around 1300. This could mean that the artists who worked in Žiča, like those from Arilje, probably came from Thessaloniki and that they were reluctant to discard conventional solutions while being cautious in adopting, only partly for that matter, new trends.

One member of the group of painters working in this church, perhaps their leader, because most of the preserved frescoes can be attributed to him, was an adherent of different ideas, much more progressive and up-to-date, which he shared with the artists working in the Holy Apostles at Peć and even some of those who decorated the katholikon at Vatopedi and the church of Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren. His works in Žiča are easily recognised – the evangelists on the pendentives, the Annunciation, Annunciation to Zachary, Last Supper, Pentecost, most of the Dormition of the Virgin – because his palette is brighter, although the colour tones are cold, contrasts softer and

nuancing more gradual thus producing more accomplished forms, refined colour nuancing, with only an occasional emphasised stroke, and a striking drawing of the neck, nose and forehead. His frescoes represent the finest symbiosis of old conceptions and new artistic articulation. The composition of the Pentecost discloses this painter's tendency to interconnect his figures more tightly, to breathe life and naturalness into them. The angel in the Annunciation to Zachary is shown in lively movement, emphasised by the position of the wings and the fluttering clothes. Even the Virgin is awoken from her usual solemn, static stance and shown in movement and with an expression of surprise and fear. The restlessness which dominates the picture, as in the Holy Apostles of Peć, required an excellent sense of drawing. The handwriting of this painter from Žiča is characterised by small, round heads on long necks, straight, sharply pointed noses, deep green shadows on the face and long folds on the clothes which are strongly emphasised by light. His architectural backdrops, shown rarely and always in inverse perspective, are also brightly lighted. Their forms are pared down to the essentials. Altogether, they are no more than a topos of the art of the transitional period. The specific manner of painting of the best artist working in the naos of Žiča is easily recognised on some of the better portraits of martyrs in circular medallions as well as among the personages of the lowest register of frescoes, like Christ and the Virgin close to the iconostasis. However, several artists were engaged in painting the large fresco of the Dormition. Its central part can certainly be attributed to the best among them. The stances and expressions of Christ and the Virgin, lying on the bier, are noble (in particular the image of Christ filled with sadness as he watches his mother lie in state) and pretty, especially the angels, while rendered in cool colour tones. Two other painters worked alongside him. The one who painted the apostles gathered around the Virgin's head was very inept: in his simplified manner he did not use any green at all, his drawing is loose, faces bland and unpolished. The poor performance of his assistants only emphasised the good points of the master who left his mark on the fresco decoration of Žiča. Although it does display similarities with some other monuments already mentioned here, so far it is impossible to trace his work elsewhere outside Žiča. Working alongside less talented traditionalists he managed to ennoble their work but was not entirely successful in winning them over to his novel ideas. We do not know whether, following the completion of the wall



paintings at Žiča, he vanished from the scene together with his less able companions or transformed his style to such an extent that it became unrecognisable and similar to the works of Michael and Eutychios from the second decade of the XIV century.²⁶

Judging by the better preserved frescoes in the south parekklesion, the decoration of the side chapels of Žiča was entrusted to less competent artists. In their desire to emulate the spirit of the wall paintings from the naos, they produced an art which was based on pronounced contrasts, especially in rendering flesh. In the work of one of them the shadows, in particular those around the eyes, are withdrawn to the very perimeter of the forms. They are deep, dark green and

create a violent contrast with the reddish ochre which dominates the faces of the saints. The composition is also a weak point, either diffused or tightly packed with figures which, in turn, are either stocky (as in the cycle of St. Stephen) or child-like and drawn in a naive manner (the deacons by the altar screen). The treatment of hair and beards and even the large eyes accentuated by horizontal lines drawn out from the outer corner disclose a certain air of provincial XIII century art. Sometimes certain parts of the faces are only indicated in drawing with hardly any colour at. The only relatively accomplished elements of his work are the draperies of the martyrs in the lowest register of frescoes. This painter worked together with another artist, not much more competent, whose rustic characters occasionally sparkle with unexpected freshness, like the bishops in the altar with free brushstrokes of white in their beards and hair and energetic red lines on their faces.

The wall paintings in the entrance tower portico are so different from those in the naos that we can say with certainty that they are the work of another group of artists. Moreover, they have no counterparts in Serbian art of king Milutin's time. The green shadows are either missing or just barely visible by the outlines of shapes, finely blended with the dominant light ochre used for rendering flesh. Draperies are different, too. The colours are bright, in pastel nuances, there is an abundant use of white which floods the almost transparent clothes in soft folds and their lightly fluttering edges with light. The figures are almost weightless, elongated and of entirely different proportions from those found in the naos and the parekklesia. Although their drawing is sometimes awkward, their stances unnatural, feet and hands too large, they are still remarkably beautiful – some of the martyrs of Sebaste are like that – enchantingly vigorous (the Christmas hymn) and even imbued with a sort of poetic realism (groups of figures surrounding king Milutin and archbishop Sava III). Although their basic qualities are typical of the early XIV century, the light colours, cool and pure nuances and the glass-like reflections of light on these frescoes hardly have any equal in the art of this period which makes them seem almost as an accidental incursion in its main current.

In Serbia, there is another ensemble of wall paintings created at about the same time and just as singular. At an undetermined date an unknown ktetor engaged a group of painters to decorate the interior of the church of the Virgin at Sušica near Skoplje. Their work is different from that of the artists who presumably came

from Thessaloniki. To begin with, the iconography of the cycle of the Virgin, the choice of scenes and their treatment, is closer to solutions found in Constantinople than to those of other Serbian churches of the day. Could these closer relations with Constantinopolitan art account for the isolation of Sušica's frescoes in early XIV century Serbian painting? Still, in Constantinople itself there are no exact counterparts of these paintings and, anyhow, they certainly lag behind the mosaics and frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos and other churches of the Byzantine capital. The Virgin in the apse of Sušica, with Christ enclosed in a medallion on her chest, is rigid and its form is still reminiscent of the XIII century. The occasional faults in the drawing (Joachim in the Virgin Caressed by Her Parents or one of the apostles in the Ascension, with disproportional faces and sharp noses, or the holy doctors with round heads and small, awkwardly rendered ears) are concealed by the use of a good model. The artist relied on its compositional scheme and even went so far in repeating it that the Virgin Receiving the Skein of Purple Wool and the Water of Purification look almost identical, to the point of iconographic confusion. Dependence on solutions devised in earlier art is felt not only in the rendering of slightly stocky figures but also in the soft modelling of draperies, all in the manner of the XIII century. Maybe as a result of careful copying of older examples, some of the scenes in Sušica are well composed, like the Water of Purification, while the gestures of some of the figures are temperate and their stances more noble. The girls grouped behind the Virgin, present in several scenes, have preserved something of the classical beauty typical of monuments of the second half of the XIII century. They stand in threes with their heads gently inclined, wearing tastefully ornamented sleeveless dresses, their hair is carefully combed and there are wreaths upon their foreheads.

As opposed to the slightly heavy figures with broad, oval faces, the rendering of space in Sušica follows the novel tendencies of early XIV century art. Groups of figures in the foreground are always overshadowed by tall, jagged architectural forms in the background. This architecture is shown in inverse perspective, its colouring is bright, its protrusions and indentations carefully shaded and it is decorated with hanging curtains and imitations of marble revetment and friezes. Thus, in both dimension and form, it is an element as much importance as all the others in the picture. Representations of Old Testament tabernacles with gilded doors and precious ornaments are especially remarkable.





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Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Angel*, 1309–1313

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Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, *Holy martyr*, 1309–1313

The colour scheme used in Sušica, with its harmonies of yellow, violet and green hues and just a touch of pink and light blue, represents another novelty. The strong contrasts encountered in some of the other monuments have been replaced with finely balanced harmonies accentuated by thick strokes of bright colour on the clothes. The best frescoes, above all those related to the Virgin's youth, feature accomplished, solid forms while the physical beauty of the sturdy young girls in the Virgin's entourage, dressed in meticulously rendered dresses and exhibiting well studied gestures, together with the ornamented walls and the lavish furnishings surrounding them, breathe the spirit of composed aristocratic art into the wall paintings of Sušica.²⁷

This combination of traditional and new elements, with very elongated figures and architectural backdrops (Peć) and occasionally cautious adoptions of novelties (Žiča) or unexpected admixtures of old and new classicism (Sušica), represents an art typical of the Serbian milieu at the moment of its first contacts with Michael and Eutychios, the two painters who were going to transform its style. Žiča and Peć were instrumental in paving the way for their emergence in Serbia while the art of Sušica, turned towards entirely different models, remained a unique phenomenon in Serbian art of the age of king Milutin.

The Works of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios

Owing to the circumstance that Michael, a member of the famous Thessaloniki Astrapas family of artists, and Eutychios signed their works quite often, we are in a position to monitor, with a great deal of reliability, not only the path of their own creative development but also the artistic currents subsisting in Thessaloniki around the year 1300. If only we had any information regarding other Thessalonikan painters we would no longer have to face some of our substantial chronological dilemmas and we would be able to trace more convincingly and precisely the emergence and maturing of consummate works of art created in that city, or other places under its influence, by such strong and talented personalities as Michael Astrapas, Eutychios, Georgios Kalliergis and their anonymous contemporaries who cancelled the impact of the preceding generation of artists who produced, for example, the frescoes of Arilje.²⁸

The earliest work of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios is the decoration of the Virgin Peribleptos at

Ohrid, accomplished in 1294/95. They left several signatures in this church. Along with their own, there are also signatures, or rather just initials, of other artists engaged in this endeavour. They prove that, on the one hand, they began working together very early on and, on the other, that, especially in the larger churches, they relied on the assistance of other painters. Already in the Virgin Peribleptos Michael and Eutykhios displayed one of their essential characteristics – a careful monitoring of metropolitan trends, both Constantinopolitan and Thessalonikan, and an attentiveness in keeping up with their progressive currents. This Ohrid church also discloses that the two painters opted early on and fullheartedly for a new type of programme, iconography and aesthetics. Naturally, during the last decade of the XIII century they were still closely bound to the manner of work of the preceding generation of artists but their frescoes clearly indicated a willingness to introduce new themes and a different iconography while their new style already featured many elements of the leading trend in Byzantine art of the day. This combination of old and new traits is reflected in unexpected clashes of traditional forms and their new treatment, often very awkward and unrefined. Although the compositions, as well as the individual figures of saints, did retain their monumental framework and size, they were now, in the various scenes, filled with tightly packed groups of figures, bulky architectural backdrops and broad patches of landscape. The large figures are dressed in clothes arranged in powerful, angular folds with strong contrasts of light and shadow and the entire picture is dominated by warm colour tones, yellow, red, bright violet and, occasionally, light blue and green, applied in brisk strokes and without finer nuancing. Put together, the strong muscular physiques, the free brush strokes and the contrasting surfaces and lines produced remarkable characters, most often of heightened emotions. All in all, this art based on warm and pure colours, crude modelling, heavy figures and some, perhaps even intentional, awkwardness and deformity in the drawing, leaves an impression of untamed and unripened expression. In essence, it was only the final product of a wider phenomenon present in Byzantine art at the dawn of the XIV century marked by a tendency to discard the lifeless and timid style of the 1280's and the 1290's and replace it, in a forceful sweep, with a new, fresh and picturesque mode of expression.²⁹

More than ten years passed between the completion of the Virgin Peribleptos and the appearance of the next work signed by Michael and Eutykhios. Where



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Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška,
Communion with Bread, detail, 1309–1313



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Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška,

Last Supper, detail, 1309–1313

they worked in the meantime remains unknown because none of the works created between 1295 and 1310 can be attributed to them with assurance. It is also not certain what sort of art they came into contact with during that time and whether the significant changes which occurred in their work were inspired by painters from Constantinople or Thessaloniki. Their unquestionable talent, clearly displayed already in the Ohrid church, and their ability to adopt novelties surely lead them to accept the progressive trends in Byzantine painting. The precisely dated frescoes of the Thessaloniki parekklesion of St. Euthymios (1303), as well those of the church of St. Panteleimon in the same city, created probably during the first decade of the XIV century, indicate

that significant changes were taking place on the art scene of Thessaloniki. The concepts which Michael and Eutychios had relied on in Ohrid only a few years earlier, just as a group of unknown artists had done in the Protaton, were being abandoned. Athletic figures were being reduced in size, artistic treatment was becoming increasingly refined and uniform, expressionism was vanishing from the faces, shapes in general were becoming more polished and colours cooler. This is surely the sort of art – stricter, calmer and agreeable – which inspired Michael and Eutychios to start treating their forms with greater care, imbuing them with a spirit of classicism and devoting more attention to all the details in a smaller-scale picture. The Serbian milieu certainly found this manner of work to be in agreement with its own notions. With eyes turned toward Byzantium, in particular after 1299, Serbia absorbed all the best the Empire had to offer and everything that bore the trademark of high aristocratic culture. It became a host to the best artists, both architects and painters, capable of working in the new spirit. The Serbian king, Milutin, did not come into contact with Michael and Eutychios through Ohrid – their stay in this town was apparently very brief, they seem to have left Ohrid shortly after 1295 – so that intermediaries should be sought elsewhere. Chilandar and its hegoumenos Sava could have played that role. It seems that in 1307 or 1308 Sava was invested as the bishop of Prizren and not long after that (in 1309) he was elected the archbishop of the Serbian church, the third in sequence with that name. At the time of his arrival to his still undecorated cathedral church, Sava may have brought with him from Thessaloniki or Mount Athos the painters with whose work he was probably well acquainted.³⁰

There are no signatures of Michael and Eutychios on the frescoes of Bogorodica Ljeviška or, perhaps, their signatures just haven't been preserved. Still, an inscription in the exonarthex of this church does prove that at least one of them took part in the works. Apart from the name of the master builder, Nicholas, this text also mentions the name of protomagister Astrapas who decorated the church with wall paintings. Since the name Astrapas also appears in the Ohrid church of the Virgin Peribleptos, as the patronym of the painter Michael, and because he often signed his name as Μιχαήλ τοῦ Ἀστραπαῦ, Μιχαήλ Ἀστραπαῦ, Ἀστραπαῦ Μιχαήλ or just Μιχαήλ, we are undoubtedly dealing with the same person. Due to the fact that the inscription in Ljeviška is not a personal signature of the artist, but rather a sort of contracting document, the protomagister is referred to only by his family name

which, for reasons unknown, seems to have been of greater importance to the ktitor. The Prizren inscription leads us to an invaluable conclusion – because he is referred to as protomagister, Michael Astrapas must have stood at the head of a larger group of painters with whom he collaborated. One of them was probably his faithful colleague Eutychios whose signature is sometimes found right next to that of Michael. A number of other painters could also have belonged to this group.³¹

Regardless of the occasional hesitations as to whether the just mentioned painters did or did not actually work in Ljeviška, scholars have made a reliable assessment of the character and the most significant features of the frescoes on its walls.³² Although they are unquestionably the work of many artists, these wall paintings bear the mark of protomagister Michael Astrapas who is responsible for their clever disposition within the complex interior as well as their general composition and each of its particular elements. This gives the frescoes of Bogorodica Ljeviška the necessary uniformity which, in churches of that size, only the best of Astrapas's contemporaries managed to achieve – in the Protaton, for example. The protomagister of the Vatopedi katholikon, on the other hand, was not so successful. The two different approaches to the picture which are clearly visible in Ljeviška – one in the altar, the naos and the inner narthex and the other in the aisles and the exonarthex – appear mostly as a reflection of the commotions typical of the transitional period which had affected the work of the two renowned artists at precisely that time, in the years around 1310. The tall, staunch figures in the first zone of the naos, rigid in stance and representative in appearance, are a token of respect for the great art of the XIII century. They are also the best indicators of the direction which the creative path of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios had taken after the completion of the Peribleptos church at Ohrid, i.e. the direction of ever stricter classicism which toned down the high-pitch, robust shapes and strove towards more refined colour harmonies. The large figures remained just a framework for a balanced treatment based on tonal and colour nuancing, soft folds in the clothes and a new sort of ornamentation: instead of the unexpected flashes of light and the broad, well lighted surfaces, in Ljeviška we find gentler contrasts, noble and solemn stances, meticulously depicted luxurious and ornamented materials which imitate expensive fabrics. Thus, by looking back upon XIII century classicist models and, through them, upon a much older heritage, the painters of Ljeviška reached the classicist ideal of their own age

which found its expression in the new facial types, a different colour scheme and a novel manner of painting.

If the wall paintings in the naos disclose only a presumable link between Michael and Eutychios and XIII century art, those in the altar space are far more explicit in demonstrating the true origins of their art and the way it had transformed from what we have seen in the Peribleptos into a new style of painting. Most of the figures in the altar are also large, often of awkward gestures, and the faces of the elderly bishops in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy have retained a striking muscular structure, their forms are still segmented by a multitude of curved lines around the cheek bones and on foreheads, noses still fleshy, shadows sharp and angular and hair and beards rendered in carefully drawn out strokes. In the Communion and the Last Supper Christ and the apostles are still depicted in rigid stances, clashing colour contrasts are soothed by the brightness of the hues, and as expressive, non-classical characters. To a point, this style is reminiscent of the Ohrid frescoes and in the period around the year 1300 it also appears in Thessaloniki (St. Euthymios and St. Panteleimon), the Holy Apostles in Peć and Žiča. Certain faults in the drawing – elongated figures with thin legs and wide feet, unclassical facial types and sudden twists – are a part of the price which had to be paid for turning towards new, metropolitan models. They were compensated by a bright, uniform colour scheme based mostly on cooler tones which were to remain a significant component in the work of one of the two artists, either Michael or Eutychios.

This combination of fresh warm colours, at the same time consonant with the greens, and a new composition became predominant in other parts of this Prizren church, too, primarily in the parekklesion of St. Nicholas and the exonarthex. On the often restricted and unsuitable spaces of their walls and vaults there is a series of scenes from the life of St. Nicholas, a Tree of Jesse, a Last Judgement, a cycle dedicated to the Baptism as well as a number of individual figures of reduced dimensions, cleverly distributed and accompanied by picturesque landscapes and imaginative architectural backdrops. These contracted forms were rendered without a single error while drawing was entirely subordinated to colour which gave the picture an unusual warmth and transparency. Some of the frescoes in this church are virtual masterpieces and certainly number among the best achievements of Serbian and Byzantine art of the early XIV century: the Birth of St. Nicholas, with an extraordinary rendering of space and a fine harmony of yellows, reds and blues,

parts of the Last Judgement with the sufferings of the sinners and animals which seem to be drawn out of an illustrated Byzantine natural history handbook or angels of intense colours reminiscent of oil paintings, picturesque soldiers and the masses to whom John is preaching on the Jordan, commandingly positioned within a landscape of warm colour tones, prophets in the Tree of Jesse or the illustration of the "Prophets from Above" hymn painted like brilliant miniatures, in a swift, assertive and agreeable manner, personifications of the New and the Old Testament of warm, diffused colour tones, noble gestures and an impeccable drawing of the Virgin and Child and the angels above the entrance as one of the most beautiful icons of the period. These and other works of art of this sort translated the poetic idiom into visual images of the highest artistic qualities. Creating them, Michael Astrapas and his associates entered their most mature, classicist period.

Although to a lesser measure, their uncommon talent and ability to rise to the very summit of artistic production of their time is felt also in other parts of Bogorodica Ljeviška. The superb drawing and the harmonious combination of cool tones and rosy spots encircling the cheekbones, used in rendering some of the prophets in the main dome or the characters in the Supper at Emmaus as well as the holy women in the lowest register, representations of angels, the Virgin and Christ (in particular that bearing the epithet of Guardian of Prizren), also disclose the capability of the Prizren masters to create exceptionally impressive pictures of impeccable drawing, fresh colours and a purity of expression. Moreover, they were supplemented with unobtrusive borrowings of symbols from the rich fonts of Byzantine tradition and even the heirloom of antiquity. Namely, the visual idiom in Ljeviška is enriched with details which don't always appear as iconographic necessities but certainly do add to the clarity and pictorial validity of the representations. Such is the nature of the angels and the personifications of Wisdom shown inspiring the prophets and evangelists, the rich embroidery on the clothes of the saints, holy women and members of the Nemanjid family, the imitations of hanging draperies with two-headed eagles, the representations of winged souls of the deceased, the personifications of the Sun and the Moon, Shadow and Truth or the Old and the New Testament. In an atmosphere of revived restoration of ancient forms and ideas, images of this kind speak in a language long forgotten but currently experiencing resurrection.³³ In Ljeviška, the powerful expressionism of the early works of Michael and Eutychios was transformed into shapes of

stricter structure and more sophisticated form which, however, still have an erratic quality about them. Nevertheless, the best of their works were completely cleared of any expressionism, figure proportions and the manner of their rendering were entirely humanised and a solemn peace was introduced to the geometric principles of composition and distribution of the weightless, picturesque architectural backdrops.

The erratic qualities of the Ljeviška frescoes, present no so much in the domain of style as on the level of artistic merit, can be explained in two ways: either as a result of the transformations in the handwriting of the two leading artists which could have taken place in the course of their work on the decoration of the vast wall surfaces of this Prizren church or as a product of the participation of their assistants who were entrusted with the painting of the less conspicuous parts. In any case, it has already been established that the better frescoes of Ljeviška include some of the most beautiful works of the best artist of the group: the individual figures of the Nemanjids, the frescoes in the main dome, apostles Peter and Paul, Christ the Guardian of Prizren and numerous figures of saints in the naos together with the Virgin with Child in the lunette of the main portal and some of the best frescoes in the exonarthex. In the large-scale compositions, the Dormition of the Virgin, for example, or in the altar and the exonarthex he worked alongside the other good painter whose creations display more pronounced contrasts in shape and colour, large but not always proportional figures of erratic artistic treatment. These features appear on some of the bishops in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy and the Communion of the Apostles, as well as in the Last Supper, some of the frescoes in the north aisle, the naos and perhaps even the Baptism in the narthex, which makes them all less refined and occasionally even crude in expression. It seems that we shall not be mistaken if we identify the two artists as Michael Astrapas and Eutychios. They are the ones responsible not only for introducing the wall paintings of Bogorodica Ljeviška to the line of development which was to enter its next stage at Nagoričino but also for bringing them closer to the contemporary art of Thessaloniki, that of the parekklesion of St. Euthymios or the church of St. Panteleimon, in both colour and form and the use of similar facial and figure types, compositions, landscapes and architectural backdrops. The other artists of the group working in Bogorodica Ljeviška, and there were at least two more of them, did not have either the inspiration or the skill of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios. Still, they can not be

denied talent and an ability to adapt to the manner of painting of the protomagister and the sort of art formulated around 1310. The painter who produced the frescoes on the walls of the upper storey of the narthex and the parekklesia, now badly damaged, did use contracted forms treated in accordance with the new principles and concepts of plasticity but his paintings still lack grace and nobility in both their colour scheme and their simplified compositions. His companion, who worked mostly in the aisles, had similar skills but different tendencies. The remaining fragments of the Ecumenical Councils disclose a rigid drawing, and deep, dark green shadows on the faces although his frescoes are not without an occasional flash of pure, bright colour and good drawing.³⁴

Viewed as a whole, the frescoes of Bogorodica Ljeviška represent the most decisive breakthrough of mature, classical, Palaiologan style into Serbian art and bear the imprint of the creative, novel and inquisitive approach of Michael Astrapas and his associates. Although we are denied any information regarding their work between 1294/95 and 1310, we are amply rewarded with data concerning their subsequent creations which allows us to follow the course of their development practically from year to year. We could well say that this is truly a unique situation in the history of both Serbian and Byzantine medieval art – the signed works of Michael and Eutychios, or those unquestionably attributed to them, make it easier for us to follow the ideas, transformations and manner of work of artists of their era in general. Once in Serbia, and Prizren was most probably their first stop there, Michael and Eutychios tied all their work to the new environment. They adapted fully to its spiritual and artistic climate and grew to respect its tradition and ideology, expressed through the images of Serbian state and church officials and most venerated saints as well as through a use of the Serbian language and alphabet, while employing their skills and talent to boost its efforts to measure up to the most prominent cultural centres of the Mediterranean world of the day. Keeping in mind this role they played in Serbian art of the early XIV century, it seem less important to find a precise answer to the question whether Michael and Eutychios had closer relations with the Court or the Church because both institutions were tightly interconnected, harmonious and equally responsible for nurturing ecclesiastical art. Should prevalence in this matter be assigned to the Court, proof could be found in the fact that these two painters worked mostly in churches which benefited from the patronage of king Milutin

and that their engagement in Serbia came to an end approximately at the time of the king's death. Still, it should also be kept in mind that, in his lifetime, king Milutin was certainly the greatest and practically the sole patron of the arts and that following his death (1321) there was a brief recession in the scope of artistic production, during the 1320's, at which time not much was being built in Serbia. On the other hand, the business of raising and decorating churches was entrusted to the care of church prelates, during Milutin's time they included archbishops Jevstatije II, Sava III and Nikodim, all of Athonite background and well educated, certainly proficient in the Greek language and culture. In these qualities they were matched by their contemporaries positioned as bishops and hegumenoi of prominent monasteries, capable of choosing the right artists to build and decorate their churches.

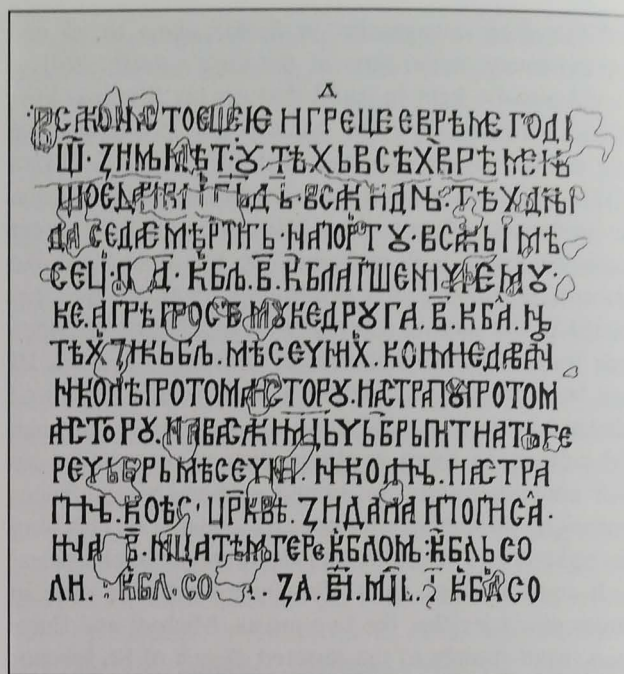
It could be that, right after their work was done in Bogorodica Ljeviška, the two artists, Michael and Euty-chios, went straight to the restored church of St. Prochor of Pčinja in order to decorate it with wall paintings. Even if their presence there is now unquestionable, as a result of the recently discovered and published signature of Michael on the shield of St. Demetrios, there are still many enigmas tied to the date and the identity of the ktetor of this restoration. One of the bricks in the north wall, similar to those of Bogorodica Ljeviška, associates the raising of this church with the bishop of Prizren and later Serbian archbishop Sava III, while the frescoes could have been painted shortly after he assumed the archbishopric throne in 1309. Except for the identity of their author, the characteristics of the meagre remains of the wall paintings do not reveal much about the possible stage in his career to which they could belong. The large figures and the thick, free strokes of colour which appear on St. Demetrios, the archangels, St. Prochor and on several spots on the north wall and in the apse indicate that they could have been created immediately after the frescoes of Ljeviška and certainly prior to 1316 when figures of reduced dimensions, uniform brush strokes and thin layers of paint began to prevail in the work of Michael Astrapas.³⁵

Although there are several signed works of Michael and Euty-chios from the last five or six years of king Milutin's life, it is not always easy to ascertain their lineup and offer precise dating. The exact years are recorded only in the church of St. George at Staro Nagoričino where work was in progress during 1316/17 and ended in 1317/18, most likely in the fall of 1317.³⁶ On the other hand, transformations in the work of Michael and Euty-chios were quick and deep so that

each church represents a link in a long chain of changes and a special stage in the course of their development. This is exactly the source of hesitancy in attributing an unsigned work to them and even more in attempting to establish the order of emergence of certain ensembles. One thing is unquestionable though – from one church to the next, from year to year, they drifted farther and farther away from the manner of painting they exhibited in the Virgin Peribleptos (1294/95) which marked their powerful appearance on the art scene. Finally, a quarter of a century later, their signatures and an occasional old fashioned feature, remaining, as if by accident, in a completely changed pictorial structure, are the only testimonies of connection with their earliest work. Many of their creations have been preserved to date, in fact, more than those of any other artist of their time in either Serbia or the rest of the Byzantine commonwealth. These works testify that they kept in stride with the most progressive contemporary artistic trends or lagged behind them by just an insignificant touch. In Ohrid they painted in a manner typical of all the other artists who strove to transform the desiccated, worn out organism of late XIII century art. In doing so they were even fiercer and less restrained than some of their colleagues from Thessaloniki and Constantinople. However, as the initially powerful expression calmed down in and around Thessaloniki, gradually turning toward cooler colour tones and smaller picture dimensions, the art of Michael Astrapas and the group of painters gathered around him underwent great changes. Some of them we can only conjecture because there is no monument from the period between 1295 and 1310 which can be attributed to these artists with certainty. Upon their arrival to Prizren at around that time, Michael Astrapas and a group of his assistants made the best of the lessons they got from the great transformations which were under way in Thessaloniki, the city of their origin, and Constantinople. They fused those examples with their own skills and knowledge, tamed their drawing and cleansed their bright and sonorous colours. Although they were not entirely consistent in this matter, the results were not chaotic. Along with large figures of unattractive faces they painted compositions reduced in scale and tightly packed with charming characters, crude and sharp forms were being abandoned in favor of fine nuancing and soft transitions from warm to cool colour tones, linearism was withdrawing from the saints' noble countenances and only occasionally it was left to dance vivaciously on their faces, the frescoes of Prizren were filled with personages dressed in

fine clothes and placed in seemingly realistic and meticulously rendered surroundings dotted with numerous reminiscences of ancient Hellenistic models. We know nothing of the activities of Michael Astrapas following his completion of the fresco decoration of Bogorodica Ljeviška. Could it be that, as in the sepulchral church of St. Prochor of Pčinja, he continued to execute commissions of Serbian ktetors or did he spend more time in his own home town? Whatever the answer, it is definitely beyond any doubt that at that time he and his associates came into contact with Constantinopolitan art, in the capital itself or through imported works and Constantinopolitan artists active in Thessaloniki, like those who produced the mosaics in the church of the Holy Apostles in 1312–1315. These artists could have been the source of the new church decoration schemes and even the ready made iconographic formulas as well as the general classicist air and the colouration which were to emerge in the subsequent works of Michael and his group. Although careful observers of the better works of their contemporaries, Michael and Eutykhios were never mere imitators – they strove to enrich their art with new solutions and succeeded in transforming it and creating their personal interpretation of early XIV century classicism.

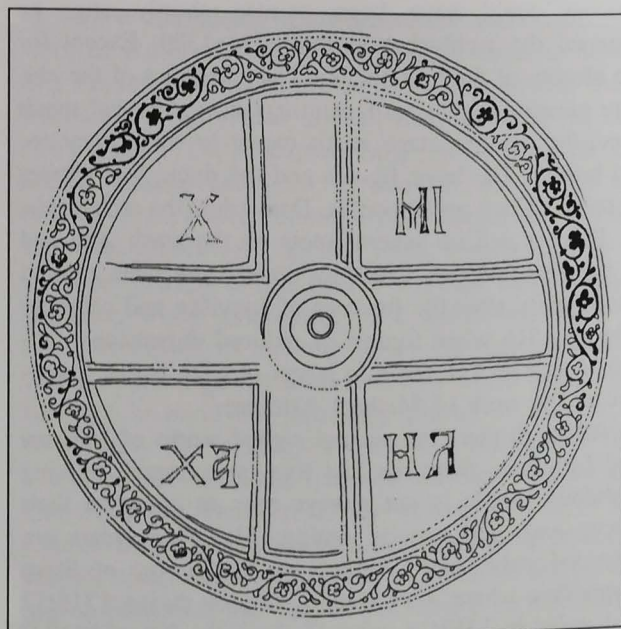
A great deal of previous experience, in particular that gained from Bogorodica Ljeviška, together with the new knowledge, the source of which can not be precisely determined, are responsible for the creation of another successful ensemble of wall paintings by Michael and Eutykhios, this time at Nagoričino. They accommodated hundreds of compositions and thousands of images in a building of complex architectural features. At the same time, the numerous compositions which differed from their earlier Prizren frescoes in the appearance of both the human figure and its surroundings, in style fluctuation and quality, in a subdued and more uniform colouration, blended finely into one another.³⁷ Although the Nagoričino frescoes are very close to some of the best contemporary Byzantine works, they still impart occasional flashbacks of the early years of Michael and Eutykhios and their energetic and unpolished style of those days with its expressive drawing and raw colours. This becomes evident once the first impression of serenity and order sets in and the frescoes are examined with greater scrutiny and considered in view of the chronological sequence and stylistic development of the works produced by the two artists between 1295 and 1317 and later. Although iconographically and visually greatly altered in comparison with their earlier creations, the



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Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška,

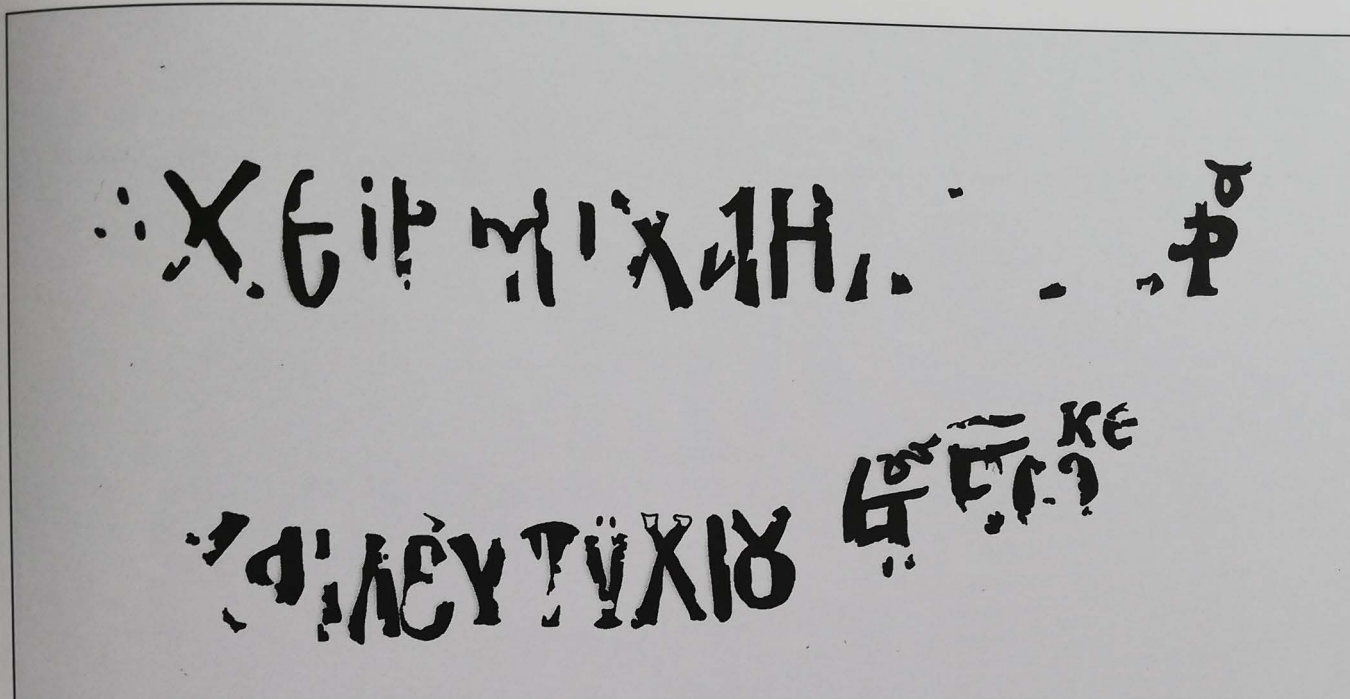
Inscription with the name of the protomagister Astrapas, 1309–1313



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St. Prochor of Pčinja,

Inscription with the name of the painter Michael, around 1315



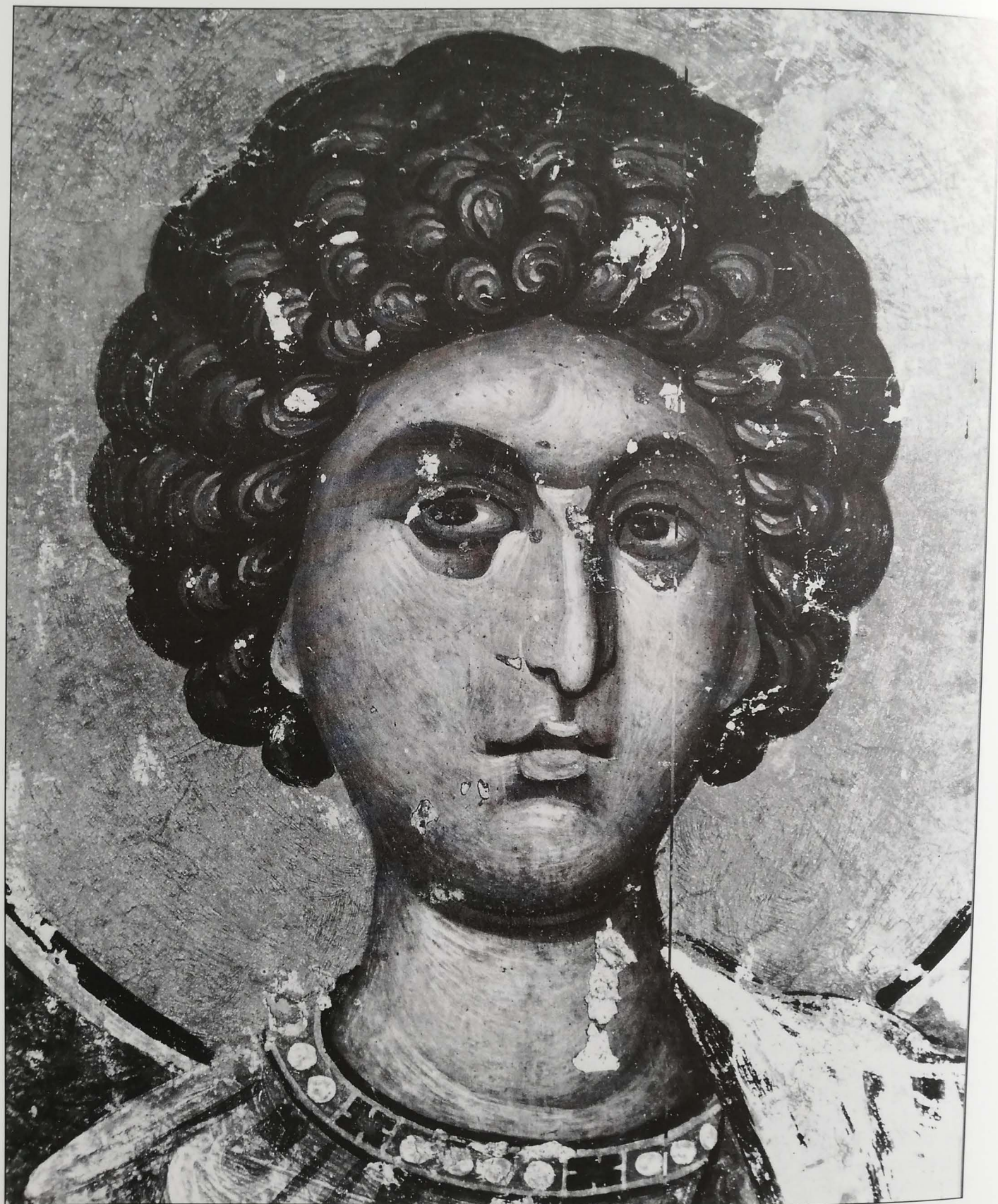
136
 Staro Nagoričino, Signature of the painter Michael on the shield of St. Alexander
 and the signatures of the painters Michael and Eutykhios on the chiton of St. Theodore Teron, 1315–1317

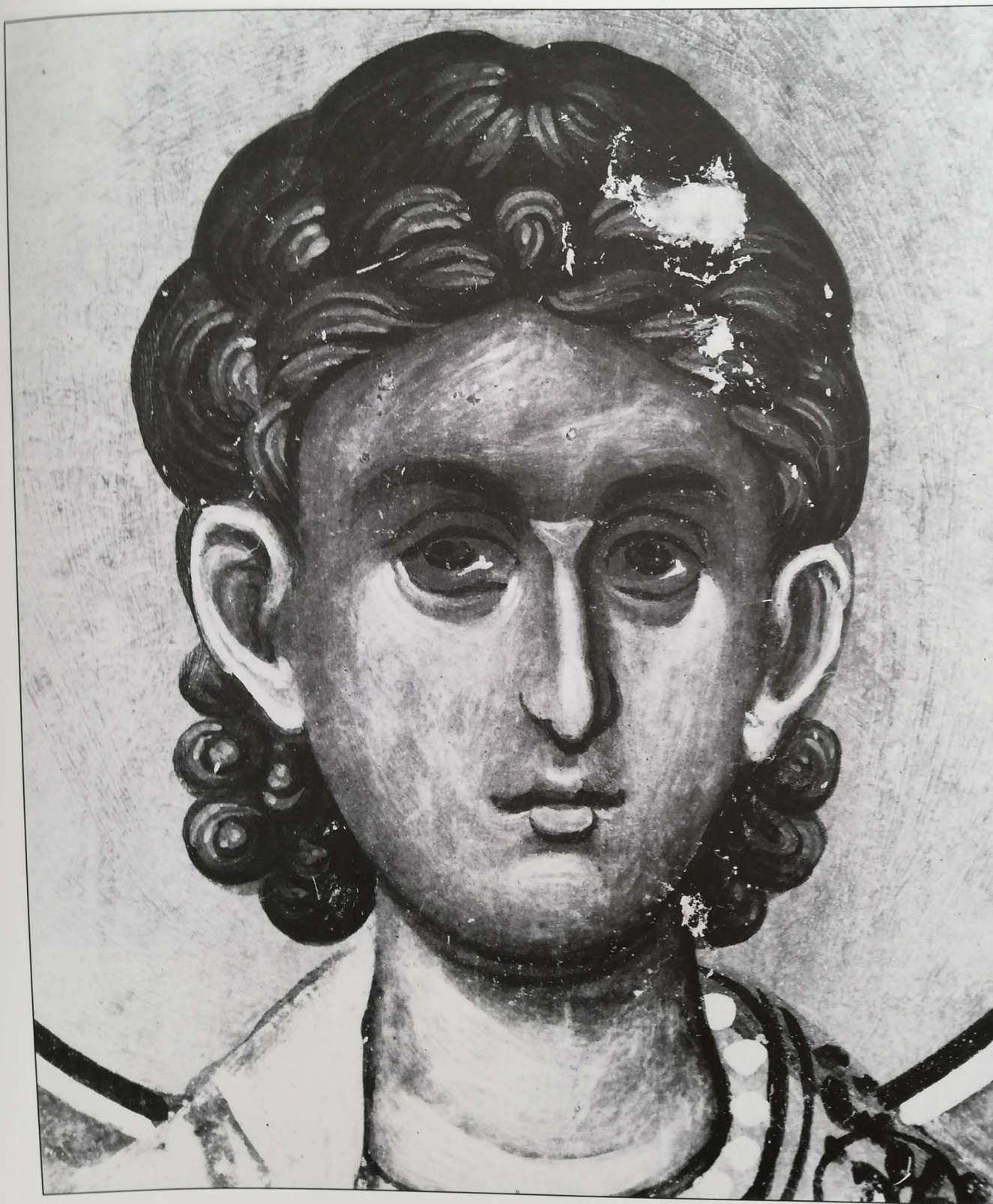
Nagoričino wall paintings are precisely the indicators of the direction their art was taking.

They show how closely related Michael and Eutykhios were to the heritage of older art but at the same time how they abandoned this tradition gradually and transformed its visual features. Judging by what has remained of the Great Feasts in Nagoričino it is obvious that they represent an interesting mixture of forms from the early stages in their career and solutions they found in the new art. The Entry into Jerusalem, for example, represents the third phase in the line of development of this scene in Palaiologan art with its major milestones in the Virgin Peribleptos (1294/95) and the Holy Apostles of Thessaloniki (1312–1315). The tension typical of these Thessalonikan mosaics was eased up by subduing the line while reminiscences of the Peribleptos enriched the setting with a distant, drawn out landscape. At the same time, simpler solutions, with figures of stressed movement in the foreground, replaced the earlier confusion of picture planes. In general, on most of the scenes in Nagoričino, including the Entry into Jerusalem, the Dormition and others, things happened as the artists went along, as a combination of incidental occurrences, which gives these compositions an air of direct-

ness and even a certain charm of improvisation. The rules of any classicist art trend – a reduction in the number of figures and their careful disposition within a composition based on geometric structure and symmetry – were observed only partly in the case of Nagoričino and seem to have affected the Deposition from the Cross, the Supper at Emmaus or the Communion of the Apostles. In the Mocking of Christ, for example, a balanced compositional scheme was filled with a large number of figures. In other cases, classicist solutions were attained by harmonising the masses of the architectural backdrops and the landscape.

Compared with the frescoes of Bogorodica Ljeviška, the wall paintings of Nagoričino reveal that their authors had finally made a decision to paint slim figures of reduced dimensions and to place them in surroundings marked by a multitude of space indicators. The features of this new style of Michael and Eutykhios are just as easily spotted in the beautifully painted cycle of the Resurrection Appearances. Beginning with the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, a subject to which these painters devoted great attention both before and after Nagoričino (in St. Prochor of Pčinja or Gračanica), emotions are constantly heightened – from the moment the myrrh bearing women inform the apostles of Christ's resurrection and the hurried





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Staro Nagoričino, *St. Benjamin*, 1315–1317

pace of the disciples following Christ to Emmaus to the moment when, at the empty table at Emmaus, the rhythm becomes tranquil and the scene of Christ breaking up the bread is given a solemn, liturgical mien. Still, Michael and Eutychios did not remain untouched by the taste for storytelling typical of early XIV century painters, the tendency to amass large numbers of figures and many picturesque details and to introduce prologues and epilogues explaining the depicted events. In Nagoričino this is most evident in the details related to the Sea of Galilee. The many years of experience and the emulation of the best works from Thessaloniki and Constantinople provided a reliable guideline for the two artists which made it possible for their talent and skill to reach classicist forms. Thus, in Nagoričino, pictures of reduced format were filled with a different sort of imagery, with meticulously rendered details of interiors, clothes or weapons which would occasionally impart an ornamental feeling, as in some of the scenes of the Passion cycle and the cycle of St. George. This impression is only enhanced by the architectural backdrop, always rendered in the background, decorated with ornamental patterns and a series of arches, openings, niches, porticoes and columns, vellums and annexes of undefined structure. In Nagoričino, namely, a single horizontal wall decorated with cornices of gesims, small corbels and openings runs continually in the background of all the episodes of the undivided cycles. Particular events within the cycles are set apart by especially highlighted portions of this wall used also to place emphasis on the conceptual focus of the picture. For these reasons the architectural backdrop rises to great heights, overtowering the human figure and practically closing up the scene completely. The best artists of the day, and often even Michael and Eutychios themselves, were careful to avoid such a treatment of architectural backdrops. In Nagoričino, as in Ljeviška, these two artists relied on Hellenistic and Early Christian models in draping the openings with curtains and filling the facades and lunettes with figural reliefs and grisaille masks. They must have had some works from Thessaloniki or Constantinople looming before their eyes as pre-eminent models not only while they were painting these buildings with marble floors, porticoes filled with figures and decorated with ornaments but also while they were working on the quite beautiful landscapes which number among the most accomplished works of their kind in late Byzantine painting. The rolling hills are covered with trees and lush grass (like Gethsemane in the

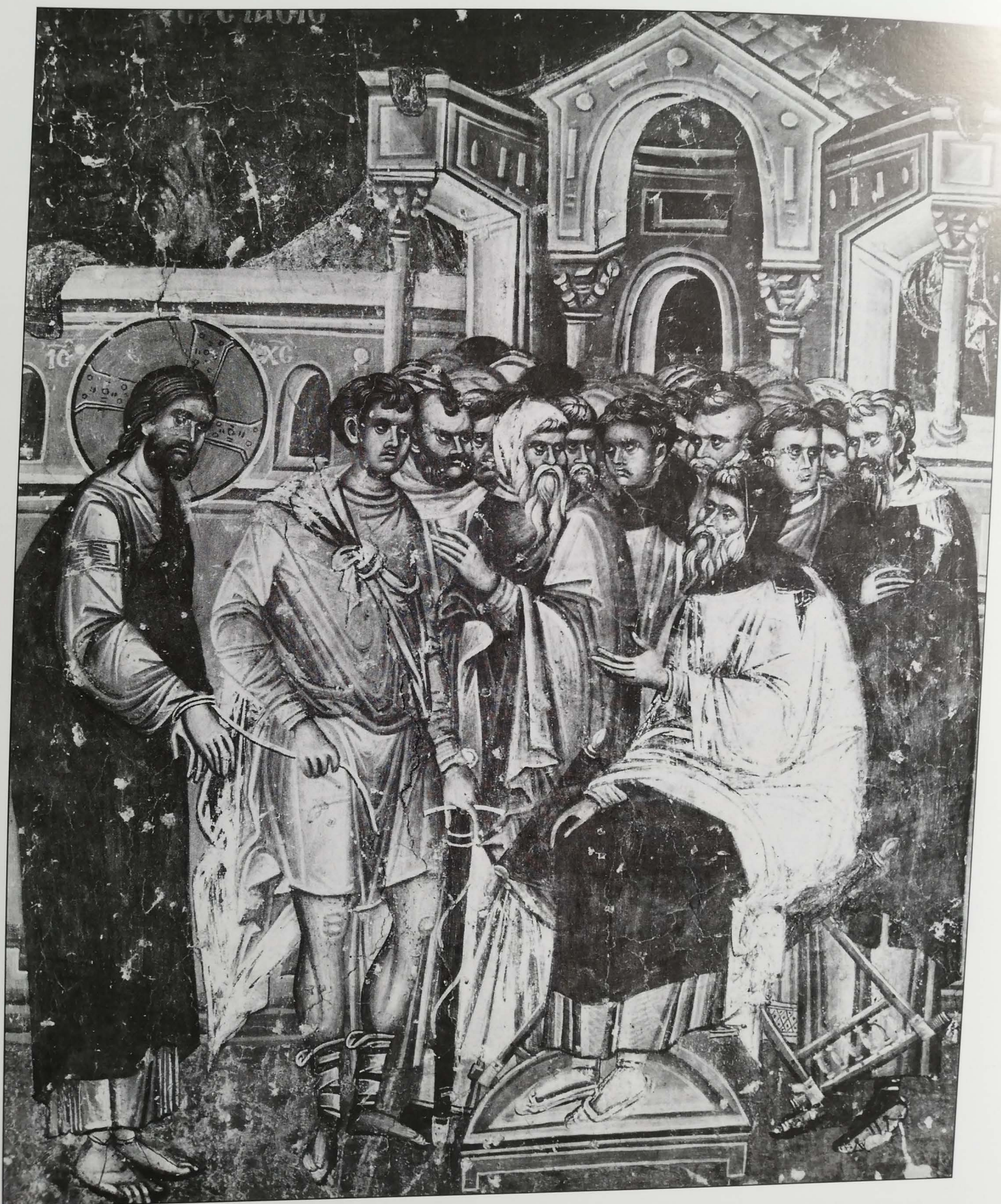




Dormition), rendered in green and violet, with darkened slopes (as in the Road to Calvary and the Ascent of the Cross), shimmering rocks in the background and cypress trees. These elements were consistently used by the two artists for the first time in Nagoričino. They also appear in other major monuments of Palaio-logan art – fine parallels are to be found in the Chora in Constantinople – which in itself is an indication that in their later works Michael and Eutychios approached quite closely the manner of painting of Constantinopolitan artists.

In comparison with Bogorodica Ljeviška, Nagoričino displays a different, more uniform treatment of the human figure, the drawing is more solid and the colouration based on subdued hues more experienced. The frescoes in the upper registers of the naos are closest to those of Ljeviška, the Pantokrator in the main dome, for example, is dressed in a light violet hiton and a blue himation, his striking face is still predominated by a rosy colour which gradually passes into red on the cheekbones, his forehead and cheeks lit by a strong light. The format of other figures in the upper registers of the church is also large and they present most clearly the spirit of the transitional phase of the artists from Bogorodica Ljeviška: the prophet Joel in the main dome and Abraham, Solomon or the evangelist Luke in the corner domes are depicted with a greater degree of plasticity and with more pronounced shadows. In the cycles located in the upper parts of the naos one can still come across faces painted in a hurried and even crude manner, their drawing rather unpolished and their appearance far from classical – for example those of Luke and Cleopas telling the apostles of their encounter with Christ at Emmaus as well as those of the personages in the Washing of the Feet, the Last Supper, some parts of the cycle of St. George on the south wall or certain days of the calendar. Straying from a fine and polished manner of painting is most frequent in the lateral spaces flanking the altar. There we find an awkward rendering of architecture, large figures, occasionally with anatomical deformations, thick contours and broad, dull surfaces. It is therefore possible that the cycle of St. Nicholas is the work of one of the assistants of Michael and Eutychios. The frescoes in the prothesis are far better and, in certain instances (the Blessings of the Three Priests or Zachary Praying Before the Rods of the Suitors), irresistibly reminiscent of the first works of these two painters from the Ohrid church of the Peribleptos.

The painters of Nagoričino produced some far





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Staro Nagoričino, *Trial before Pilate*, detail, 1315–1317

more successful and progressive paintings in the lowest register of the church: the half-figures of the bishops have an air of portraiture about them, the authors of the liturgy are treated in a more serene manner, the brush strokes are more uniform and finely blended. Hence, in comparison with the earlier works of Michael and Eutychios, those from the Peribleptos or Ljeviška, the wall paintings of Nagoričino are subdued in expression while the striking plasticity of flesh is softened. Only the most prominent parts of the faces have retained the thin, curved strokes of reddish ochre. In addition to that, in the altar of Nagoričino Michael and Eutychios turned towards a free use of broad strokes of white, blue and brown which they employed in the modelling of hair and beards as they had already done at Ljeviška, only now within a picture of considerably changed structure. Similar transformations appear on some of the frescoes in the naos. The stern and energetic face of patriarch Jacob, for example, is still reminiscent of the Peribleptos but the colouration is cooler and his physical strength transformed into a focused spiritual expression. The holy warriors in the naos are even more explicit in indicating the direction which the late works of Michael and Eutychios were taking – these handsome young men of elegant physiques, slim legs and slender waists, graceful gestures and fancy poses, their weapons and clothes rendered in the most meticulous manner, could well be included in the chosen circle of supreme creations of early XIV century classicism. The faces of the young holy warriors and martyrs, Demetrios, Procopios and Orestes, James the Persian, Georgios Gorgos and Eutychios, are depicted in the manner of icon painting, with broad surfaces of pale pink and light green. Fine transitions in colouring were achieved by placing coats of different colours one upon the other while the bright parallel strokes on the neck, arms, below the eyes and on the forehead only underlined the general effect of plasticity. After many years of experience and adaptation to the leading trend in Byzantine art, Michael Astrapas and Eutychios entered their most mature phase which overlapped chronologically with the emergence of classicism in early XIV century Constantinopolitan painting.

The frescoes of Kraljeva crkva at Studenica represent the zenith of their creation and were apparently painted immediately after the completion of those in Nagoričino.³⁸ Reminiscences of the Peribleptos and the still strong influence of the Prizren Ljeviška church, detected in Nagoričino, are almost entirely faded in Studenica. The unquestionably rich experience of







Michael and Eutychios was transformed and ennobled while, on the level of artistic merit, it almost equalled the mosaics and frescoes of the Chora in Constantinople (1315–1320). In this tiny Studenica church, the programme of which was abridged in comparison with Nagoričino, Michael and Eutychios focused on the pictorial image as a pure work of art. Lifting off the burden of excessive narration, they fashioned it as an icon, breathing classicism into the stances, movements and expressions of the figures and carefully blending colours into one another in order to create a serene, solemn and at the same time serious atmosphere. Every single element in Studenica is imbued with order and tranquillity and nothing is excessive, aggressive or

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Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Meeting of Joachim and Anne*, 1318–1319

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Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Birth of the Virgin*, 1318–1319



accidental. With the frescoes of Kraljeva crkva there emerged once again in Serbia, after fifty years, a work of perfect expression, poised and unhampered by stylistic vacillation.³⁹ Sporadically, it had been heralded by some of the frescoes from Bogorodica Ljeviška and even more by the wall paintings of Nagoričino, especially those from the lower registers of the church. The style in which they finished off the decoration of Nagoričino, Michael and Eutychios transferred to Studenica, unfolding it on all the walls and perfecting the final touches in its fashioning.

The experience of the artists is displayed here by the ease with which they distributed the figures in the compositions and enriched the scenes with citations

from Hellenistic heritage. Still, under closer scrutiny these frescoes do reveal an occasional ineptness of the painters, in some of the more coarse profiles or awkwardly rendered parts of the anatomy, but at the same time they also include such details as the picturesque gesture of infant Christ in the Nativity, the gracefulness with which the young girls in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple hold their candles or the natural movement of evangelist Matthew as he dips his quill into the inkwell. Following the custom of their day, here, too, the painters introduced a large number of personages to the scenes and enriched them with landscape and architectural backdrops, in the form which they had devised in their earlier works,



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Studenica, Kraljeva crkva, *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, detail, 1318–1319





Nagoričino in particular. The best example of their utterly artistic approach to the composition is the Birth of the Virgin – a painting which, in its different strata, reveals the presence of antique heritage, customs adopted from court ceremonies and personal experience of the artists all assembled in a new manner into a whole of the highest artistic qualities. The architectural backdrop in Kraljeva crkva is always rendered in inverse perspective, with no single vantage point and without the massive constructions which appeared in the earlier works of Michael and Eutychios. Naturally, in accordance with the essence of Byzantine pictorial representation, this architecture was not intended to convey the actual appearance of a particular building

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Studenica, Kraljeva crkva,
 Christ, St. Joachim and St. Anne with the Virgin, 1318–1319

but rather to close off the scene and suggest movement by the way it extended – as in the Communion of the Apostles and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple – or accentuate either a group of figures or just a single person by its rhythmical upsurging. In Studenica, this architectural backdrop was pierced with openings and surmounted by elegant balconies with railings, open porticoes with slender columns and velums. Different picture planes were achieved and a third dimension implicated by the presence of low cut walls while the entire picture was finished off by cypress trees shimmering against a dark blue sky, like those which Michael and Eutychios had begun to paint in their previous works, more precisely – beginning with Nagoričino.

As they had already done in that church, in Studenica these two artists put all the characters in movement, only here their pace is less hurried, rather moderate and solemn and their gestures more natural and gentle. Hence, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple assumes the appearance of a ceremonial procession of young girls approaching the Temple and the High Priest in stately rhythm. The girls of the Virgin's entourage in the centre of the composition seem to have paused for a moment, engaged in elegant conversation, communicating with one another simply by an exchange of meaningful glances and a gentle inclination of the head so that their slow movement and reserved gestures give the impression that they had been copied from Greek or Roman reliefs. All in all, the general atmosphere of temperance and the sheer beauty of artistic treatment represent the highest qualities of these Studenica frescoes while the contrasts which were still occasionally present in Nagoričino are entirely abandoned. The warm, sonorous tones are harmonised with the deep and cool nuances while transitions in colouring are achieved either by using white or a colour which contains both adjoining tones. The especially beautifully rendered youths have become a symbol of Studenica's art and, indeed, the young girls in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, with their round and chubby faces of perfect features, resemble angels and are even more charming than their counterparts from Nagoričino.

The intimate atmosphere of the church interior is practically transferred to the wall paintings of clearly defined themes and small dimensions. Everything about them is carefully and thoroughly executed – the human figures, the landscape, the architecture, elements of interior fittings, the adornments on the clothes and even the ornaments. They disclose not only an emula-

tion of X and XI century models but also the presence of Hellenistic tradition, obvious in the renderings of the evangelists on the pendentives, the Annunciation to Anne or the Birth of the Virgin which are either surrounded by or filled with grisaille representations of lion masks, Oceanus and human figures in the form of embossed ornaments of the painted architecture which resemble the actual reliefs that once adorned Roman buildings and their entrances.

Some of the most beautiful paintings in this church are located in the lowest register. King Milutin, for example, is shown carrying a large model of his church, dressed in a richly ornamented diveteson and sporting a jewelled crown on his head while his face, in accordance with Byzantine conceptions adopted in Serbian society, differs from those of the saints and is painted almost exclusively in pink and ochre, as seen already in Ljeviška and Nagoričino. The king's personal features are captured quite precisely, his long, narrow nose, pressed lips, eyebrows and eyelids drooping much more than in Nagoričino while his beard seems to be the same length although with more greys. Thus, the representative stance and the multitude of authentically registered features make this one of the best portraits of king Milutin.

Although these frescoes from Studenica give the impression of uniformity in style and artistic quality, it is quite easy to divide them into two different groups created, respectively, by the two artists, however unusual this may seem after so many years of co-operation between Michael and Eutychios. One of them painted the enthroned Virgin in the apse, the Communion of the Apostles, the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, the two final scenes in the cycle of the Virgin, the Ascension and the individual figures in the altar space, as well as several prophets in the dome above the naos (among them Isaiah, Elijah and Habakkuk), the evangelists Matthew and John on the pendentives, most of the half-figures of the Old Testament righteous on the perimeter of the dome, the Meeting of Joachim and Anne, the Birth of the Virgin, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the Dormition, almost all the images in the windows and saints in the lowest register – all in the naos. The other artist produced the Celestial Liturgy, the evangelists Luke and Mark, most of the half-figures and single figures on the north wall, the Baptism, Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, the first three scenes of the cycle of the Virgin and also the Caressing of the Infant Mary and the Blessings of the Three Priests. Some of the frescoes – the Nativity, Transfiguration and Descent into Hades – he painted

together with the first and better artist, probably the protomagister of the group, who worked on the larger and more conspicuous wall surfaces. His handwriting is easily recognised: he used green for underpainting, illuminating it in all the accentuated spots with a light ochre while finishing off his paintings with strokes of brown, red and white applied with a thin brush. Sometimes, as in the Dormition, he would make a series of dots next to a nose or use a nervous reddish line in the modelling of facial features, typical of all the frescoes of Michael and Eutychios. The other artist was not quite as good as the first because he was not successful in harmonising warm and cool colour tones – instead, he would rather use a reddish ochre as the basis and then create strong contrasts with broad olive shadows. He preferred yellow, green and pale violet while linearism, or rather intertwined lines play a more prominent role in his drawing. He was obviously slower in abandoning the habits of his youth, although he did strive to model his manner of painting and the appearance of his images on the works of the leading artist of the group.⁴⁰

In short, the rise of Michael and Eutychios reached its zenith in Studenica, the elements of the transitional style (large figures, awkward stances and colour contrasts), which, despite all transformations, persisted in their work all the way to Nagoričino, were finally cleared away. In Studenica, the drawing was cleansed of all ineptness, fresh, finely rounded youthful faces became predominant, colours were more harmonious and there was a gentle preference for cooler tones, composition was subjected to the rules of symmetry and a balance of masses was established. Considering the fact that, at that time, the work of Constantinopolitan artists in the Chora and that of Georgios Kalliergis in Veria was very similar to theirs, with the frescoes they produced in Studenica, Michael and Eutychios joined the ranks of some of the best painters of the second decade of the XIV century.

It seems that right after Studenica the two artists began working on the imposing task of decorating yet another church raised by king Milutin – Gračanica, the see of the bishops of Lipljan. Once again, after Nagoričino, they faced hundreds of square meters of wall surfaces in this church of harmonious but complex architectural features, with five domes, a narthex, an ambulatory and parekklesia flanking the altar, which is why, for the most part, they repeated the programme of Nagoričino, thus only underlining the similarities between these two churches. Hence, Kraljeva crkva, with its small, harmonious and well lighted space, and

not so complex subject matter, seems to be only a short pause in the artistic production of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios which enabled them to concentrate more on pictorial issues such as a balanced composition, clear colours and attractive drawing. Despite the fact that there are no preserved signatures in Gračanica, its fresco decoration is unquestionably the work of these two artists – although here, too, as in other cases, they certainly had assistants – as indicated by a frequent appearance of solutions and specific details typical of their earlier art. The already noted tendency of Michael and Eutychios to transform their work from monument to monument, although each church remained an individual, clearly defined facet of their common path of development, resulted in Gračanica in the emergence of many new solutions. A change of painting technique contributed considerably to this phenomenon. They relied less and less on incising the drawing into the mortar base and abandoned the pure fresco technique while introducing the use of glue.⁴¹

Frescoes in the upper parts of the church represent the true link between Gračanica and the earlier churches of Milutin's era – the further down the artists went the more they changed their manner of painting. The connection with Kraljeva crkva or Nagoričino is noticeable immediately in the skill with which the artists tackled the vast and complex church interior and the numerous identical formulations in both iconography and style. Together with the altogether new, there are details adopted from previous works of Michael and Eutychios, even as distant as those from the Virgin Peribleptos of Ohrid, although these reminiscences are usually limited to the outward appearance. The constant tendency of these artists and their contemporaries to create complex pictorial images persisted in Gračanica, too, and brought about substantial iconographic changes to the standard formulations of certain themes. The introduction of a large number of figures and their new disposition resulted in an altered structure and appearance of the Marriage at Cana, Raising of Lazarus, Descent into Hades, Dormition and other scenes. These changes did not always affect the very core of the traditional image but, within the framework of different concepts, they did result in new and interesting creations. Symmetry, an important means in modelling classicist compositions, was much more deftly applied in the decoration of Kraljeva crkva while in Gračanica it was never as prominent and appeared mostly in the scenes which were constantly before the eyes of the faithful, such as Wisdom Hath Built Her House and the Hospitality of Abraham, on



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Gračanica, *St. John the Prodigal*, 1319–1321

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Gračanica, *Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria*, 1319–1321

either side of the apse. Compositions such as these two, with carefully arranged figures and a harmonious relation of the architectural masses in the background, are to be found in other parts of the church as well, particularly in the cycle of Christ's Teachings, the Last Supper, Transfiguration and elsewhere. The Descent into Hades, the Raising of Lazarus or the Dormition of the Virgin show that in Gračanica the two artists achieved best results in larger-scale compositions involving a multitude of figures. They were skilled in weaving numerous details into quite compact wholes through the use of spatial and compositional qualities of architectural backdrops and landscape and by differentiating the hierarchy of personages not only





according to their importance but also by the use of purely artistic means. In the monumentally conceived Descent into Hades, for example, they placed Christ in the very centre of the composition and arranged the other elements of the picture symmetrically around him so that they appear to radiate from the conceptual focus of the painting. Although a similar scheme was used in creating the large-scale Dormition involving nearly a hundred figures, this scene is still largely based on earlier experiences of the two artists.

There are also other successful compositions among the multitude of frescoes in Gračanica. Some are based on the diagonal scheme – the Raising of Lazarus or Agony in the Garden – others on a gradation of picture planes (the Denial of Peter), a circular distribution of figures around a table (Marriage at Cana), their pyramidal arrangement in pairs or groups of threes (Descent from the Cross) or tight connection with the architectural backdrop and landscape as in the Sacrifice of Abraham, the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple or Christ Before Annas. At the same time, in Gračanica, as in older art, each scene was painted as a separate picture, framed either by an ornamental band, a red border or an actual physical, architectural frame, but still remained conceptually and iconographically attached to a certain cycle or a broader circle of themes.

The classicism which pervaded Serbian art was equally present in other frescoes of Gračanica. Picture-sque scenes, an occasional dramatic accent or pathos, fluttering draperies and unencumbered stances permeated the picture. In the Last Judgement the nude figures of both men and women are anatomically perfectly correct and the animals rendered with a sense of naturalism. The Vision of Peter of Alexandria is sophisticated, there is a transparent loincloth wrapped around the naked body of Christ. The faces of the Virgin, the angels and the youthful saints are often beautiful, well groomed and attractive. Meanwhile, the faces of the prophets in the dome, the evangelists, Old Testament righteous or John the Prodromos in the apse have retained the treatment seen in earlier works of Michael and Eutychios – in order to enhance the effect of plasticity and to stress their expressiveness they are segmented into facets. Still, together with such aristocratic, beautiful and striking characters, in Gračanica, and especially in the altar space, we also find plebeian types, lacking any academism or formal beauty.

A gradual subduing of the colour scheme, its growing uniformity and a gentle predominance of cooler nuances – which we can trace in the work of Michael

and Eutychios beginning with Bogorodica Ljeviška and through Nagoričino and Kraljeva crkva – continues in the decoration of Gračanica. The robes worn by the saints are depicted in pure colours and with broad patches of light but their flesh is rendered in cooler shades with green and white dominating the Last Judgement. Although there are some frescoes in Gračanica which radiate with warmth, most often they were painted using light and transparent hues of green, yellow, blue and violet. Still, the standing figures of saints in the lowest register and the half-figures above them were rendered in a manner reminiscent of icon painting, meticulously and with a great degree of uniformity. Their faces are especially interesting in that sense, finished off in a rosy tone with an obvious desire to repeat the natural colouration of human physiognomy. Their cheekbones, noses, eyes, eyebrows and lips were modelled by thin reddish or brown lines. The portraits of king Milutin and queen Simonida were painted in a similar manner, although practically without any green at all so that a shaded pale pink hue became predominant on their faces.

Variations of this sort can not always be ascribed to the distinct handwritings of the artists, although it is certain that there were several of them at work on the decoration of Gračanica, because even the small-scale interior of Kraljeva crkva shows that they did not divide up ahead between them the space which they were going to decorate, least of all zone by zone. And even though they all synchronised their manner of painting to a considerable extent, it is not difficult to discern their distinct and personal characteristics.⁴² Thus, the works of one of the best painters appear in several places in the church: he certainly painted the Pantokrator and several prophets in the dome, the evangelists on the pendentives, prophets Ezekiel, Sophoniah, Isaiah, Joel, Aaron and Moses high up on the piers, some of the most beautiful scenes of the Feasts – certainly the Annunciation, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Descent into Hades and most of the Dormition – as well as several representations of the Sermons of Christ and the Passion and Resurrection lections on the south wall. We find his works again in the altar (the Virgin in the apse, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and several other scenes from the cycle of the Virgin) and in the south parekklesion where he is credited with the more accomplished frescoes such as the Teachings of Christ, Eliah in the Desert, the Calming of the Storm, the Burning Bush and the holy monks in the lowest register. All these frescoes stand apart for their complex compositions

and solid drawing, a rich palette, fine transitions between colour tones and beautiful harmonies between warm and cool hues. They are far from decorative, there is not much use of ornamental drawing and strong contrasts of light and shadow.

The second painter worked mostly in the north part of the naos and the parekklesion of St. Nicholas (where he produced only the figure of John the Prodromos and several individual figures), the altar – his are the Old Testament scenes – and the narthex, certainly on the north portion of the Last Judgement and perhaps on the portraits of historical figures. In the naos he also painted the holy women, some of the holy warriors, St. Sava the Serbian and Constantine and Helena. He is distinguished by cooler colours, his figures are quite plastic and display a depth of pictorial substance. Because of a strong emanation of green from the base coat, they are pervaded by broad surfaces of cool colour which could not be surpressed by the finishing stokes of the translucent and warmer top coat of colour. In his best works – such as St. John the Prodromos, the Last Judgement, the holy women and warrior saints on the north wall – this painter displays a fine sense of movement and an ability to animate the figures out of their immobile stances. He breathed an air of comeliness and sophistication into the figures of the holy women and rendered the lustre of their gold-embroidered robes. He did not, however, overplay his sense of the ornamental so that the holy warriors he painted (St. Mercurios above all), although decked out with all their weaponry and many picturesque costume elements, were actually anatomically perfect figures of unencumbered movement captured as if in a freeze-frame.

A third type of pictorial image emerges occasionally in Gračanica in the Last Judgement, Dormition and the Trial of Christ before Annas as well as in the Annunciation above the apse of the south parekklesion and on some of the individual figures, especially the holy warriors on the south wall of the naos. Their author cultivated a more expressive drawing and deeper shadows which create stronger contrasts with the lighted surfaces. Hence, the faces of his saints are more relief-like while the absence of finer colour blending gives them an air of ruggedness and an almost sculptural quality.

All the variations observed in the fresco decoration of Gračanica are the result of personal conceptions of the artists but they never grew to an extent which could encumber the uniformity of the whole, owing probably to the use of established iconographic models, a decisive influence of the leading artist and an

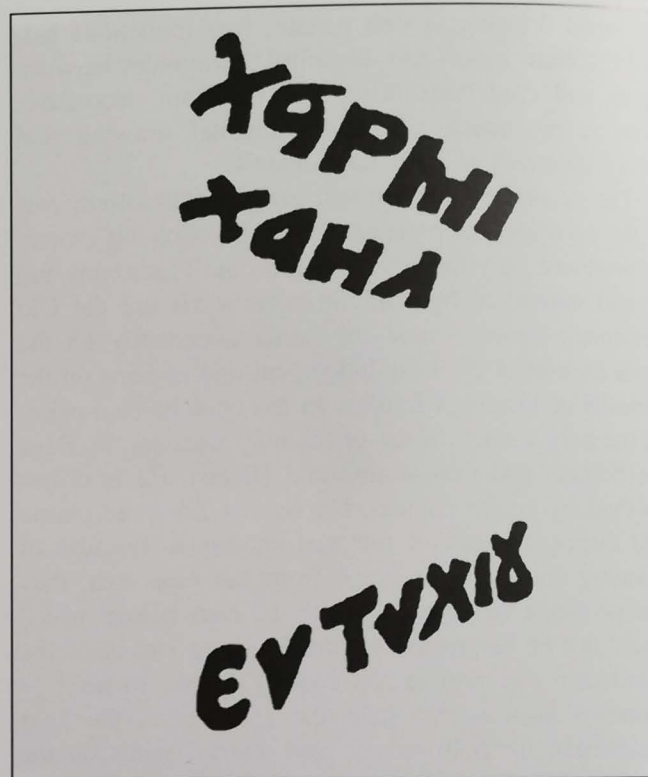
intentional tendency of the painters to assimilate their manner of work. What remained after this intentional conformation of individual style to the whole was an expression of personal talent, technical prowess and pictorial structuring. The less able artists, despite their desire to emulate the work of the better painters, were not always successful in adjusting to the requirements of uniform expression. One of them was the painter who created the images of Sts. Epymachos and Clement in the south parekklesion and another the rather poor author of the cycle of St. Nicholas who had no sense of refined colouration which made his drawing seem a little naive, his composition empty and the architectural backdrop awkward.

The two leading artists of Gračanica could be identified as Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios, based on what we know about them from their signed works or those ascribed to them with certainty.⁴³ Their frescoes are not only the most numerous in Gračanica but also the ones displaying the best qualities. The solid drawing permeated with academism, the large-scale and harmonious compositions and the balanced colouration disclose such skill and experience which, it seems, only Michael and Eutykhios could have possessed in Serbia of those days. The great extent to which Gračanica relies on Nagoričino, in iconography, and on Studenica, in both iconography and style, could be explained only by the continual development of the work of these two artists. Along with many similar solutions found in Nagoričino, Studenica and Gračanica, sometimes practically identical and, as in the case of saint types, recurrent, in these churches there are also certain elements of a personal style of both Michael and Eutykhios. They include dot-pattern shading by the line of the nose, thick, bushy eyebrows rendered in many strokes and a way of facetting flesh which, in the final works, no longer encumbered the tectonics of the faces. All these elements combined, from the system of decoration, the recurrent iconographic formulas and saint types to painting technique, make it possible to conclude that, following Nagoričino (1316–1317/18) and Studenica (probably 1318 or 1319), these artists painted the frescoes of Gračanica between 1319 and 1321.

The fresco decoration of the church of St. Nikita near Skoplje is, unquestionably, another creation of the same artists who signed their names on the shield of St. Theodore Teron. Most probably, they belong to the final phase of their career, falling, chronologically, immediately after the frescoes of Gračanica.⁴⁴ These frescoes display the highest degree of academism in

the development of style of Michael and Eutychios, a phenomenon first noted in Gračanica.⁴⁵ The walls of this middle-sized church received a perfectly distributed extensive programme which includes a cycle of the Feasts and representations of liturgical lections related to Christ's teachings, miracles, Passion and Resurrection appearances, together with a multitude of individual figures and several Old Testament scenes. It is obvious that Michael and Eutychios were able to further enrich the iconography of their paintings (Communion of the Apostles, Anapason, Holy Trinity, Dormition and other scenes) and to transpose their experience in artistic creation into new forms. These frescoes reveal the long and complex path of development of the two artists, full of changes and intentions to keep up with the current trends in the art of Constantinople and Thessaloniki. In St. Nikita, not a trace remains of the athletic figures in bold movement which were so typical of the Ohrid Peribleptos or the attractive, bedecked characters from Ljeviška. Instead, figures of saints of well studied stances and gestures – adjusted in size so as to feel closer to the beholder already in Nagoričino, Studenica and Gračanica – became smaller, more elongated and lighter. Moreover, compositions were utterly reduced in format thus only adding to the almost intimate atmosphere which pervaded St. Nikita. The gradual process of disencumbering the composition and reducing it to well balanced classicist forms reached its zenith in Kraljeva crkva and persisted in Gračanica and St. Nikita. At the same time, compositions were becoming more dynamic, all the participants were being shown in movement or in indication of movement so that the picture was gradually losing its representative guise. In St. Nikita, compositions of this type appear in the Last Supper or the Marriage at Cana, in which the characters seated around tables have their backs turned to the beholder and seem engaged in their personal conversations, suspicions and fears, as well as in the Purification of the Temple, Healing of the Woman with an Issue of Blood and the Dormition of the Virgin.

The new conception of the human figure and the tendency to subject it entirely to the interior structure and contents of the picture also affected the space around it. Painted architectural backdrops rose even higher, towering over the figures and even assuming tridimensional forms, owing mostly to the frequent protrusions in the shape of porticoes with slender columns (as in the representations of the evangelists, Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Last Supper, Marriage at Cana, Washing of the Feet and a series



of other scenes) and the disposition of the backdrops one in front of the other as in the Communion of the Apostles, Purification of the Temple and Dormition. Of course, these backdrops had no intention of being realistic, their symbolic value grew into a significant element of the picture which the artists treated almost with equal attention as the human figure. As such, they were far from bland and repetitious in form, size or perspective but rather imaginatively and freely shaped. On the frescoes of St. Nikita this backdrop reached the height of beautiful form filled with easy mixtures of quite realistic details and elements borrowed from the distant Hellenistic past, drawn freely from this heritage and fused into fantastic combinations. Along with the marble floors, columns and foliage capitels, edifices of basilical form and domes which appear to be true-to-life, here we find pediments of imaginary shapes, capitels in the form of lion heads, arches and vaults, fantastic multistorey constructions connected by vellums, draperies with ends tied around columns and rather undefined floral ornaments on the facades – all of which were only suggested in Gračanica. All these elements were painted with great care in order to create an illusion



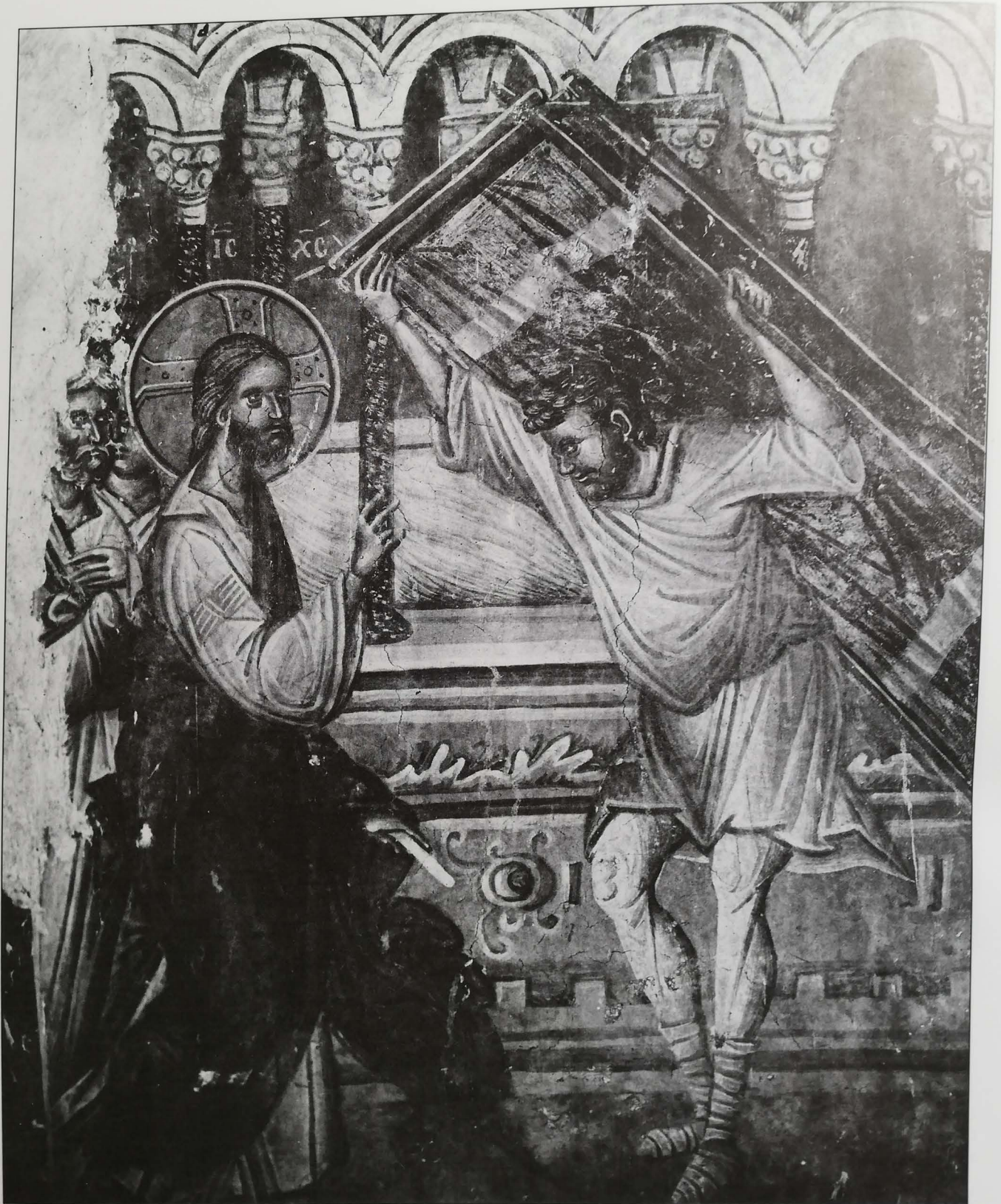
154
 Čučer, St. Nikita, Signature of Michael and Eutychios on the shield of St. Theodore Taron, around 1320

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 Gračanica, Menologion, detail: Elevation of the Holy Cross, 1319–1321

of a particular time and space. The wall paintings of St. Nikita represent the final and highest point which Michael and Eutychios, as two true representatives of Byzantine academism from around 1320, could reach in rendering a world in which the real is mixed with the imaginary and the imaginable with the fantastic, a world which had its own dimensions and its own logic of existence.

That world of unencumbered forms and relations provides a setting for human figures engrossed entirely in their actions, figures which communicate with one another more by meaningful glances than gestures, or pensive figures looking straight ahead. There are no signs of pathos on their faces, no strong emotions or majestic tranquillity, no ostentatious or affected expressions as in Ohrid, Prizren or Nago-ričino. Even in the most dramatic scenes such as the Purification of the Temple, Agony in the Garden or Deposition from the Cross emotions are subdued, expressed only by a slight grimace of upward curving lips, a gesture of a hand or a long, questioning glance. The bony faces of the aged saints with long, narrow beards are rather tired and gaunt while the younger men, often shown in profile or facing one another, retain some of the fervour as, for example, in the Purification of the Temple.

Compared with the frescoes of Gračanica, which are supposed to precede those of St. Nikita, these wall paintings display an even cooler colouration, especially on the south wall, while the transitions between hues are more striking. Brush strokes blend into broad surfaces of pastel tones, green shadows cover the faces with spots of warmer, translucent rosy shading restricted only to the cheekbones in a manner similar to the lower registers of the Gračanica naos. The characters which emerged in Studenica underwent significant alterations already in Gračanica. There, Christ – and not only Christ – did have an oval face of regular features in the upper zones but the further down the church walls we go we come across more elongated countenances with sharply pointed noses. This exact type of Christ is going to be painted throughout St. Nikita, along with a number of rugged profiles with deep shadows around the eyes, identical faces and similar stances. However, they were all more subdued and simplified, more polished and bland. The frescoes of St. Nikita offer the proof that the time of grand gestures and strong sensuality, seen in the Peribleptos, had passed together with the joy of creation which emerged in Ljeviška, the maturity which appeared in Studenica and the



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Čučer, St. Nikita, *Healing of the Paralytic*, around 1320



ease of painting displayed in Gračanica. Now, routine and skill dominate the picture with only an occasional sparkle of excitement and vigour.

Of course, even here Michael and Eutychios retained some of their personal characteristics which we have noticed already in Gračanica, Studenica or other churches which they decorated even earlier. Both artists kept their particular treatment of details within the whole, their figures became more similar, the painted architecture and draperies became uniform throughout the church. It seems that one of them actually worked more in the north and the other in the south part of the church, particularly in the space beneath the dome. The one working on the

north side was a better artist with a more sophisticated sense of the beauty of matter and the warmth of colour. His most accomplished works are the Purification of the Temple, Christ in the House of Martha and Mary, Healing of the Man with the Water Disease, Healing of the Paralytic and the central segments of the Communion of the Apostles and the Dormition. A number of figures in the lowest register can also be attributed to this master – the apostle Peter, archangel Michael, the Virgin and perhaps even St. Nicetas – as well as certain figures in the altar space such as Sts. Macarios and Clement of Rome, St. Andrew of Crete, Gregory the Theologian, Athanasios and Cyril of Alexandria. Warm colours dominates their faces, with red or rosy strokes on the cheekbones, around the eyes and on the earlobes, while the pale olive shadows appear to be far less prominent and the transitions between colour tones more gradual. It could be that this master was actually the leading artist of the group (Michael?), the most gifted, interesting and daring in accepting novelties. The touch of the second painter is most easily recognised on the figures of Sts. Theodore Teron, Sergios and Bacchus, most of the holy monks in the west part of the church and on the figures of Sts. Basil the Great, John Chrysostomos, Ignatios Theophoros and several other bishops in the altar. It seems that, in the upper zones of the naos, he painted most of the Feasts as well as the frescoes of the lower registers on the south wall and around the iconostasis, the apostles in the Communion of the Apostles and certain parts of the Dormition. This painter had a preference for landscapes of bright colours, figures showing a degree of deformity in the drawing, especially when rendered in profile, broader and less refined brush strokes and deep, dark shadows on the faces. His tendency to depict unusual gestures and daring movement – in the Last Supper or the Marriage at Cana – is not always backed up by a solid drawing so that, at times, his frescoes appear a little far-fetched and naive. Being inclined towards tonal painting from the very beginning, in the Peribleptos and Ljeviška, this painter (Eutychios?) further developed his technique in St. Nikita where his characters became entirely saturated with green while his brush stroke became almost invisible.⁴⁶

St. Nikita marks the close of the more than a decade long stay and engagement of Michael and Eutychios in Serbia. This could have happened around the time of king Milutin's death, or shortly after. The passing of the king meant the departure of a wealthy

ktetor. Also, the short but bloody feud over the succession to the throne and the death of archbishop Nikodim (1324), which issued thereupon, resulted in the dwindling of artistic activity. Did these new circumstances urge Michael and Eutychios to leave Serbia and continue their careers in another milieu? By the time they were engaged to decorate the church of St. Nikita they were already well into their mature years and it could just as well be that these frescoes represent the last work they painted together.

We only know that their stay in Serbia overlaps with the final and most mature stage of their career. With eyes wide open for the very best that the art of Thessaloniki and Constantinople had to offer, and showing great talent in adopting novelties, although always careful not to create too severe breaks with the style of painting they already cultivated, certainly enjoying the support of the most learned Serbs from both the Church and the Court which employed them, Michael and Eutychios left behind exceptional creations, a landmark in both Serbian and Byzantine art of the day. However much they changed over the years through which we can monitor their frescoes, especially those in Serbia, these painters were consistent in retaining certain personal traits which underwent little if any alteration. These characteristic details, we admit, can be followed owing first and foremost to their signed works, key in understanding their development. Their personal traits were not always an expression of the highest style nor a reflection of impeccable skill but this only made them more personal and easily recognisable. To varying extents, Michael and Eutychios immersed them into the classicist art they produced, even into that with a decisive air of academism, but these specific personal traits always shone through as a familiar leitmotif of their painting.

The emergence of the painters Michael and Eutychios whose art displayed such character was not unexpected in Serbia, a society which for over a century had already been cultivating art of the highest order, and their arrival was already heralded through the work of the fine artists who worked in the Holy Apostles at Peć or even those who were employed at Žiža. For nearly fifteen years the art of Michael and Eutychios set the standards for both the painters and the ktetors active in the Serbian milieu. Unquestionably, it played a significant role in forming its tastes and setting an example which certainly did not remain unechoed. We have already pointed out some of their anonymous associates who worked



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Čučer, St. Nikita, *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, around 1320

in Ljeviška, Studenica, Gračanica, and some of them may have gone on to decorate other churches in Serbia on their own.

The Works of Other Painters in Serbia

The flourishing of the arts probably drew other artists to king Milutin's state, too. They stayed there for shorter periods of time and their sojourn did not have such an impact as that of Michael and Eutychios although they, too, were engaged in decorating numerous churches and painting the icons housed in them, large-scale undertakings which probably also meant the involvement of local artists. Perhaps incidentally, their names have remained unknown and their works preserved in a much more modest scope. All the remaining frescoes of these painters were created during the last years of king Milutin's reign, at the close of the second decade of the XIV century.

In the oldest preserved endowment of the Serbian aristocracy, the church of the Virgin Hodegetria at Mušutište, raised by the treasurer (great *kaznac*) Jovan Dragoslav, there are only scant remains of the fresco decoration painted between 1315, the year the church was built, and 1320. Several half-figures of bishops in the north-west corner of the church testify that, at that time, the tastes of the aristocracy equalled those of the ruler and the highest ecclesiastical circles. The fact that the wall paintings of Mušutište stand solitary in the Serbian milieu indicates that the great *kaznac* Dragoslav managed to employ truly fine artists who showed an inclination to follow the main trends from around the year 1315. Namely, they produced large figures of emphasised contours which display occasional faults in the rendering of stances or certain details of the hands but are, nevertheless, pleasant in colouration, rather plastic in form and fresh in appearance. On the bishops in the altar, the final strokes of white paint were applied freely on the faces, hair and beards, and in their overall treatment a warm red and crimson were used to stress the ruddiness of the faces. Such a vibrant colouration, visible brush strokes and an astuteness in modelling forms was almost unique in contemporary Serbian art. The saints in the west part of the church are rendered in a somewhat different manner, although even there, on the wings of the angels, we find free brush strokes and a profusion of colour. The shadows on the faces of saints in this part of the church are pale green and light ochre while the gradual transitions from the lighted to the shaded



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Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim, *Annunciation*, detail: *the Virgin*, 1319-1320



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Mušutište, *Holy bishop*, around 1320



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Banjska, *Holy bishop*,
1317-1321



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Thessaloniki, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, *Angel-deacon*,
1315-1320

patches create uniform and finely formed shapes. At the same time, the cool colours of the faces are pleasantly harmonised with the intensive green and red on the clothes. Although the frescoes of Mušutište have no real counterparts in Serbian art, they do possess something of the freshness and directness displayed by the frescoes of Bogorodica Ljeviška.⁴⁷

The artists who were working on the restoration of the wall paintings in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul on the Lim at about the same time, more precisely between 1319 and 1321, were adherents of different conceptions. They were closer to Michael and Euty-chios not only because of the learnedness of their art but also because they adopted, as much as they could, of course, the same approach in the treatment of figures and compositions. Their paintings are reduced in format, the figures are elongated, with small heads, some, like that of the Virgin in the apse, quite beautifully rendered. Some unusual details appear on these frescoes: the Nativity, for example, is envisioned as a broad panoramic scene with freely distributed elements, agitated groups of figures in movement, shepherds shown with their backs turned to the beholder, wise men with oriental head-dresses and figures of various sizes within one composition. The ineptness of the painter in creating compositions which include a multitude of figures is also obvious in the Ascension and Descent into Hades, while the flaws in his drawing appear in other locations in the church, too: on the bulky physiques of the apostles and the massive edifices in the Pentecost, the violent outbursts of grief in the Raising of Lazarus, the non-classical proportions and facial features of Christ, the apostles and the Virgin which are occasionally reminiscent of the poorer of the two painters working in Kraljeva crkva. This artist devoted greatest attention to the treatment of the faces which he painted in the manner of icons, slowly and using coats of pale colours of cool translucence and broad, green shadows. Emulating great examples but with little skill and modest talent, painters of this sort and the art they produced were only a passing phenomenon in Serbian painting of the second decade of the XIV century.⁴⁸

One of the greatest gaps in the artistic heritage of king Milutin's era is certainly related to the loss of the fresco decoration which once stood on the walls of the church of St. Stephen at Banjska, the church which the king had designated as his tomb and the one to which he was most devoted – surely seeing to it that the best builders, stonemasons and painters be secured for its construction and embellishment. The

remains of the church, the refectory and other monastery edifices, only now re-emerging in the light of day, prove that this was truly so. In the words of archbishop Danilo II who says that Banjska was raised "as an image of the holy Virgin of Studenica" we detect the intention of king Milutin to make his funeral church similar to the eternal resting place of the holy founder of the dynasty, not only in form but also in richness and beauty. It is unquestionable that the service of excellent artists was procured for the execution of the wall paintings and, indeed, they decorated with frescoes not only the interior of the church but also the refectory and the monastery entrance. Probably in emulation of the royal mausolea of the king's ancestors, above all Studenica and Sopoćani, these frescoes had a golden background with a grid of fine lines, an imitation of mosaic tesserae, drawn on it. The gold which brightened the interior of the church at Banjska enthralled an unknown writer, probably in the XV century, to such an extent that he claimed that gold such as that of Banjska is not to be found anywhere else. The present remains of the frescoes from this monastery which, together with those in the refectory and the entrance tower, include fragments found in the prothesis, diaconicon and on the intrados of the arch west of the space beneath the dome in the main church, offer enough evidence for us to conclude that sometime between 1317 and 1321 Banjska received a fresco decoration of exceptional quality. Indeed, we shall not be too bold if we claim that no other church of king Milutin's had wall paintings which could equal those of Banjska. Only in the gallery chamber of Gračanica do we notice attempts to imitate the frescoes of Banjska but even there the wall paintings had a yellow instead of a golden background. On the other hand, in those days, medallions filled with half-figures of saints and interconnected by gold and red figure-eight bands remained entirely unique in Serbia and a solution rarely found in Byzantium, too. It was a sign of turning towards much more ancient models and of resurrecting the heritage of antiquity. Several preserved heads of holy bishops in the naos show that they were painted by an artist of considerable drawing skills and an even better feeling for colour. In the early XIV century images of this sort, with fleshy noses, a barely visible green shadow around their contours and white strokes on the prominent parts, and above all with a warm ochre of delicately blended nuances, could only be found in Constantinople, first and foremost in the south church of the St. Mary Pammakaristos, and in the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki. The modest remains

of the frescoes in Banjska make it difficult to form categorical conclusions but certainly do inspire thoughts that king Milutin had invited some artists from Constantinople to decorate his main endowment. No matter how close in spirit this warm, balanced and striking painting was to the best works of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios, in Serbia it remained isolated. This goes to prove that, at the beginning of the XIV century, Serbia was truly a meeting point of fine artists, above all those from Thessaloniki and, perhaps, some from Constantinople as well.⁴⁹

The Circle of Painters Around Georgios Kalliergis

Frescoes in Serbia which date from the first decades of the XIV century share a common stylistic expression, owing mostly to the activity of Michael and Eutychios whose work we have followed from the Prizren church of Bogorodica Ljeviška to that of St. Nikita near Skoplje, with all its changes and gradual maturing and its growing academisation of style. Their manner of painting played a decisive role in the formation of Serbian art of the day while some of the painters close to them, perhaps even their associates, actually decorated a series of other churches in Serbia. Only the frescoes which have remained in Sušica, the endowment of an unknown ktetor, and those in Banjska, the funeral church of king Milutin, indicate that at that time there were also other artists at work in the Serbian state, artists with different conceptions who based their work on different models. Although the king's churches and their wall paintings are far from preserved in their entirety, it still seems that those other artists did not play such an influential role in shaping Serbian art, no matter how much they enriched it with their own expression, introducing it to classicist trends which spread from the Bosphorus to the Adriatic and from Serbia to Peloponnesos.

Just how specific a phenomenon, with its own striking path of development, the art of the Serbian state of king Milutin's time is, and in particular that of the last two decades of his rule, is attested also by the art of royal endowments located outside Serbia. Many of the frescoes and icons which the king commissioned for the decoration of celebrated shrines in Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Jerusalem and on Mount Athos, in Treskavac and the region of Kičevo, are not preserved today and the information we have about them is based on textual sources. Although not much has



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Thessaloniki, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, *Frescoes in the sanctuary*, 1315–1320

survived in Thessaloniki and Chilandar, it is still enough to testify that in those places royal commissions were executed by artists whose predilections were considerably different from those of Michael and Eutykhios.

One of the strong and exceptional personages of the artistic world of Thessaloniki in those times was Georgios Kalliergis. He himself was aware of his outstanding qualities and the words he wrote by his signature in the church of Christ the Saviour in Veria (1315), in which he claims that he is the best painter of all Thessaly, are far from empty self-praise and vain exaggeration. The frescoes he painted in that church and in the church of St. Blaise in the same city,

as well as some of the works ascribed to him with less certainty, prove that he was truly one of the greatest masters of the early XIV century who could measure up to the best artists of Constantinople. Just as Michael and Eutykhios had left an imprint on the artistic production in Serbia by spreading their influence on their associates, Kalliergis spread his influence on the painters working in Thessaloniki and the environs of that city, in Veria and on Mount Athos. Those who worked with him, in the church of St. Blaise for example, were most like him while others seem only to have come close, imitating his creations and his manner of painting.

The authors of the frescoes in Hagios Nikolaos

Orphanos, Milutin's Thessaloniki church, certainly belonged to the circle of his admirers. They worked there during the second decade of the XIV century, probably during the final years of that decade. Not only did they adopt entire ready-made iconographic solutions from Kalliergis – as in the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Entry into Jerusalem, Road to Calvary, Lamentation, Descent into Hades, Dormition – but they also attempted to emulate the spirit of his painting and the air of grandeur seen in the Saviour's church in Veria.⁵⁰ However, they were only partly successful in their intentions. Their composition is simplified, as is that of Kalliergis, at times symmetrical and with a balanced distribution of figures – as in the Ascension, Crucifixion, Descent into Hades, Descent from the Cross or the Marriage at Cana – but, on the other hand, they also painted large, tightly packed groups of figures with rather undefined characters in the Betrayal of Judas, the miracles of Christ and the cycle of St. Nicholas. On the frescoes of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos the architectural backdrop was given secondary importance. Its reduced forms placed at wide intervals and modelled on the current trends of the second decade of the XIV century did not constitute such a significant element of the composition. Only occasionally they either tower over the figures or become quite low, taking on the appearance of a neutral background, as in the Dormition, Marriage at Cana and some of the other Miracles of Christ. These pictorial elements which played such an important role in the work of Michael and Eutychios and Georgios Kalliergis, as well, were withdrawn to the second plane of the picture and quite simplified. The painters who produced the frescoes in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos showed greater affinity for depicting landscapes, probably in emulation of other Thessalonikan artists of their time. Georgios Kalliergis created exceptional landscapes of warm colouration in the church of the Saviour at Veria, just like Michael and Eutychios did in Nago-ričino, particularly successfully, and Studenica. The painters of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos did not lag behind at all. Moreover, they devoted even greater care to the rendering of the rolling hills, trees, shrubs and even clumps of grass. On their paintings the landscape was treated as a pictorial element of equal importance as all the others and it even determined the structure of the picture, occasionally bursting into the foreground. Reminiscences of ancient, even Komnenian solutions were now transformed into pictures of a different spirit: Christ passing through the garden and his encounter with the women or conversation with Peter

in the Garden of Gethsemane became almost lyrical passages in the dramatic story of Christ's Passion and death, and the raised horizon in the Adoration of the Magi introduced unexpectedly a panoramic scene full of exquisite details. Some of the more freely composed scenes with figures of reduced size (Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Baptism) and those arranged in a circle (Last Supper, Washing of the Feet, Apostles in the Garden of Gethsemane) are very similar to the late works of Michael and Eutychios, especially those from St. Nikita, but they are far less accomplished. In Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos the disintegration of classicism is reflected in the greatly reduced size of the human figure which often takes on a child-like appearance and disproportionate form. As opposed to Michael, Eutychios and Kalliergis, the authors of these frescoes were not always able to fit a large number of figures into scenes of abridged format while preserving their internal structural unity. It seems that they were best at finding their way around compositions involving a reduced number of figures, such as the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross, Marriage at Cana, Christ and the Samaritan Woman, or individual figures. There, unencumbered by an "excess" of contents, they focused on a careful rendering of images so that the saints in the lowest zone actually resemble icons. Lacking the talent which marked Kalliergis and the strength of expression typical of Michael and Eutychios, they drifted even farther away from early XIV century classicism. Their figures often have long noses and unbecoming profiles, their colouration is simpler with a predominance of yellow and olive and only an occasional flash of violet, red or pure green.

Although the painting in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos may, at first glance, appear to be quite uniform, a more meticulous observation of the frescoes reveals significant variations which can be ascribed to the different artists working on them. Some of them followed the models upheld by Michael and Eutychios so that their bishops in the altar, the north part of the Communion of the Apostles, some of the Great Feasts, frescoes in the south arm of the ambulatory and calendar scenes do not drift far from classicist forms. The artist who painted the Communion with Wine, Dormition and some of the scenes from the cycle of the Passion is somewhat more persuasive, at times depicting even expressive characters. The third painter stands out for his much more polished and easily recognisable characters in the Kiss of Judas, Descent from the Cross, Marriage at Cana and Christ and the Samaritan



Woman. He is also ascribed a number of frescoes from the lowest zone of the naos. This painter was closest to Kalliergis, although he did not possess his nobility of form and especially none of the feeling for colour which is so typical of "the best painter of Thessaly". Finally, there is one more group of paintings which can be singled out in the decoration of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and it was probably produced by the fourth artist. His art is based on small, disproportionate figures and lively compositions packed with picturesque details of all sorts. This makes the Virgin and the angels in the apse, the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Akathistos of the Virgin and some of the saints the most interesting frescoes in





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Chilandar, Katholikon, *Prophet Moses*, detail, 1320–1321

Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos. At times naive and displaying a childish curiosity, fresh in colour and profusely narrative, this art drifted farthest from the solemn and grand classicist models as a part of a wider phenomenon in Thessalonikan art around 1320. Thus, this rather small church of king Milutin's was decorated by a rather large group of artists, certainly not the leading masters of the second decade of the XIV century in Thessaloniki. Being adherents of different conceptions, modelling their work on that of Kalliergis, as well as on that of other artists, in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos they reflected, in their own way and to the best of their abilities, the complex picture of Thessalonikan art at the twilight of one of its brilliant periods.⁵¹

Painters from this circle of artists, apparently including the first and best painter from Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, were recruited by Chilandar monks to decorate with frescoes the katholikon church of their monastery which king Milutin had raised probably during the first years of the XIV century, in place of the old and narrow one, as it is referred to by archbishop Danilo II in the king's biography. Around 1319 the painters began their work there, bringing this extensive task to a close at the end of 1321. Only an insignificant number of the multitude of wall paintings they created is accessible today, actually only those which have been spared from being covered by a new layer of painting in the course of restoration which took place at the beginning of the XIX century, as well as those which have been freed of these subsequent layers in our time.

Although it is difficult to reach conclusions concerning all the artistic qualities of Chilandar's wall paintings based only on the small number of original frescoes — several scenes and figures behind the iconostasis, frescoes in the south and a part of the decoration of the north parekklesion, figures surrounding the original tomb of Symeon Nemanja, portraits above the entrance to the naos and some of the scenes, or their fragments, in the naos and the narthex — it is still possible to give some assessment.⁵² It seems that painters who were especially respected in Thessaloniki, those who followed most consistently the lessons to be learned from the celebrated Georgios Kalliergis, adopting and further developing his manner of painting, were chosen to decorate the katholikon church of this monastery to which king Milutin devoted so much care. Their talent and experience is attested first by the ease with which they arrayed the multitude of themes, often of complex contents, in the vast interior of the Chilandar church. Thus, not only in subject matter but also in artistic merit, this church became a reflection

of the taste and wealth of king Milutin and this Serbian monastery on Mount Athos: gold shone from the halos of the saints, parts of their robes, the painted fittings and the architectural backdrops, together with a profusion of costly cinnabar and azure. This glamour was woven into the light and bright images of gentle colouration and beautiful countenances, painted with a soft touch and with great care.

Some of the compositions which did not receive a new layer of paint show that, at the close of the classical period of early Palaiologan art, clear and well organised pictures were still present, with the protagonists positioned in the foreground (Healing of the Woman with a Spirit of Infirmary or the Widow's Mite), the figures arrayed around the conceptual focus of the picture, stressed by painted edifices or trees (scenes of Christ's sermons and Anapeson). However, in Chilandar we also observe the emergence of significant novelties. The Birth of the Virgin is composed in several planes, with the young girls arranged differently in comparison with the contemporary representations of this theme. Not only do they display the rich gifts they bear, they also join the elegant cortege surrounding Anne's bed through their movement, easy turns and glances. The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple is even more solemn: as she approaches the altar, the young Mary is shrouded by a luxurious material which the beautiful girls hold in one hand while bearing a lighted candle in the other. The serene, drawn out procession from Kraljeva crkva in Studenica, which took up the entire foreground of that picture, is now transformed into a scene defined in both width and depth, divided into harmoniously composed groups of figures. Hence, it is less representative but far more picturesque. This approach, in many ways different from that of Studenica and, in a way, displayed also by the frescoes of Gračanica, St. Nikita and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, meant a gradual withdrawal from the artistic principles of pure classicism and a much more liberal treatment of composition and space.

The same spirit pervades the rest of the wall paintings of Chilandar. The human figure has become slender, light, of reduced proportions and well drawn. Only some of the apostles and Jews on the frescoes in the south choir have kept the rough facial features. Even the faces of the elders, such as Aaron, Moses, St. Nicodemus, the high priest in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the holy monks, no longer have anything in common with the broad and even severe countenances they once had in the Protaton or Ljeviška. An emphasised expression of spiritual

strength and religious fanaticism has given way to a calm intentness with eyes fixed either on the inner self or something distant and undefined. The atmosphere of loud speech, sweeping gestures and imposing addresses has withdrawn in Chilandar before subdued movement, silent glances, gentle nods of the head and noble stances. The picture has been humanised to the utmost limits of Byzantine art norms, it has taken on a festive, solemn and aristocratic appearance, at times even decorative. Strong, dramatic effects have been avoided even in the tense Purification of the Temple, everything is carefully arranged and subordinated to the sheer beauty of painting. In the *katholikon* of Chilandar the painters left imprints of their personal styles most clearly on representations of young characters which appear both within the various compositions and as individual figures of saints. The women in the Birth of the Virgin and especially those in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple are almost girl-like, with soft, regular facial features, curling braids and ribbons and scarves on their heads which rest upon long necks. They are dressed in robes made of luxurious materials with golden ornaments. Sts. Panteleimon, Stephen and the holy warriors, Procopios in particular, look more like boys than grown men, in both stature and image. Their movements as well as their physiognomies are slightly feminine. The inclination to show physical beauty, the beauty of attire and weapons and to make the young saints even more youthful was a widespread feature of Thessalonikan art around 1320 and in the following period. This is attested by some of the frescoes of Michael and Eutychios – the holy warriors from Nagoričino and the women from Gračanica, individual and figures within compositions in St. Nikita; those of Georgios Kalliergis – Sts. George and Demetrios in the church of the Saviour in Veria; and numerous wall paintings of the unknown artists who worked in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos. This trend is best embodied in the Chilandar church, on its frescoes populated by figures reduced in size, decked with arms, dressed in beautiful clothes and taking on a gentle and emotional mien and ceremonial stances. Brought down from the sphere of the distant and the abstract and freed of strict classicist norms, while approaching the ordinary man as close as possible in dimensions, curiosity for details and beauty which emanates from the figures and the faces, these Chilandar frescoes have given us some exceptionally accomplished portraits of contemporary personages painted around Nemanja's tomb and on the east wall of the narthex. The portraits of king Milutin and emperor Andronikos II, of noble

proportions and painted in soft strokes, certainly number among the most beautiful frescoes in Chilandar and can unquestionably be added to the list of late medieval portrait masterpieces.

The general air of beauty, freshness and intimacy characteristic of the Chilandar frescoes is very much enhanced by a wide choice of colours and a profusion of cinnabar and gold. The brightened blends of violet, green, yellow and deep blue give these paintings a translucent, gentle, almost pastel appearance. An abundance of ornaments and reflections of light on the clothes are harmonised with the light blue background and the illuminated architectural backdrop. The beautiful faces painted in the manner of icons, with fine shadows and a rosy blush on the cheeks and foreheads, are radiant because of the warm, deep colours used for rendering flesh. At times this warm colouration becomes even softer, as in the Birth and Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the portraits, and at others it blends almost exclusively into olive and pale green tones, as in the Baptism of Christ, or becomes darkened with broad chestnut and deep green shadows, as on the figures of St. Mercurios or the holy monks, with shimmering reddish and white accents emerging to the surface. These variations did not disrupt the uniformity of the painted decoration of Chilandar's *katholikon* as a whole. They only suggested the presence of a group of different artists which included both those who came very close to the style and creations of Kalliergis (as on the holy warriors and monks, for example) and those who remained closer to the unknown painters who decorated the church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos (some of Christ's Miracles and Sermons can be ascribed to them). These assessments remain to be confirmed after the frescoes are cleaned up but even now it is already clear that the artists who were employed in the decoration of this church were very capable, of uniform expression and similar abilities, and that they number among the best Thessaloniki had to offer in the first decades of the XIV century.⁵³

The emergence of such frescoes in Chilandar is by no means accidental. From the moment this monastery was restored in the last years of the XII century and inhabited by Serbian monks, it became an important centre not only in a spiritual but also in a cultural sense. At its head stood learned hegoumenoi and "elders" and, as a result of the generous sustenance it received from Serbian kings, first-class Byzantine works of art began to flow into Chilandar and influence tastes of the men who stood at its head, as well as their concepts and opinions on artistic values. With the arrival



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Chilandar, Katholikon, *Birth of the Virgin*, detail, 1320–1321

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Chilandar, Refectory, *Hospitality of Abraham* (left part),
around 1320



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Chilandar, Katholikon, *Holy warriors*, 1320–1321

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Chilandar, Church of the Annunciation, *Holy bishop*, around 1320

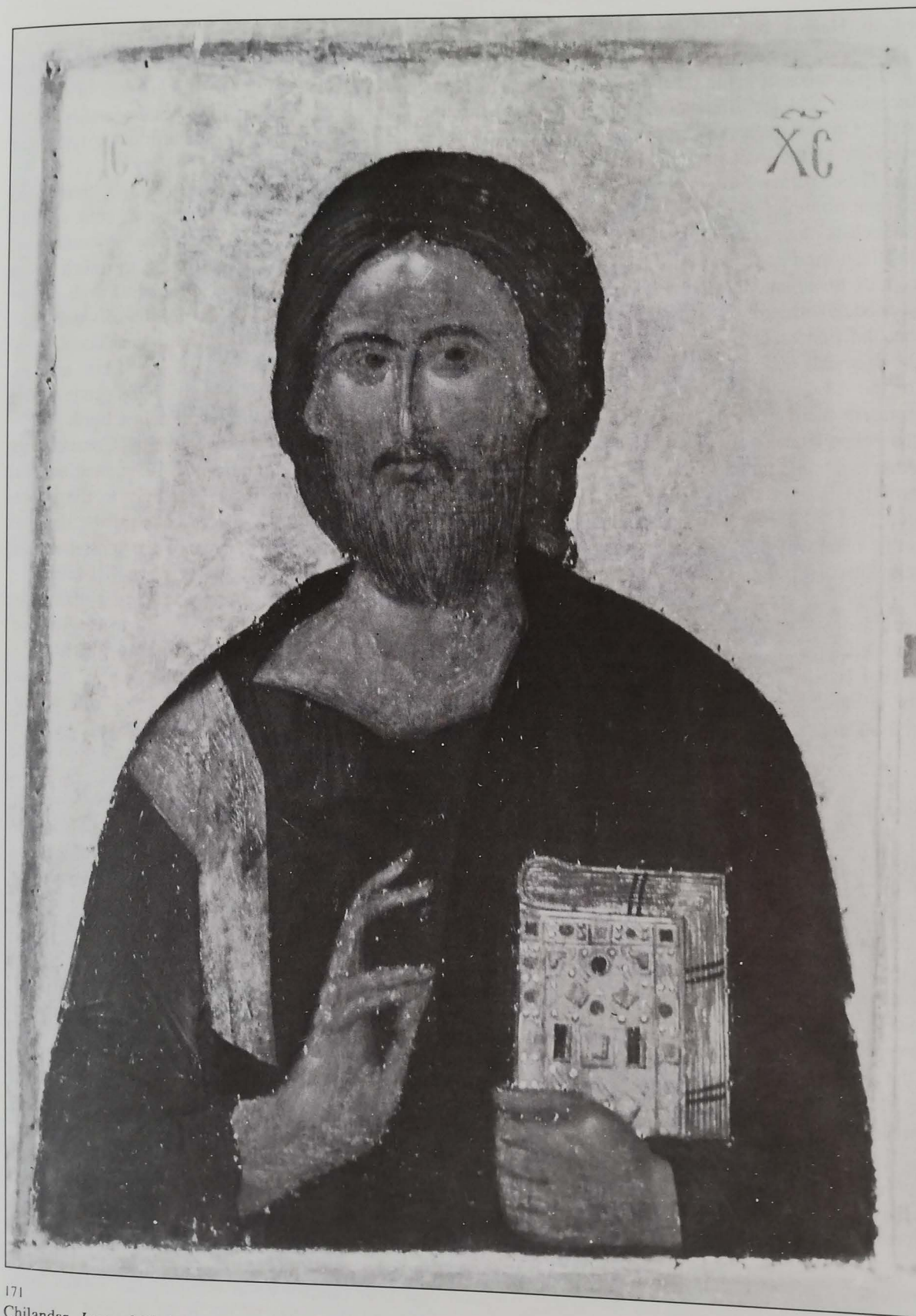


of these Chilandar men in Serbia and their rising to key positions in ecclesiastical hierarchy, that spirit and that taste in art were transferred to their fatherland. Around the year 1300, owing to the activities of king Milutin, ties between Chilandar and Serbia became especially strong and Chilandar became an important intermediary in the relations between the Serbian and the Byzantine court. Even before he forged close familial relations with the imperial family, king Milutin had already renovated the grand katholikon of Chilandar, probably the most beautiful congregational church on Mount Athos. Unknown ktetors (and the Serbian king was apparently the most active among them) acquired precious icons and other works of art for the monastery, probably from Constantinople, Thessaloniki and Venice. As a result of the king's dedication this monastery was enlarged and embellished. A refectory and a funerary chapel (dedicated to the Annunciation) were raised in the monastery and decorated with frescoes and a pyrgos was constructed in its vicinity, at Hrusija, including a church and some other structures. Although not everything has survived to this day, what we do have is still enough to confirm that only fine artists – builders, stonecutters and painters – were engaged to work in the monastery and that only the most beautiful icons were acquired for it. During the period of Milutin's rule and under his patronage, not a single art work of poor quality was either commissioned for or created in Chilandar – a fact which, in its own right, speaks of the personal tastes of the ktetor and the learned hegoumenoi of this monastery such as Sava, Danilo, Nikodim and Gervasije.

Only a few of the frescoes which once adorned the refectory remain today on the triangular gable of the north wall, above the apse. These paintings date from about the same time as the frescoes in the main monastery church, that is from the second decade of the XIV century, or rather, from the last years of this decade. The three remaining compositions are all related to the righteous Abraham: the Welcoming of the Three Angels, Hospitality of Abraham and Sacrifice of Isaac. Although they are contemporary to the frescoes in the katholikon, they are not the work of the same artists. Moreover, they look different and are certainly not of the same quality although, on the other hand, both the refectory and the katholikon frescoes belong to the same circle of Byzantine art from around 1320. In the refectory, compositional concepts, proportions of figures, their countenances and colouration share the spirit of contemporary art but, all in all, the particular handwriting of the artist precludes the drawing of any

other, closer analogies. These frescoes display an especially developed space which houses the depicted events. An identical landscape, painted in ochre and violet and ending in high cliffs, appears in two scenes (Welcoming of the Angels and Abraham's Sacrifice) while a semicircular wall with solitary towers connected by hanging vellums rises tall and completely envelops the figures. The descriptive drawing sometimes produces unclassical faces such as those of the angels with rounded cheeks or the bony guises of Abraham and Sarah. It becomes more pronounced on the draperies and occasionally results in an obvious mistake. A certain simplification of the human figure, a disregard for classical beauty and the broad, bulky landscapes and architectural forms are only underlined by a colouration lacking in refined blending. Diluted nuances of ochre, green and violet, with rare incursions of blue and red, dominate the paintings. The frescoes in the refectory of Chilandar represent works of art of sound quality and with no major faults but they lack in emotions and freshness and it appears that the simplification of forms and their subjection to the principles of academism, together with the cooling and reduction of the colour spectrum, is a mature announcement of the gradual dwindling of the great art of the second decade of the XIV century.⁵⁴

There is one other group of frescoes in Chilandar, in the funerary chapel now dedicated to the Annunciation, which was probably painted at about the same time. These wall paintings are badly damaged, with only a few better preserved images or scenes around the iconostasis and in the altar space. At first glance they appear to be slightly earlier in date than the frescoes in the refectory, perhaps because of their poorer artistic quality and a stronger adherence to tradition. A closer study, however, shows that they possess qualities which could move the date of their creation closer to 1320.⁵⁵ It would be safe to say that their authors came from Thessaloniki, a city which, during the first decades of the XIV century, was the home of many groups of painters who worked not only there but also in the neighbouring cities and lands, such as Veria, Ohrid, Mount Athos and Serbia. The artists who worked in the Annunciation church, and it seems that there were two of them, numbered among those who followed the examples of the leading artists of their home town. Being less gifted, however, they did not manage to leave behind a personal, recognisable style nor were they consistent in emulating just one particular renowned painter. That is why their frescoes are sometimes reminiscent of Kalliergis (more precisely, of his follow-



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Chilandar, *Icon of Christ*, beginning of the XIV century

ers who worked in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos), as attested by the elongated and curved noses of some saints or the small, oval faces of some other figures (the Virgin in the Ascension and the Annunciation, the angels, St. Demetrios). On the other hand, the bishops in the prothesis are closer to the wall paintings of St. Nikita near Skoplje. These painters were not particularly skilled, at times their drawing is faulty (St. Cyril of Alexandria), with thick contours (the figures of Sts. John Chrysostomos and Basil the Great) and much too dependent on the effects of linearism. It becomes more solid when they copy models offered by artists better than themselves so that the figures of St. James the Brother of the Lord in the prothesis conch and St. Demetrios by the iconostasis, or the Ascension painted on the vault of the sanctuary, represent their more accomplished works. Educated on the experiences of classicist art, the painters of the Annunciation church adhered to standard compositional formulas, well balanced and regular facial features and figures of slightly elongated proportions. On their part, to this manner of painting they introduced rather strictly delineated, firm shapes and meticulously rendered details. Their art was based on cool colour tones, broad olive shadows and an abundance of white and pale pink, as well as on a consistent avoidance of strong contrasts. That is why these frescoes are, in fact, good examples of successfully implemented academism in Byzantine art from around the year 1320.

Icons at Chilandar

The generosity of king Milutin towards Chilandar was not limited to the renovation and construction of "palaces" and churches and a refectory within this monastery, nor only to their decoration with frescoes. His gifts surely included numerous icons and liturgical objects, commissioned or acquired from the best masters with the gold that he "gave out open-handedly".⁵⁶ Several of the icons preserved in the monastery today number among the most beautiful examples of Byzantine icon painting of the early XIV century, produced in the workshops of unknown artists from Thessaloniki or Constantinople.

The small icon of St. Panteleimon, rendered in half-figure, was created not long after 1300. It displays classicist forms, a precise drawing and warm brown and dark green tones with accents of red. The solid volume of the face, enhanced by deep shadows on the cheeks, the neck and around the eyes, is finished off in parallel strokes of white. It shows that the painter of this icon

was an adherent of the great art of the XIII century as well as a man of his own era which he demonstrated by amalgamating successfully the experiences of the two different classicisms – combining monumentality and a strict choice of colours with a noble drawing typical of the best artists of the early XIV century.⁵⁷

The artist who, at around the same time, created the icons of Christ and the Virgin Eleoussa, both in half-figure and probably designated for the iconostasis, is different and even better. These icons are much softer in execution, richer in colour and supplied with a fine, unobtrusive drawing. Gentle, light blends of violet, pink and green give them a quality of translucence and exceptional softness. The flesh of the faces and the hands is painted equally beautifully, with gentle transitions from an olive green to a warm ochre, brush strokes invisible, in the manner of contemporary Constantinopolitan artists. The noble bearing of the figures and the impeccable drawing subordinated entirely to the effects of the successfully coordinated colours are the qualities which put these icons on the list of the most beautiful creations of early XIV century Byzantine classicism.⁵⁸

At that very time one other artist was painting for Chilandar the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, an icon commissioned especially for this monastery – as attested by an inscription written on it in Serbian. Being of elongated format – this representation of Chilandar's feast day was probably designated to adorn either the iconostasis or some other proskenitarion in the katholikon – it is organised in a manner which places the procession, consisting of the Virgin as a young girl, Joachim and Anne, the maidens and the high priest in front of the Temple, in the lower half of the painting while the entire upper half is filled with an architectural backdrop including a building, a ciborium and a high staircase with Mary and an angel at its top. All this gives the picture an unusual, light air, a loose structure. The colonettes of the ciborium are elongated and slender, with gilded capitals, and the architectural backdrop is dotted with garlands, windows and embossed ornaments as well as a curtain tied in a knot and a vellum with free falling ends arranged in long folds. Most of the attention, however, is focused on the figures in the lower register. They are painted with such grace and meticulousness that they are truly practically unrivalled in their time. What makes this icon exceptional is, above all, the rendering of the maidens in the Virgin's entourage. They are knowingly arranged within the depicted pictorial space, their heads gently inclined. In one hand they bear candles while shielding the flames from the wind with the other in the most graceful manner.



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Chilandar, Icon of the Virgin Eleoussa, beginning of the XIV century

What's more, their rich curls falling freely to their shoulders are covered by transparent veils trimmed with gold around the edges. Such a recording of elegant details, not without an intentionally realistic approach, is also evident in some of the other fine examples of this theme in Palaiologan art – in the Protaton, Studenica or the katholikon of Chilandar, for example – but this icon from Chilandar is certainly the most beautiful of them all. Its author, a brilliantly gifted artist, displays a sophisticated feeling for warm, saturated colours. He masterfully co-ordinates the red, which he weaves through his painting starting from the vellum to the undergarment of the High Priest, the green on the left and the blue on the right hand side of the composition with the gold which he uses to emphasise the preciousness and beauty of the ornaments. Such colour harmonies, actuated in a series of free strokes, and his exceptional drawing skills single out the artist who painted this Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple as one of the greatest representatives of Byzantine art of the XIV century. This icon was probably commissioned from a workshop outside the monastery because there is nothing similar to it in Chilandar. Since, at this moment, it is impossible to find any corresponding works, either in style or the manner of painting, both the author of the icon and the place of its origin remain unknown.⁵⁹

On the other hand, it is certain that the quite damaged icon of an angel in monastic habit, now in the treasury of the monastery, is the work of one of the artists who painted the frescoes in the katholikon. His lovely pale pink face, painted over a dark green base, is very similar to the faces of the saints in the church. It is obvious that, at some time around the year 1320, the artists working in Chilandar brought their extensive activities in this monastery to a finish and, apart from the frescoes, completed the production of all the necessary icons of which only one remains today and even this single remaining object is very badly damaged.⁶⁰

We shall probably never know the full scope of king Milutin's donations to Chilandar or what exactly this monastery acquired with his assistance. Along with a number of other objects of art which reached Chilandar in his time, there is a special diptych, richly adorned with pearls, semiprecious stones, gilded filigree and miniatures painted on parchment, which has survived to this day. These images represent twenty something scenes from the life of Christ in a mixture of Byzantine and western iconography and with a conspicuous presence of the Gothic style. It is, therefore, reasonable to suspect that this diptych was produced around the year 1300 in some Venetian workshop. As an atypical im-



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Chilandar, *Icon of an angel*, detail, around 1320



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Chilandar, *Diptych*, right wing, end of the XIII century

port, it remained isolated in the treasury of Chilandar and practically without any bearing on the overall image of the art of king Milutin's era.⁶¹

The forty years of king Milutin's reign, from 1282 to 1321, represent one of the most interesting and most prolific periods in the history of Serbian art. A fair number of the dozens of churches raised during that time has survived to this day along with the pertaining wall paintings and, in the case of Chilandar, a considerable number of icons, as well. As a result of favourable circumstances, the long reign of this sovereign coincided with an epoch in which the principles of artistic creation and style were clearly defined. Although it is not our intention to make crude comparisons between cultural and political phenomena, or to associate directly one with the other, it is nevertheless quite obvious that during the first decades of king Milutin's reign – marked by wars, a southward and northward expansion of his state, the parallel functioning of two courts and an insufficiently clear political and cultural policy – there were scarcely any remarkable artistic creations. Except for the isolated example of Arilje, or works of smaller scope in some of the bishopric sees (Petrova crkva, perhaps) and monasteries founded by his celebrated ancestors (Djurdjevi Stupovi), there were no large-scale architectural projects nor any endeavours of such scope in the field of painting. At the same time, local workshops, of which we are informed only from the writings of archbishop Danilo, were engaged in the production of objects of the applied arts. Rare and modest commissions did not draw any of the more prominent artists to Serbia nor, it seems, were they particularly sought after in that milieu. Nevertheless, a certain measure of good taste was maintained so that the frescoes produced by some of the artists engaged in the decoration of Petrova crkva, Arilje and, in particular, Djurdjevi Stupovi are, incontestably, not entirely stripped of certain or even rather high qualities. All this, together with the fact that ties with Byzantium were severed which resulted, at first, in open war and, subsequently, in a prolonged state of tension between the two parties, urged Serbian art, painting included, to hang on to mid-thirteenth century traditions for a long time. On the other hand, this is precisely the factor which secured its continuity and a rather high standard of artistic creation. Being attached to the achievements of the previous era, the art produced in Serbia at the close of the XIII century was spared from falling into provincialism. At the same time, however, those ties were also a setback slowing down its immersion in the great commotions stirring the leading art centres of

the Orthodox world. The changes which took place in Serbian art around the year 1300 seem to have been related to the peace king Milutin forged with emperor Andronikos II and his subsequent marriage with a member of the imperial family. Also, the armed conflict with his brother Dragutin tied Milutin strongly to the Church which initiated an unprecedented wave of activity in the field of painting and architecture. Learned Chilandarites assumed key positions in Serbian ecclesiastical hierarchy and supervised the artistic production in the realm. The king himself, in the words of Danilo II, strove to invest himself with all the virtues of an Orthodox ruler and, in doing so, to outdo the neighbouring emperors so that his generous open-handedness reached as far as Thessaloniki, Mount Athos, Constantinople and Jerusalem. Such intentions on his part, carefully guided by a number of royal consultants among whom we find learned bishops and archbishops – all former Chilandar monks, could be realised only by procuring the services of fine artists as well as expensive and most refined works of art which did not lag behind those from Constantinople and Thessaloniki.

Indeed, in the years around 1300, artists imbued with the new spirit, masters who were well acquainted with some of the best works of contemporary Byzantine painting, began arriving and working in Serbia, staying there for a number of years. The frescoes of Peć, Žiča and Bogorodica Ljeviška are, chronologically speaking, just a step behind such magnificent creations of the transitional period as the Protaton on Mount Athos, the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid or St. Euthymios in Thessaloniki. It seemed that Thessaloniki, the city second in rank in the Empire and the one which welcomed Constantinopolitan artists engaged to decorate with mosaics her church of the Holy Apostles and, perhaps, produce some other works of art, the city whose finest painters, like Georgios Kalliergis, were summoned to work in Constantinople itself, was the centre from which this new generation of artists reached Serbia. This city reared the painters who were to ennoble Serbian art and assimilate it to the leading currents of the most prominent Byzantine art centres. Thessaloniki is unquestionably the city of origin of Michael Astrapas and his faithful associate Eutychios. It is also the home of a number of other artists, whose names we do not know, who worked with those two or on their own. In Serbia, they were probably joined by some of the local painters who adopted the lessons to be learned from their work and their manner of painting for there were many churches, often of spacious interiors, which had to be decorated and supplied with icons in the course of the next twen-



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Staro Nagoričino, Menologion, detail: St. John Calybites and the Liberation of St. Peter from the Dungeon, 1315–1317

ty years. Fortunately, much of what they produced has been preserved and their frescoes show that they were not only prolific but also exceptionally vital and capable painters. It seems that the period of adaptation and their transitional art lasted only a short while. Michael and Eutychios, in Prizren, and their contemporaries, in Peć and Žiča, were quick to abandon monumental forms and colour contrasts dominated by strong and warm tones. In Nagoričino, and especially in Kraljeva crkva and Gračanica, their compositions made up of numerous figures of reduced size became serene, classicist, their drawing all polished up, appealing and cleansed of its previous occasional outbursts of expressionism, their colours more uniform while appropriating a cooler sheen and their citations from Hellenistic art more successfully interwoven into the overall structure of the picture. Obviously, Michael Astrapas and his associates followed closely the development of metropolitan art. At about the same time and in an almost identical manner, a number of anonymous artists were working on the decoration of two Constantinopolitan churches, St. Mary Pammakaristos and Christ of the Chora, while Georgios Kalliergis was painting in Veria and a group of unknown artists were working in the Holy Apostles and the church of St. Catherine in Thessaloniki. Just how able Michael and Eutychios, and the rest of the painters working in Serbia, were to match the finest Byzantine artists is indicated by the transformations in their art – starting with the Peribleptos in Ohrid all the way to St. Nikita near Skoplje that is, by the gradual and natural development of their style which followed closely the different phases, from the formative to the mature and, finally, that of academism, in the development of contemporary Constantinopolitan and Thessalonikan art. At each stage of their development, in 1294/95 in Ohrid, around 1310 in Ljeviška, between 1315 and 1320 in Nagoričino, Studenica and Gračanica and, finally, shortly after, in St. Nikita, they created masterpieces, in some churches more and less in others, thus rivalling the creations of their finest contemporaries from Constantinople and Thessaloniki.

It seems that in those days Thessaloniki was an especially lively centre of artistic production. This phenomenon can be studied quite successfully based on a number of preserved works in the city and its environs. During the second decade of the XIV century, Georgios Kalliergis, whose signed frescoes have been preserved in Veria, was a prominent figure in the artistic circles of Thessaloniki and it is, therefore, not surprising that a considerable number of other painters from that city strove to imitate his style. What's more, the appearance of some of the wall paintings in Gračanica and St. Nikita show that, in their late works, Michael and Eutychios approached his manner of painting. Judging by the contents of a contract from Chilandar monastery, referring to the purchase of a number of houses in Thessaloniki, in which the name Kalliergis appears among the witnesses, the Serbs seem to have had direct contact with this celebrated artist. Perhaps it was he himself, and certainly some of his close associates, who decorated with frescoes king Milutin's endowments in Thessaloniki and on Mount Athos. Kalliergis's classicist, bright and harmonious style, as we see it in the church of Christ the Saviour in Veria (1314/15), was transferred a couple of years later to the walls of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and Chilandar, its katholikon in particular.

In the years around 1320, the anonymous artists working in Chilandar and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, as well as Michael and Eutychios who, at that time, were working in the church of St. Nikita, each in his own way and with different results, attained a similar stylistic expression. Their paintings of well structured compositions, simple iconography, figures reduced in size, bright and soft colours and a decorative air, marked the close of one of the great epochs of ancient Serbian art. The end of this era coincides with the death of king Milutin, its chief initiator and patron. In the years following 1321 Serbian art took a different course, diverging into a multitude of different currents and drifting farther and farther away from the source established in the age of king Milutin.

¹ In the past decades several fine studies on the subject of late XIII century Byzantine book illumination have been published: K. Weitzmann, *Eine Pariser-psalter – Kopie des 13. Jh. auf dem Sinai*, JÖBG 6 (1957), 125–143; Lazarev, *Storia*, 280 et passim; Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*; H. Buchtal, *Notes on Some Early Palaeologan Miniatures*, Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt, Salzburg 1972, 36–43; id., *Illuminations from an Early Palaeologan Scriptorium*, JÖB 21 (1972), 47–55; Buchtal, *Toward a History*; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 181–182; Σ. Παπαδάκη-Oekland, *Οι μικρογραφίες ενός χαμένου χειρογράφου του 1298*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/8 (1976), 29–50.

² Lazarev, *Storia*, 281–284, fig. 395–402; J. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, Leiden 1981, I, 50–53; II, figs. 343, 345, 357, 359; Σ. Παπαδάκη-Oekland, *Οι μικρογραφίες ενός χαμένου χειρογράφου του 1298*, πίν. 19–37; R. S. Nelson, *Paris. gr. 117 and the Beginnings of Palaeologan Illumination*, Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 37 (1984), 1–21.

³ Lazarev, *Storia*, 278; H. Buchtal, *Toward a History*, 145; R. S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopeitrites. A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator*, Wien 1991.

⁴ The Ohrid frescoes have been studied only partly (C. Grozdanov, *Studii za ohridskiot živopis*, Skopje 1990, 84–101), so that their place in the course of development of Palaiologan art has not yet been explained clearly enough. For now, the best works on the subject are those by Radojčić, *Majstori*, 19–36; Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto*, passim; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 160–181; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 51–54; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 23–25; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, passim; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 101–103.

⁵ On these, so far insufficiently investigated and only partly published frescoes from Mount Athos, probably of Thessalonikan origin, cf. Millet, *Athos*, pl. 5–56; A. Xyngopoulos, *Manuel Panselinos*, Athens 1956; id., *Nouveaux témoignages de l'activité des peintres macédoniennes au Mont Athos*, BZ 52/1 (1959), 62–64, Taf. IX; B. Todić, *Prôtaton et la peinture serbe des premières décennies du XIV^e siècle*, L'art de Thessalonique, 21–31; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 69–70.

⁶ Lazarev, *Storia*, 282, fig. 406; V. J. Djurić, *Icônes de Yougoslavie*, Belgrade 1961, pl. IX; M. Chatzidakis, *Une icône en mosaïque de Lavra*, JÖB 21 (1972), 73–81; *The Kariye Djami*, IV, 145–146; *Ikone*, Beograd 1983, 168–169; Σ. Παπαδάκη-Oekland, *Οι μικρογραφίες ενός χαμένου χειρογράφου του 1298*, πίν. 35; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 69.

⁷ Γ. – Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Αθήνα 1952, 213–219; Th. Gouma-Peterson, *The Parecclesion of St. Euthimios in Thessaloniki. Art and Monastic Policy under Andronikos II*, The Art Bulletin LVIII/2 (1976), 168–183; Gouma-Peterson, *The Frescoes*, 111–129.

⁸ For basic information on Byzantine and Serbian wall painting of the second half of the XIII century cf. Lazarev, *Storia*, 297–304; Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIII^e siècle*, 145–167; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 70–77; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59–64; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 67–88.

⁹ Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, I, pl. 30/1; II, pl. 71/3, 73, 74, 76/1, 77, 78, 83; T. Velmans, *La rôle du décor architectural et la représentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues*, CA XIV (1964), 205; Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 133; Todić, *Arilje*, 29–33; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 77–79.

¹⁰ Cf. Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 73; Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona apostola Petra i Pavla*, 11–16; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59–62; Todić, *Arilje*, 35–37; *Ikone*, 139 (G. Babić) and the plate on page 156; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 80–82.

¹¹ The portraits from Arilje are best presented by Radojčić, *Portreti*, 31–34; about them also S. Petković, *Arilje*, Belgrad 1965, pp. III–IV; Todić, *Arilje*, 36–37. The portraits of the ktors and their relatives in Dragutin's chapel are very badly preserved so that there isn't much to be said about their artistic qualities; as much as it was possible, they were appraised by Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27–28; Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije (II)*, 131–137; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 83. The images of Dragutin and Milutin on the Vatican icon are quite schematic, *Ikone*, 139.

¹² Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 72–73, 78; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59–62; Todić, *Arilje*, 27–37; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 82–85.

¹³ The paintings of the third layer in Petrova crkva have not been studied in an adequate measure, and their artistic qualities are thus insufficiently investigated; presently, the best works on the subject are those by Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*, 47–49 (considers it to be the work of local artists); Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59 (sees in it the influence of Sopoćani, more precisely of the narthex and the parekklesion of St. Symeon the Serbian, and associates it with Dragutin's chapel and Arilje); cf. also Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*, 96; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 87 et passim.

¹⁴ The author of the frescoes in Dragutin's chapel was mostly the subject of interest of V. J. Djurić, who determined his Greek origins and his dependence on the frescoes of the Sopoćani parekklesia: Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIII^e siècle*, 156; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60; Djurić, *La peinture murale byzantine*, 240; cf. also Todić, *Srpske freske*, 87.

¹⁵ None of the authors who wrote about the icon so far excluded the possibility that it was created in Serbia and they usually compared it to Arilje: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 78; Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona apostola Petra i Pavla*, 11–16, it has also been associated with Kotor: *Istorijske Crne Gore*, II/1, 269–270 (P. Mijović); P. Mijović, *Umjetničko blago Crne Gore*, Beograd – Titograd 1980, 151–152; *Ikone*, 139 (G. Babić).

¹⁶ All the authors who wrote about the frescoes of Arilje noted the variations in its quality and ascribed them to painters of differing abilities; in greater detail on this subject, drawing attention to the observations of previous researchers, Todić, *Arilje*, 37–38 and Todić, *Srpske freske*, 77–78, 81–82, 83, 84–85.

¹⁷ Demus, *Die Entstehung*, 1–63; Lazarev, *Storia*, 300–304; Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 125–153; Djurić, *La peinture murale byzantine*, 196–246; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 68–78. The Thessalonikan origins of the painters who worked in Arilje has been determined in a curious manner: in the window

opening on the north side of the west bay they wrote the word ΜΑΡΙΟΥ, the cry of Thessalonikan supporters of emperor Michael VIII from 1258, the time before he entered Constantinople (on this subject A. Andreeva, *Očerki po kul'ture vizantijskogo dvora v XIII veke*, Praga 1927, 156, and on its significance for the determination of the origins of the painters from Arilje S. Radojčić, *Natpis ΜΑΡΙΟΥ na ariljskim freskama*, Glas SAN CCXXXIV, 7, 1959, 40–45); written almost forty years later, this inscription, according to V. J. Djurić (*Byzantinische Fresken*, 62), reveals the elderly years of the painters.

¹⁸ As opposed to that from the beginning of the XIV century, Thessalonikan painting from the close of the XIII century is less well known, probably because frescoes from this period have not been preserved in the city. On Thessaloniki as an artistic centre around the year 1300 cf. Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 1–4, 26–33; Mouriki, *Stylistic Trends*, 58–70; Tsitouridou, *La peinture monumentale à Salonique*, 9–19; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Greek Art. Wall-Paintings*, Athens 1994, 25–29; R. S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopeitres*, 116–128.

¹⁹ Ties between Arilje and these churches have already been noted, cf. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 258 (note 46); Todić, *Arilje*, 39–41; Todić, *Srpske freske*, 86–87, and quite specific similarities have been pointed out: A. Ορλάνδος, *Η Παρηγορήτσησα της Άρτης*, Αθήνα 1963, πίν. 22, 30; A. Βασιλάκη-Καρακατσάνη, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της Όμορφης Εκκλησίας στην Αθήνα*, Αθήνα 1971, πίν. 39–42; Djurić, *La peinture murale byzantine*, 222–223, fig. 29.

²⁰ These similarities have also been pointed out in existing bibliography: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60 and Todić, *Srpske freske*, 87; for comparisons between the frescoes of Mistra and Constantinople and those from Dragutin's chapel cf. G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, Paris 1910, pl. 73/3, 74/2, 3 and R. Naumann – H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken*, Berlin 1966, Taf. 24–33 and a colour plate between pp. 132 and 133.

²¹ Cf. Djurić, *L'art des Paléologues et l'Etat serbe*, 179–191.

²² Cf. notes 4–5 and 7.

²³ The few scholars who studied these frescoes from Peć noticed the novelties which they introduced on the level of artistic quality and those novelties were mostly the subject of their interest: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 74–75; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 227–228; R. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetih apostola u Pečkoj patrijaršiji*, Beograd 1973, pp. XVI–XVIII; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67–68; Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 137–138; Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 126–130; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 70. Best reproductions of the frescoes in Petković, *La peinture serbe*, II, pl. LXXXII–LXXXV; R. Ljubinković, op. cit., figs. 38–59 and Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, figs. 70–75.

²⁴ Most of the scholars associate the frescoes from Peć with the circle of artists gathered around Michael and Eutychios or note their similarities with the Virgin Peribleptos and Žiča: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 74; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 227–228; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67; R. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetih apostola u Peći*, p. XVII (for reasons unknown, this author, however, dates them to the era of king Stefan Dečanski); Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 126–130; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers*

1300, 68–70 (associates them with other works of very probable Thessalonikan origin). The frescoes of Vatopedi are published only partly (Τσιγαρίδας, *Η Μονή Βατοπεδίου*, 401–423; Τσιγαρίδας, *Η μνημειακή ζωγραφική*, 304–320); one of the painters (Descent into Hades, the cycle of the Virgin and some of the single figures in the naos) who worked in the large group of artists is extraordinarily close to the artists from Peć.

²⁵ Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 96–97; Mijović, *Žiča*, 27–42 (M. Kašanin), 124–199; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68; G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, Belgrade 1988, 26–32.

²⁶ We assume that this is the painter whom modern scholars identify with Michael Astrapas from Ljeviška (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 96), with his associates (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68) or with the painter from Peć (Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 228). It is possible that this painter signed his name on the hem of the dress of St. Theodore of Stoudios, of which only a couple of letters remain the meaning of which is difficult to ascertain (Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 228, note 853; G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, 29; B. Živković, *Žiča. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1985, 30).

²⁷ The artistic qualities of the frescoes from Sušica have not been thoroughly investigated. Brief and correct appraisals of their transitional character are offered by Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 76–77; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67 and Babić, *Sušica*, 336–339, but the need still exists for a more extensive analysis of their style.

²⁸ The bibliography on the painters Michael Astrapas and Eutychios is extensive and the basic study is the monograph on their signed works: Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*; on their signatures cf. Miljković-Peppek, *Pišuvanje podatoci*, 139–169; R. Hamann-Mac Lean, *Zu den Malerinschriften der "Milutin-Schule"*, BZ 53/1 (1960), 112–117; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 17–24 (with previous bibliography); Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 126; on their Thessalonikan origins S. Kisas, *Solunska umetnička porodica Astrapa*, Zograf 5 (1974), 35–37; P. Miljković-Peppek, *L'atelier artistique d'Astrapas de la fin du XIII^e et des premières décennies du XIV^e siècle*, JÖB 32/5 (1982), 491–494; on their relations with Constantinople Radojčić, *Majstori*, 29; Lazarev, *Storia*, 388–389. Other artists also worked in Thessaloniki and, apart from Michael Astrapas, Eutychios and Kalliergis (cf. note 18), Michael Proeleusis is also known by name, cf. G. Babić, *Mihailo Proeleusis, solunski slikar ranog XIV veka*, Zograf 12 (1981), 59–61.

²⁹ The specific artistic qualities of the frescoes in the Virgin Peribleptos are insufficiently investigated, and their study is indispensable for a better understanding of the changes which took place in Byzantine art during the last decade of the XIII century and the early works of Michael and Eutychios, cf. C. Grozdanov, *Studii za ohridskiot živopis*, 84–101; most profound assessments of their artistic qualities in Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 128–133, passim; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 120–200 et passim; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 23–25.

³⁰ B. Todić, *Prôtaton et la peinture serbe des premières décennies du XIV^e siècle*, 31. On the frescoes in St. Euthymios and St. Panteleimon cf. A. Cituridu, *Zidno slikarstvo Svetog Pantelejmona u Solunu*, Zograf 6 (1975), 14–20; Γ. – Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Η βασιλική του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*,

213–219, πίν. 82–93; Th. Gouma-Peterson, *The Parecclesion of St. Euthimios in Thessalonica*, 168–183; Gouma-Peterson, *The Frescoes*, 111–129. On Sava III, hegoumenos of Chilandar, bishop of Prizren and Serbian archbishop cf. Arhiepiskop Danilo, *Životi*, 246; S. Stanojević, *Srpski arhiepiskopi od Save II do Danila II (1263–1326)*, Glas SKA CLIII (1933), 69–71; M. Purković, *Srpski episkopi i mitropoliti*, Hrišćansko delo III/4–6 (1937), 16; V. Mošin – M. Purković, *Hilandarski igumani srednjeg veka*, Skoplje 1940, 17.

³¹ The inscription with Astrapas's name in Bogorodica Ljeviška is best deciphered and explained by D. Panić, *O natpisu s imenima protomajstora u eksonarteksu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, Zograf 1 (1966), 21–23 (= Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 22–27); on the signatures of Michael and Eutychios cf. supra, note 28, and on Astrapas's name in Ljeviška also Radojčić, *Majstori*, 19–27; Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 34–40; Dj. Bošković, *O nekim našim graditeljima i slikarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka*, Starinar IX–X (1959), 125–131; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 88–89.

³² The best analysis of the artistic qualities of the wall paintings from Bogorodica Ljeviška is that by Gordana Babić (Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 81–93). Apart from her, these frescoes have also been analysed by R. Hamann-Mac Lean, *Aus der Mittelalterlichen Bildwelt Jugoslawiens. Einzelheiten des Freskenzyklus der Kirche des Gottesmutter von Ljeviša in Prizren*, Giessen 1955, 12–14; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 133–148; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 88–96; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 228–230; Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 127–128 et passim; B. Todić, *Prôtaton et la peinture serbe des premières décennies du XIV^e siècle*, 29–31. Recently, V. J. Djurić found a place for these paintings in the broader phenomenon of art of the transitional style, Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 71–72.

³³ These seemingly small particularities, deftly woven through the painting from Ljeviška, reveal the artists' gift for direct and picturesque expression as well as the inspiration they found in some Hellenistic models; among other texts cf. R. Hamann-Mac Lean, *Aus der Mittelalterlichen Bildwelt Jugoslawiens*, Abb. 13–14, 18–21, 26–29; M. Tatić-Djurić, *Jedna groteska iz Ljeviške*, Zograf 4 (1972), 24–26; I. Djordjević, *Stari i Novi zavet na ulazu u Bogorodicu Ljevišku*, Zbornik LU 9 (1973), 15–25; Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 142, 145–146; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 87–88.

³⁴ As opposed to the extensive bibliography on the identification of Astrapas with Michael, not much has been done to distinguish the merits of different artists working in Ljeviška. Apart from Petar Miljković-Peppek, whose investigations touch on this problem (Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 228–230), only G. Babić has studied this problem in greater depth and determined the differences in the wall paintings of Ljeviška which she ascribed to several painters (Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 89–93).

³⁵ On the signature of the painter Michael in St. Prochor of Pčinja cf. Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 117–137, with the best descriptions of the remains of the older frescoes and an explanation of their relation with the younger paintings from 1488/9 (there, these authors date the frescoes in question to the period between 1316 and 1318). About the brick with Sava's name cf. B. Deljanin, *Istraživački radovi u 1983. godini u ma-*

nastiru Prohoru Pčinjskom, Glasnik DKS 8 (1984), 42–43; Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 123–124.

³⁶ Owing to these recorded dates (on them Miljković-Peppek, *Pišuvanite podatoci*, 141, note 6, 157–158; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 33; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 23, 57; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 26–27, drawings 2, 4, 26) the frescoes from Nagoričino are reliably dated to the period between 6825 and 6826, i.e. 1316/1317 and 1317/1318.

³⁷ The artistic characteristics of the Nagoričino frescoes have been the subject of interest of just a few authors, somewhat more extensively on the subject Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 102–105; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 120–200; M. Σωτηρίου, *Η Μακεδονική σχολή και η λεγομένη Σχολή Μιλουτιν*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/5 (1969), 1–25; Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 130–132 et passim; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 156–157; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 72; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 127–138. Michael and Eutychios synchronised their work in Nagoričino to the greatest possible extent which makes it very difficult to determine the authorship of the individual frescoes. Miljković-Peppek (*Deloto*, 190–197) put in the greatest effort to determine the different artistic procedures on the Nagoričino frescoes and to ascribe them to Michael, Eutychios and their associates.

³⁸ The numerous scholars who wrote about the frescoes of this Studenica church assumed that they were created before those of Nagoričino, i.e. around 1315, cf. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 70–71 and note 52 (with the best list of works on the frescoes of Kraljeva crkva). However, these frescoes from Studenica could not have been painted before those of Nagoričino, meaning that they were created after Nagoričino and before Gračanica, most probably in 1318–1319. Quite different views have been expressed in regard of the question whether Michael and Eutychios were really their authors, since their signatures have not been preserved in this church, and these hesitations have been dispelled by the more recent studies: Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 152–158; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 213–216; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 71; Todić, *Manastir Studenica*, 211–212; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 200–218; Babić, *Studenica*, 124 et passim.

³⁹ The artistic values of the frescoes from Kraljeva crkva have so far been best assessed by Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 105–109 and Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 193–219; cf. also Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 152–158; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 213–217; M. Rajković, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici*, Beograd 1964, pp. I–VII; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 70–71; Todić, *Manastir Studenica*, 204–212; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 74–75.

⁴⁰ Attempts to "distinguish the handwritings" have been made in just two instances: Todić, *Manastir Studenica*, 210–211 and Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 201–218. We have both, each on his or her own, reached practically the same results. Gordana Babić identifies the first artist with Michael and recognises Eutychios in the other.

⁴¹ Apart from the great number of authors who touched upon the question of the artistic qualities of the frescoes from Gračanica, more on this question in S. Radojčić, *Gračanica*, Hrišćansko delo 4 (1938), 24–34; id., *Freske u Milutinovim zadužbinama*, Umetnički pregled II/7 (1939), 202–207; id., *Gračanica i Dečani*, ibid., III/4–5 (1940), 130–133; Hallensleben,

Die Malerschule, 158–160; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 112–120; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 233–234; Radojčić, *Gračaničke freske*, 173–180; Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 132 et passim; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 72–73; Todić, *Gračanica*, 191–234.

⁴² In the historiography of Gračanica there are several attempts to distinguish the various works of the individual artists: N. Mavrodinov, *Starob'lgarskata živopis*, Sofija 1946, 140; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 116; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 73; D. Milošević, *Gračanica*, Beograd s. d., 23; Radojčić, *Gračaničke freske*, 177; Todić, *Gračanica*, 229–232.

⁴³ The participation of Michael and Eutychios in the decoration of Gračanica was assumed by Dj. Bošković, *O nekim našim graditeljima i slikarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka*, 28–129; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 233–234; D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting. The Last Phase*, London 1968, 112; J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, London 1970, 149; Mijović, *Menolog*, 77–85; D. Milošević, *Manastir Gračanica*, 22–26; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 72–73 and note 54; Todić, *Gračanica*, 232–234.

⁴⁴ The signatures of the painters Michael and Eutychios have long since been published: G. Millet, *Sur le nom de deux peintres à St. Nikita*, *Compte rendus des Séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris 1934, 223; Dj. Bošković, *Nekoliko natpisa sa zidova srpskih srednjovekovnih crkava*, *Spomenik SKA LXXXVII* (1938), 9; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 22, fig. 2. The frescoes are usually dated to the period between 1307 and 1316, but already Lazarev (*Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*, Moskva 1948, 328) believed that they are of a considerably later date, from around 1320. Having conditionally accepted the standard chronology in his doctoral thesis, P. Miljković-Peppek (*Deloto*, 5–53) faced serious problems in attempting to fit the decoration of St. Nikita, dated in such a manner, in the course of evolution of the work of Michael and Eutychios, and even went as far as suggesting that it could have been the work of some of their associates. Still, he discarded the possibility he sensed at one point (*Deloto*, 53, 98) that these frescoes could have been created after those of Nagoričino as "practically impossible". Considerably later, however, he did date them to the period around 1320 (Miljković-Peppek, *Crkvata Sv. Nikita*, 381–383; Miljković-Peppek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 58–59). Such dating is predominant in more recent texts: Todić, *Gračanica*, 223; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 215 et passim; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 92 et passim.

⁴⁵ Since the church of St. Nikita has not yet received an all-encompassing monograph, its frescoes and their artistic qualities have only been regarded in passing and insufficiently; cf. the most informative texts so far: F. Mesesnel, *Živopis crkve Sv. Nikite u Skopskoj Crnoj Gori*, *Godišnjak Skopskog Filozofskog fakulteta I* (1930), 148–150; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 121–127; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 98–100; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 126–127, 133, 135, 137, 139–140, 142–143, 145–153, 158–160, 169–170, 181–182, 188–190.

⁴⁶ The differences spotted on the frescoes in the church have rightly been ascribed to the personal contributions of Michael and Eutychios; on that question, in great detail, Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 188–190 and, briefly, Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 70.

⁴⁷ The frescoes from Mušutište have been studied most completely by Djurić, *Nepoznati spomenici*, 61–67, figs. 2–7. Brief notes on their appearance and qualities are published, among others, also by Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74; Miljković-Peppek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 58–59 and Djordjević, *Zidno slikarstvo*, 50.

⁴⁸ The rich iconography of the frescoes has left the study of their artistic qualities in the shadow. Something on this subject in Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 109–112; *Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, 260–262 (P. Mijović) (including the best reproductions of the frescoes, figs. 93–98) and Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74.

⁴⁹ The scarce remains of frescoes from Banjska have not been the subject of interest of historians of medieval art. They are mentioned, more in passing, and their golden background pointed out by Radojčić, *Majstori*, 18, 35 (based on the written sources, he believed that they were associated with the XIII century); Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 86; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 258. V. J. Djurić (*La peinture murale de l'Ecole de la Morava*, *La peinture de l'Ecole de la Morava*, Beograd 1968, 36) was the first to mention that the medallions were connected by circular bands forming the figure eight, and M. Šuput (*Manastir Banjska*, Beograd 1989, 34–35, fig. 24) is the only one to have published a part of these frescoes, praising their high quality and allowing for the possibility, in the form of a question, that they are the work of Michael and Eutychios. Similar works are to be found in St. Mary Pammakaristos (H. Belting – C. Mango – D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos – Fethiye Camii – at Istanbul*, Washington 1978), above all in the dome (figs. 32, 43) and even more in the altar space (figs. 75, 77, 79–81) as well as in the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki (Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble*, Taf. 15, 23). For Danilo's comparison of Banjska with Studenica cf. Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 194; on the fascination of the unknown writer with its gold Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 36.

⁵⁰ The basic study on Kalliergis is the monograph by Σ. Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*. Following the publication of this book, several other texts important for understanding his work appeared: Mouriki, *Stylistic Trends*, 66–68; Tsitouridou, *La peinture monumentale à Salonique*, 12–14; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 73–75; Θ. Παπαζώτος, *Η Βέροια και οι ναοί της (11ος–18ος αι.)*, Αθήνα 1994, 172–175, 253–257. The connection between the frescoes of Georgios Kalliergis and those in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos has been noted by Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 28; Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 78–83; T. Velmans, *Les fresques de Saint-Nicolas Orphanos à Salonique et les rapports entre la peinture d'icônes et la décoration monumentale au XIV^e siècle*, CA 16 (1966), 169, 172; Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*, 116–121; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, passim. Finally, there are some art historians who believe that there the frescoes of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and those of Michael and Eutychios are very similar, especially when the later works of the two painters are concerned, like those from Nagoričino and St. Nikita: Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 43; Ξυγγόπουλος, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου*, 25–26; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 213, note 134; Mijović, *Menolog*, 78; Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, passim; Tsitouridou, *La peinture monumentale à Salonique*, 12.

⁵¹ Among the works mentioned in the previous note we should single out the latest monograph written by Anna Tsitouridou who also discusses with great interest the artistic value of the frescoes from Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos (Τσιτουρίδου, 'Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός, 224–266).

⁵² The original and cleaned frescoes of the Chilandar katholikon have been studied most thoroughly by V. J. Djurić: Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 71–83; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 81–86; Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 32–41; Djurić, *Narthex de Chilandar*, 105–121. Some information on them also in Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 180–181; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 86; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 160; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 230–233; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74 and S. Petković, *Hilandar*, Belgrad 1989, 35–36.

⁵³ The question of identity of the artist who painted these frescoes has long been a subject of interest among art historians. At first it seemed that they were close to the works of Michael and Eutychios (Dj. Bošković, *O nekim našim graditeljima i slikarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka*, 128, 130; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 230–233), but, at the same time, there were also assumptions that they could be ascribed to Georgios Kalliergis (Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 78–81; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 127; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74), cf. also P. Miljković-Peppek, *Denešnite možnosti za određivanje na avtorite na freskite vo glavnata manastirska crkva na Hilandar*, Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna istorija X/2–3 (1966), 203–218. Following the uncovering of the other parts of the original frescoes, it turned out that it is best to associate them with artists close to Georgios Kalliergis and his contemporaries who worked in Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos (Πελεκανίδης, Καλλιέργης, 112–114; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 84–86; Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 37–41). Once the numerous frescoes still covered by the XIX century layer of painting are cleaned, we shall certainly be able to approach the problem of their authors with greater clarity.

⁵⁴ So far, frescoes in the refectory of Chilandar have been studied only by V. J. Djurić (Djurić, *Chilandar*, 88 and, in greater detail, Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 41–53, including the best assessment of their style, pp. 49–53), useful notes about them are also found in S. Petković, *Hilandar*, 42.

⁵⁵ Again, V. J. Djurić is the only scholar who has written

about these frescoes, in one instance quite briefly (Djurić, *Chilandar*, 88, 92), and then in far greater detail (Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 53–62, on style 60–61).

⁵⁶ Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 175. On the merits of king Milutin in the renovation of Chilandar and the works of art from his era in the monastery cf. the concise and clear survey in Djurić, *Chilandar*, 68–98.

⁵⁷ S. Radojčić is the scholar who devoted most attention to this icon within the framework of broader investigations of Chilandar and its icons: Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173; Radojčić, *Die serbische Ikonenmalerei*, 72, Taf. 8; *Icons – Sinai, Grèce, Bulgarie, Yougoslavie*, Paris – Grenoble 1966, pp. LXV, XCVIII; cf. also Djurić, *Chilandar*, 64, pl. 47.

⁵⁸ These Chilandar icons have mostly been treated only briefly and in passing: Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86, pls. 70–71.

⁵⁹ This icon has not by far been studied in an adequate manner, a more thorough study of its exceptional artistic values and iconography is still lacking. It has long since been noted but referred to only in passing: Radojčić, *Die serbische Ikonenmalerei*, 73–74; *Ikone*, Beograd 1983, 140 (G. Babić); Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86, pl. 72. For now, the most comprehensive text about it is that by Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 81–82.

⁶⁰ This icon was spotted and its artistic qualities investigated by V. J. Djurić who associated it with the frescoes in the katholikon: Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 82, figs. 34–35; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86, 88.

⁶¹ The Chilandar dyptich has been thoroughly studied, its origins have been determined and it has been dated to the close of the XIII or the first years of the XIV century: Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173; S. Radojčić, *Hilandarski diptih. Novi prilog poznavanju mletačke minijature kasnog XIII veka*, Glas SAN CCXXXIV, Odeljenje društvenih nauka 7 (= Članci i studije, 1933–1978, Beograd 1982, 150–153); P. Huber, *Image et message. Miniatures byzantines de l'Ancienne et du Nouveau Testament*, Zurich 1975, 143–150, fig. 1–17, 19–21, 23–24, 27 (all with the mark C); *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, II, Athens 1975, 392–394, figs. 432–443; Djurić, *Chilandar*, 96.





XXXIV

Čučer, St. Nikita, *Dormition of the Virgin*, around 1320



XXXV

Čučer, St. Nikita, *Anapeson*, around 1320



XXXVI

Čučer, St. Nikita, *Communion of the Apostles with bread*, around 1320



XXXVII

Čučer, St. Nikita, *Purification of the Temple*, around 1320



XXXVIII

Thessaloniki, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, *Marriage at Cana*, 1315–1320



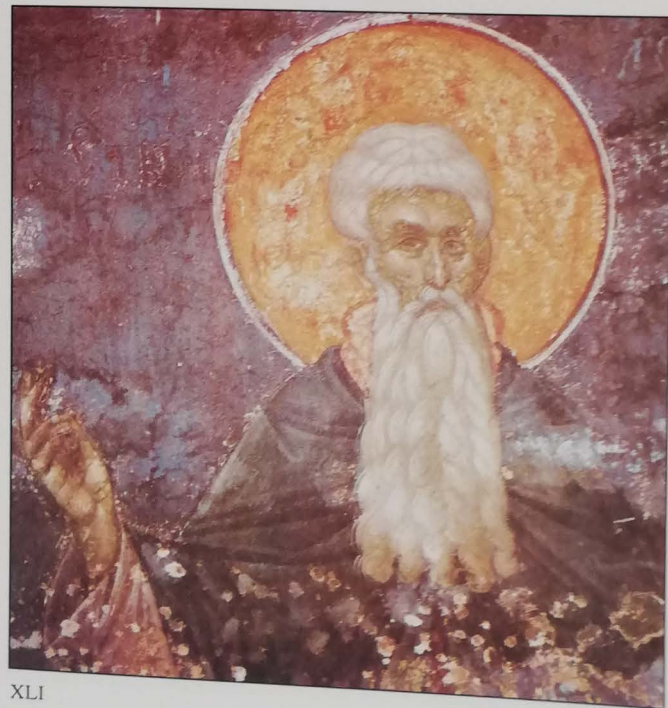
XXXIX

Chilandar, katholikon, *Holy warriors*, 1320–1321



XL

Thessaloniki, Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, *Frescoes in the apse*, 1315–1320



XLI

Chilandar, katholikon, *St. Arsenios*, 1320–1321



XLII

Chilandar, katholikon, *Purification of the Temple*, 1320–1321



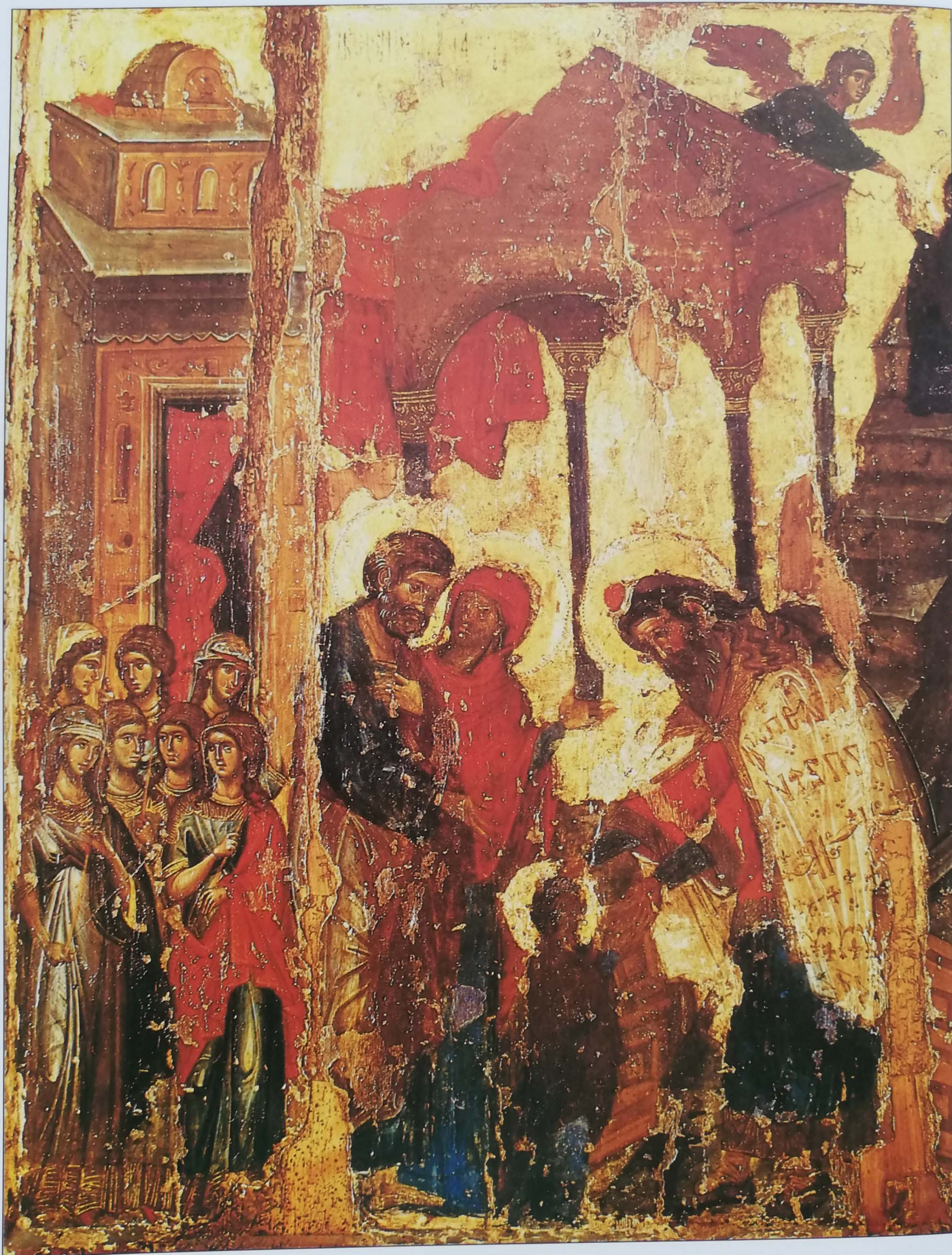
XLIII

Chilandar, katholikon, *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, 1320–1321



XLIV

Chilandar, Icon of St. Panteleimon, beginning of the XIV century



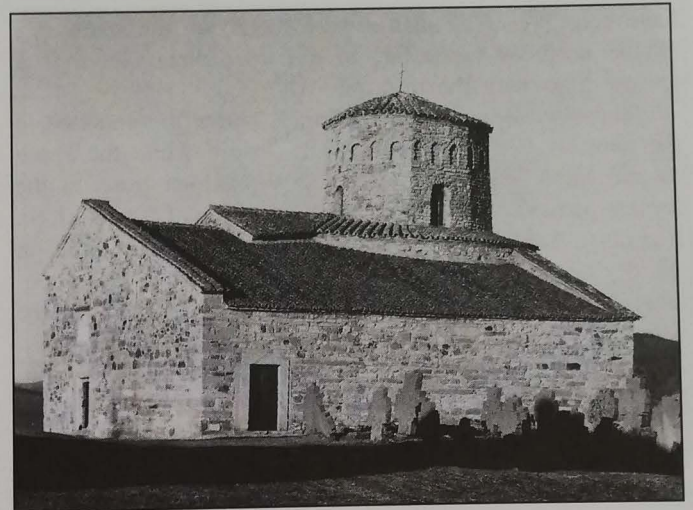
XLV

Chilandar, Icon of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, beginning of the XIV century

THE MONUMENTS
AND
THEIR STUDY

Ras

Church of St. Peter



The church was raised on the site of an ancient pagan sanctuary, probably in the VI century. It seems that it was fundamentally reconstructed in the X century and renovated subsequently several times during the Middle Ages, the period of Turkish rule and the XIX century. It served as the see of the bishops of Ras and belonged at first to the archbishoprics of Dyrrachium and Ohrid and then, after 1219, to the Serbian archbishopric so that bishops (and, from 1346 on, metropolitans) presided in it until 1786. Cf. Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije*, 171, 139–141 et passim; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*, 67–71; J. Nešković – R. Nikolić, *L'église Saint-Pierre près de Novi Pazar*, Belgrade 1987, 5–15.

The architecture of this church underwent many changes, some of its parts were torn down and others added on. Its original kernel, in which the frescoes are located, has the shape of a rotunda combined with a tetraconch encircled on the north, west and south side by an ambulatory divided into smaller spatial units, serving as a narthex and parekklesion. There is a circular gallery on the upper floor and a dome over the central space. Cf. J. Nešković, *Petrova crkva kod Novog Pazara*, Zbornik Arhitektonskog fakulteta VI/5 (1960–1961), 1–33; J. Nešković – R. Nikolić, *L'église Saint-Pierre*, 17–38.

There are several layers of wall paintings in the church. The oldest frescoes were probably painted in the X century and the second layer dates from the second half of the XII century. The third layer of frescoes, from the 1280's, once covered all the walls of this church but only random remains of it have been preserved in the altar, the dome and the space beneath it, the south and west conch and the former narthex. None of the layers of wall paintings are accompanied by historical inscriptions or mentioned in narrative sources, so that their chronology is based on iconographical and stylistic traits.

The most recent layer of frescoes, as all others,

remained covered by a coat of mortar until 1956 when it was discovered. For the most part the frescoes have lost their original coloration in a fire which broke out at an unknown time.

The inscriptions on the XIII century layer of frescoes are in Serbian while Greek appears only in several spots in the dome.

The authors of the frescoes are not known.

In the summit of the *dome* is Christ Pantokrator encircled by the text of Psalm 32, 13–14 and further down are ten prophets (among them Elijah, Solomon, David and Daniel with preserved names) and four archangels (Michael and Gabriel with inscriptions). The south-east squinch is taken up by a half-figure of Aaron while the space between the squinches is taken by the Crucifixion on the east and the Entry into Jerusalem on the north side. In the zone beneath the dome are the Mandelion and the Annunciation above the triumphal arch, evangelist John above the south-east and evangelist Matthew (?) above the north-east pilaster.

Below the Virgin of the Signs on the vault of the *sanctuary* are angels (only that on the north side is better preserved), and in the lowest register are remains of two bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. In the niche located in the south part of the sanctuary is the cross of Golgotha accompanied by a cryptogram $\Phi \bar{X} \Phi \bar{\Pi}$.

The lowest zone of the *naos* is the best preserved. Of the ktetor's composition in the south conch only Christ the Merciful with an open book (John 8, 10) has survived, approached by the Virgin and a monk (Symeon Nemanja?) with arms stretched out in prayer. On the south side of the south-west pilaster there are traces of a martyr and St. Christopher while St. John the Merciful appears on its front side, above the episcopal throne. Figures of Ephraim (?) the Syriac, Panteleimon (?) and a part of a holy doctor

have been preserved in the west conch; on the south side of the north-west pilaster, in a corner niche, there is a leaved cross with the inscription $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$.

In the *narthex*, on the east wall, above the entrance to the naos, is the Dormition of the Virgin while the space on the south wall above the doorway which leads to the former *parekklesion* is decorated with a half-figure of St. Nicholas. Adjoining the passage is the figure of Symeon the Stylite and the inner faces of the doorway are decorated with floral ornaments and a leaved cross, with the initial letters of Christ's name.

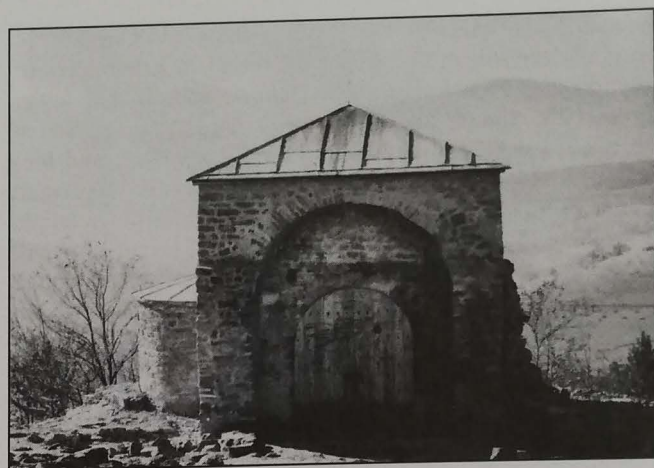
Soon after they were uncovered, the frescoes of the third layer were well described and published: Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra*, 44–47, figs. 4–10; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 213–214; D. Tasić, *Crkva sv. Petra i Pavla kod Novog Pazara*, in: *Novi Pazar i okolina*, Beograd 1969, 125; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 212–214; J. Nešković – R. Nikolić, *L'église Saint-Pierre*, 55–58; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*, 90–93. Some of the irregularities in the distribution of frescoes Ćorović-Ljubinković (*Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra*, 47) saw as a result of the unsuitable surfaces of the church interior while Radojčić (*Slikarstvo*, 18) assumed that the choice of themes and their iconography were dependent on the older layer. Cf. also S. Mandić, *Drevnik*, Beograd 1975, 43–45 (on the Psalm written around the Pantokrator in the dome).

Most of the attention of the scholars was devoted to the dating and the style of the frescoes. Suspicions that those in the dome and the sanctuary belong to the XIII century (Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra*, 44, 46; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 18; J. Nešković – R. Nikolić, *L'église Saint-Pierre*, 51; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*, 84) were dispersed by Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59. Immediately upon their discovery, the frescoes were associated with the XIII century but it was also considered possible that they dated from the close of the preceding century (M. Ladjević, *Rezultati ispitivačkih radova*, 162) while R. Nikolić thought that they could even date from the first half (R. Nikolić, *Petrova crkva i Djurdjevi Stubovi*, Beograd 1961, 6) or the middle of the XIII century (J. Nešković – R. Nikolić, *L'église Saint-Pierre*, 57). However, other researchers made correct datings to the close of the XIII century: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 18; D. Tasić in: *Srbija – znamenitosti i lepote*, Beograd 1965, 219; id., *Crkva sv. apostola Petra i Pavla kod Novog Pazara*, 125; Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra*, 48–49;

Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59. There were even attempts to determine their ktetor, mostly through the damaged ktetor's composition, because, with its mediating figures of the Virgin and a monk, it was irresistably reminiscent of other similar compositions found in the endowments of the Nemanjids in the XIII century. With the exception of Nikolić (J. Nešković – R. Nikolić, *L'église Saint-Pierre*, 57), who recognised the person of Stefan Prvovenčani in the figure of the monk and assumed that the ktetor could have been Uroš I, other scholars were inclined to consider either king Dragutin (D. Tasić, *Crkva sv. apostola Petra i Pavla kod Novog Pazara*, 125; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*, 91, at the same time this author also assumed that the frescoes date from the period of Dragutin's independent reign) or king Milutin as the one who commissioned the painting of these frescoes: Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra*, 41; *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 482 (G. Babić-Djordjević). The features which lead most researchers to date the wall paintings of Petrova crkva to the last decades of the XIII century were their style and similarity to other contemporary works of art in Serbia.

The artistic characteristics of the frescoes received somewhat greater attention in the works of Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra*, 47–48; *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 423–424 (V. J. Djurić); Todić, *Srpske freske*, 80–81 et passim; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*, 93–96. Their closeness to the decoration of the side chapels of Sopoćani (V. J. Djurić, *Sopoćani*, Beograd 1991, 61, 144), as well as with that of Dragutin's chapel, Arilje and some other monuments, was spotted early on: D. Tasić, *Crkva sv. apostola Petra i Pavla kod Novog Pazara*, 125; Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra*, 47–48; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59; Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*, 96. Attempts were also made to distinguish the individual works of several painters: according to M. Ćorović-Ljubinković (*Živopis crkve Svetoga Petra*, 47, 49), there were three local painters of varying capabilities while Mihailović (*Crkva Svetog Petra*, 94) demonstrated that only two artists worked in this church. Differences in the assessment of the values of the frescoes are just as important and range from views that "there is not even the slightest trace heralding the new style of the Palaiologoi" (Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*, 95) to convictions that they actually belong to the early Palaiologan style (Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 214).

Djurdjevi Stupovi in Ras Dragutin's chapel



In the days of king Dragutin, the monastery entrance tower was transformed into a parekklesion of unknown dedication. Along with other undertakings, this act was a part of the particular care which king Dragutin dedicated to the monastery raised by his great-grandfather Stefan Nemanja, all with the intention of making it his resting place, a desire actually realised with his burial there in 1316. Dragutin's endeavours focused on the restoration of the monastery are associated with the period of his independent reign (1276–1282) although it went on even after that time. Today, it is certain that the narthex was covered with wall paintings prior to 1282 and the chapel only after that year (Z. Zeković, *Konzervacija zidnih slika manastirskog kompleksa Djurdjevi Stupovi u Rasu*, Glasnik DKS 5, 1981, 4; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarske insignije*, 50). The parekklesion shared the fate of the monastery, especially after the monastery became deserted in 1689, but, all in all, suffered less damage. Its frescoes became the subject of scholarly interest before they were considerably damaged during World War I or covered with a layer of mortar during World War II (Dj. Bošković, *Stanje srednjovekovnih spomenika u jugozapadnoj Srbiji, Kosmetu i severoistočnom delu Crne Gore*, Muzeji 1, 1948, 100). They were cleaned in 1965 and 1970–1974 (R. Stanić in: *Raška baština* 1, 1975, 303; Z. Zeković, *Konzervacija zidnih slika*, 42–45).

The ground floor of the former entrance tower determined the appearance of the parekklesion with its square plan, a wide semicircular entrance on the north side and a shallow altar space with an apse created in place of the eastern entrance (this apse has recently been restored: V. R. Petković, *Narodni muzej u 1926*, Godišnjak SKA XXXV, 1927, 298). This room is covered with a ribbed cross vault. On the architecture of the parekklesion cf. J. Nešković, *Djurdjevi Stupovi u Starom Rasu*, Kraljevo 1984, 194–200.

So far, its frescoes have been dated to 1282–1283 based

on the portraits present in its decoration (Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27). It seems, however, that they are of a slightly later date since the name of king Milutin's wife, that is the name of the Thessalian princess he was married to at that time, was not Jelena, as deciphered by A. F. Gil'ferding, *Sobranie sočinenij, III. Poezdka po Gercegovine, Bosnii i Staroj Serbii*, S.-Petersburg 1873, 97 (although his reading can not be checked because this inscription no longer exists). Since no wife of king Milutin's, from 1282 on, was called Jelena, we should assume that what Hilferding saw was only a part of a name of some other spouse of this Serbian king, either Jelisiveta (1283–1284) or Ana (1284–1299). Moreover, because there is no portrait of Urošić, Dragutin's second son born around 1285, we should presume that the frescoes were created between 1283 and 1285.

They are probably the work of some Greek artist. Although the inscriptions are in Serbian there are also some written out in Greek or in a combined Greek-Serbian form.

The triangular segments of the cross vault bear four representations of Serbian councils with the following scenes: Nemanja handing over his throne to his son Stefan, the enthronement of king Uroš I, the enthronement of king Stefan Dragutin and Dragutin giving his throne to his brother Milutin. The intrados of the arch in front of the apse is decorated with the images of two cherubim, there is a Mandelion above the apse, beneath it are the half-figures of Sts. Joachim and Anne and lower still the images of two stylites: St. Symeon Thaumaturgos and St. Symeon the Stylite. On the south wall is the Holy Trinity in the form of Hospitality of Abraham and, in the lower register, a line of Nemanjids before an enthroned Christ: Symeon Nemanja ("St. Symeon Nemanja, lord of all Serbian lands..."), Stefan Prvovenčani as the monk Simon ("... Stefan the First-Crowned Serbian King, monk Simon"), king Uroš as the monk Symeon ("Stefan King Uroš, monk

Symeon") and queen Jelena ("Jelena the Great Queen"). In the upper register of the *west wall* there are half-figures of holy doctors Panteleimon and Damian and, in the lower register, the figures of the ktetor, king Dragutin ("Stefan the King, son of the Holy and Great King Uroš, and ktetor of this Holy Church"), with a model of the small church in his hands, his son (Vladislav) and wife Katelina, as well as king Milutin and his wife (Jelisaveta or Ana). At the top of the *north wall* is the Keramion and around it half-figures of Sts. Cyrus and John and, beneath them, the figures of two unidentified saints. Inside the entrance there are representations of Christ blessing with both hands and, below him, the apostles Peter and Paul.

Since portraits of Nemanjic family members and images of events from Serbian history dominate the decoration of the parekklesion, it is understandable why in the historiography of Dragutin's chapel they received most of the scholarly attention. Of the older texts on the monastery of Djurdjevi Stupovi the most valuable is that of Hilferding, *Poezdka*, 96–97, which publishes the inscriptions by the historical figures in the bottom register. Most probably, it was based on them that Radojčić, *Portreti*, 27–28 determined the identities of the portrayed figures, dated the frescoes and explained their iconography, in light of similar representations in Serbian and Byzantine art. In doing so, he also relied on I. Ruvarac (*O ženama kralja Stefana Uroša II Milutina*, Zbornik Ilariona Ruvarca, I, Beograd 1934, 17), who, basing his views on Hilferding's readings, believed that the woman depicted by Milutin's side was his wife Jelena, the daughter of John, sebastokrator of Thessaly, to whom the king was married from 1282 to 1283. The views of Ruvarac and Radojčić were upheld for a number of years before first shadows of doubt were cast upon them by M. Dinić (*Comes Constantinus*, ZRVI, 7, 1961, 2) and, following him, V. Mošin (*Balkanskata diplomatija i dinastičkite brakovi na kralot Milutin*, Spomenici na Makedonija, II, 149–185). They were finally discarded by Lj. Maksimović and I. Djurić (*Vizantijski izvori*, VI, 38–43, notes 80–83 and 137–139, note 109): Maksimović claims that this portrait represents Milutin's first wife whose name was indeed Jelena (*Vizantijski izvori*, VI, 41, note 82), while Djurić, allowing for the possibility that the inscription was incorrectly deciphered, believes that this portrait represents one of the first three wives of king Milutin – either a Serbian or a Thessalian lady of unknown name or the Hungarian gentlewoman by the name of Jelisaveta – depicted prior to the year 1282 (Djurić, *Deževski sabor*, 191–193). We can accept Djurić's hesitancy regarding the correct reading of the inscriptions but not his assumption that Dragutin's chapel was decorated in two turns: before and after 1282. These representations were also the subject of interest, from different viewpoints, of

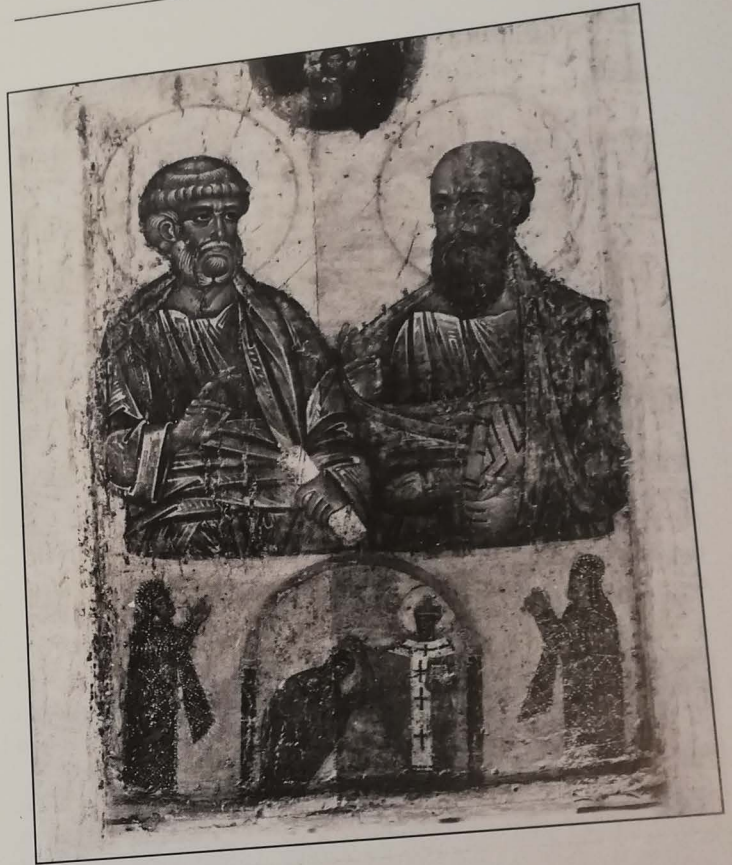
R. Nikolić, *Zašto se kralj Milutin kao ktitor nije slikao sa sinovima*, Raška baština 2 (1980), 94–98; M. Tatić-Djurić, *L'iconographie de la donation dans l'ancien art serbe*, Actes du XIV^e congr. int. des études byzantines, III, Bucarest 1971, 316 and Babić, *Peintures murales byzantines*, 368. Representations of Serbian councils were noted, identified and thoroughly investigated by Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije* (II), 131–137, so that both his own subsequent works and those of other art historians only repeated and implemented the conclusions published in this study: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59; *Istorijske kompozicije*, I, 422–423 (V. J. Djurić); Milošević, *Die Heiligen Serbiens*, 18–19; J. Nešković – D. Milošević, *Les "Tours de St. Georges" dans le vieux Ras*, Belgrade 1986, 49–60; Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 109 and a series of other less significant texts published after 1967.

Other frescoes did not draw that much scholarly attention. Briefly and incompletely, they were described by N. L. Okunev, *Stolpy Svjatogo Georgija*, SK (1927), 245; Okunev, *Portrety korolej-ktitorov*, 94–95 (dates them to the early XIV century, between 1314 and 1316) as well as by R. Nikolić, *Petrova crkva i Djurdjevi Stupovi*, Beograd 1961, 14. They were listed more precisely by Petković, *Pregled*, 115–116; D. Tasić, *Djurdjevi Stupovi*, in: *Novi Pazar i okolina*, Beograd 1969, 134–135; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 168–169; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 59; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 165; J. Nešković – D. Milošević, *Les "Tours de St. Georges"*, 49–61. The programme of the frescoes was considered only in the work of Babić, *Les chapelles*, 169, who noticed that it is rather similar to narthex programmes. V. J. Djurić (*Istorijske kompozicije*, II, 136–137) associated the image of the Holy Trinity with representations of councils above it. In the same text he also pointed out the connection between Serbian rulers and several other frescoes in this Chapel: holy stylites were painted here as name-sakes of the progenitor of the family and the first ktetor of the monastery, Symeon Nemanja, holy doctors – the most numerous group of saints in this space – appear to be the guardian saints of the ktetor of this small church, king Dragutin, who fell ill after falling from his horse and stepping down from the throne (cf. also Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60).

Having noticed the mixture of Serbian and Greek in the inscriptions, Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIII^e siècle*, 156, determined the Greek origins of the painters and found similar works in Constantinople: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 60. In the same text he also offered a brief assessment of the artistic qualities of the frescoes while a more detailed investigation of their stylistic and artistic features was undertaken by Todić, *Srpske freske*, 77, 80, 85, 87.

Best reproductions of the frescoes, although not all, in D. Milošević – J. Nešković, *Les "Tours de St. Georges"*, figs. 1, 31–38.

Rome
Icon of the apostles Peter and Paul



Icon (72.5 x 51 cm), linen canvass on wood, chalk ground, tempera. Originally with golden ground (now yellow) and a silver revetment (?) (Radojčić, *Die serbische Ikonmalerei*, 70–71). In the upper part, against a dark blue semicircular background studded with stars, is a half-figure of Christ blessing with both hands. Below him are half-figures of the apostles Peter and Paul, half-turned towards each other. Lower still, under a decorative twisted arch resting on colonettes and against a green background, is a figure of a bowing woman in monastic habit (Jelena) with arms stretched out towards an unknown saint wearing a red chasuble sprinkled with tiny flowers and a white pallium, a conical mitre and a pastoral staff with which he dispenses benediction. Figures of two kings (Dragutin and Milutin) appear on either side of this scene, both dressed in red divetesia with loroi crossed on their chests, bearing spherical crowns and sporting red shoes, turning towards each other with raised arms.

Already in 1304 the icon was located in the treasury of popes Boniface VIII and Benedict IX. It was repainted several times and cleaned in 1941.

The inscriptions are in Serbian, written out only above Christ and Sts. Peter and Paul.

In 1942, Ammann (A. M. Ammann, *Die Ikone der*

Apostelfürsten in St. Peter zu Rom, *Orientalia christiana periodica* VIII/3–4, 1942, 457–468) published all known archive and historiographical data which indicate that this icon was long considered to be a work of art from the days of emperor Constantine the Great. Although the Slavonic inscriptions on it, the iconography and the shape of the episcopal mitre convinced researchers that it could not have been created prior to the XIII century ideas of its greater antiquity still lingered on: G. Anichini (G. Anichini, *Di un antico quadro nella Basilica Vaticana*, *Rivista di archeologia e critica* 18, 1941, 141–149) believed that it was made in the XII century and identified the royal figures as the brothers Stefan Nemanja and Miroslav. A correct assessment of the chronology of the icon and its iconography was offered by Volbach (W. F. Volbach, *Die Ikone der Apostelfürsten in St. Peter zu Rom*, *Orientalia christiana periodica* VII/3–4, 1941, 480–496). He assumed that this icon reached Rome around the year 1300 and that it was modelled after an icon which pope Sylvester received from emperor Constantine which was kept in Rome. Through stylistic analysis and comparison with Serbian frescoes and icons from Ohrid from the XIII and XIV centuries, he concluded that the icon was painted around the year 1300 because it is closest to the frescoes of Arilje. He identified the historical personages correctly as kings Dragutin and Milutin and their mo-

ther Jelena. In her review of Volbach's study, M. Ćorović-Ljubinković (Starinar I, 1950, 253–255) discarded his assumption that the model for the icon was an older example from the IV century and was more inclined to compare it with the later churches of king Milutin (Nagoričino and St. Nikita). S. Radojčić also disagreed with Volbach's view on the un-Byzantine appearance of Peter and Paul but he did accept his assessment that the icon is close to the frescoes of Arilje, with ideas that it could have been created in king Dragutin's workshop, the one mentioned by archbishop Danilo (Radojčić, *Die serbische Ikonenmalerei*, 70–71; S. Radojčić, *Ikone Srbije i Makedonije*, Beograd 1961, p. VIII; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 78). At one point he pointed out that this icon could have been painted in Kotor (S. Radojčić, *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1969, 43, 65–66), a view especially strongly defended by P. Mijović (*Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, 269–270; P. Mijović, *Pregled umjetnosti Crne Gore*, Beograd 1976, 41; id., *Umjetničko blago Crne Gore*, Beograd – Titograd 1980, 151–152), G.

Babić (*Ikone*, Beograd 1983, 139) also assumed that the author of the icon was some "Greek painter" from Kotor and denied any degree of actual likeness to the portraits of Jelena, Dragutin and Milutin. Most thoroughly the icon was discussed by Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona apostola Petra i Pavla*, 11–16, who gathered all accessible information on it, studied its iconography and compared it with many Serbian monuments of the XIII century, thus reaching a conclusion that it stands closest to the painting of Gradac. At a later date (M. Tatić-Djurić, *Poznate ikone od XII–XVIII veka*, Beograd 1984, p. XIV) her opinion changed and she dated this icon between 1267 and 1282. Finally, J. Radovanović included this icon in his study of portraits of living men on icons, Radovanović, *Ikonomografska istraživanja*, 61–62.

The icon has been published several times; reproductions have been published by Volbach, Anichini, Radojčić and others while M. Tatić-Djurić published a colour reproduction (Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona apostola Petra i Pavla*). A colour photograph, of the original this time, is found also in *Ikone*, on page 156.



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Vatican, Pinacothek,
Icon of Sts. Peter and Paul with portraits of ktetors,
detail: King Dragutin, end of the XIII century

Arilje

Church of St. Achilleios



The church was raised by king Dragutin on a site with a long history of sacral place in the see of the bishopric of Moravica. Its construction probably began during the years of Dragutin's independent rule and was completed at around the time of the change on the Serbian throne which took place in 1282 (M. Čanak-Medić, *Iz istorije Arilja*, Saopštenja XIV, 1982, 38–41). The church was decorated with wall paintings only in 1295/96, as attested by the inscription running around the perimeter of the base of the dome (Dj. Bošković, *Nekoliko natpisa sa zidova srpskih srednjovekovnih crkava*, Spomenik SKA LXXXVII, 1938, 8–9, fig. 6; B. Živković, *Arilje – raspored fresaka*, Beograd 1970, 6). Not long after that date, an exonarthex was raised adjoining the church and decorated with frescoes. The church served as the cathedral of the bishops of Moravica (Arilje) and from the middle of the XIV century as the see of metropolitans, until 1737 when it became deserted, to be renewed only in the XIX century. Most thoroughly on the history of the monastery and the church in M. Čanak-Medić, *Iz istorije Arilja*, 25–49.

The church is a single-nave structure with a dome resting on pilasters. Originally, it consisted of a narthex, a naos made of the western and the bay under the dome (with two rectangular choirs located on either side of this central space) and an altar ending in a semicircular apse and flanked, on the north and the south, by two parekklesia dedicated to St. Stephen and St. Nicholas. The spacious exonarthex was added around 1300 or shortly after that year. Concisely and clearly on the architecture of the Arilje church in M. Čanak-Medić, *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju*, Beograd 1982, 10–16).

The wall paintings, dated precisely to 1295/96, are quite well preserved. The frescoes are mostly damaged on the vaults, in the north choir and the apse while those in the parekklesion of St. Stephen have vanished completely. The extant frescoes have been cleaned of dust and soot in

1955–1956 (M. Ladjević, *Radovi na živopisu u Arilju, Veluču i Ježevici*, Saopštenja I, 1956, 42–43) and once again in our time, with no report published so far on this undertaking.

The painters are not known by name. Based on the preserved abbreviation ΜΑΡΙΟΥ located in a window in the north wall of the west bay it has, however, been established that they came from Thessaloniki (S. Radojčić, *Studije o umetnosti XIII veka*, Glas SAN CCXXXIV/7, 1959, 400–45).

The inscriptions on the frescoes are in Serbian with very rare incursions of those in Greek.

A great number of frescoes has been preserved on the walls of Arilje.

Sanctuary

In the apse there is a Communion of the Apostles with bread and wine. On the inner sides of the apse window there are two leaved crosses with abbreviations $\overline{\text{TC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\text{NI}}$ $\overline{\text{KA}}$ and $\overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{E}}$. In the lower register there is a Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the following holy fathers taking part – on the north side – St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos with an unrolled scroll inscribed with words from the Offertory Prayer, St. Gregory the Theologian with a scroll (the prayer following the Anaphora), St. Basil with a scroll with the text of the Cherubic hymn and – on the south side – St. John Chrysostomos with a scroll (Prayer of Oblation of the Proskomide rite), St. Athanasios with a scroll with the prayer of the First Antiphon and St. Achilleios with a scroll with the words from the service of the Proskomide. In the niche under the window there is an image of the Amnos on an altar table and two Golgotha crosses on the lateral faces of the niche accompanied by abbreviations $\overline{\text{TC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{K}}$. Only traces of the Ascension remain on the vault. On the south wall, below the Nativity, there are two

bishops, participants of the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: St. Cyril with a scroll (Prayer of Thanksgiving) and an unidentified figure with the text of the prayer over the offertory-table following the Prayer below the chancel steps. In the niche above the entrance to the parekklesion of St. Nicholas there is a half-figure of this saint. On the north wall, below the Descent into Hades, there were two figures of bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: an unknown ecclesiastic with a scroll of the Prayer below the chancel steps and St. Gregory of Nyssa with the text of the Prayer following the Communion. The niche above the entrance to the north parekklesion is filled with an image of St. Stephen in half-figure and in the doorway there are two leaved Golgotha crosses with abbreviations $\Phi \bar{X} \Phi \bar{\Pi}$, i.e. $\bar{\Gamma}\bar{C} \bar{X}\bar{C} \bar{N}\bar{\Gamma} \bar{K}\bar{A}$. On the other side of the lunette there is a leaved cross with abbreviations $\bar{\Gamma}\bar{C} \bar{X}\bar{C} \bar{N} \bar{K}$.

The two pilasters on the east, on the sides facing the altar, are each decorated with images of three bishops (names have been preserved by Sts. Spyridon and Blasios) and, in the uppermost zone, a Keramion and four saints in roundelles. On the inner faces of the pilasters and the arch connecting them we find, in the upper register, Sts. Joachim and Anne and, in the lower parts, David (with the text of Ps. 44, 10 written out on a scroll) and Solomon (the text of Proverbs 9, 1 on his scroll) while two holy doctors, Hermolaos and Panteleimon, stand above the iconostasis.

The Parekklesion of St. Nicholas

In the upper zone of the apse is a figure of St. Nicholas and, beneath him, those of two other bishops, James and Acacius. On the south part of the vault, the cycle of St. Nicholas begins with the scene of his Birth and Ordainment as Deacon and continues on the west side with the Ordainment as Priest to end on the north wall with the Miracle of the Three Generals in Constantinople and the Freeing of the Three Innocents from the Sword. In the lower zone, frontally facing the onlooker on the south wall are Sts. Anthimus, Nicholas and Marcianus and, on the west wall, St. Sophronios, deacon Mocius and St. Clement, while Sts. Babylas and Antipas appear on the north wall. In the doorway leading to the altar there are two painted Golgotha crosses: one is accompanied by abbreviations $[\Phi \bar{X}] \Phi \bar{\Pi}$, and the other by $\bar{\Gamma}\bar{C} \bar{X}\bar{C} \bar{N}\bar{\Gamma} \bar{K}\bar{A}$.

Naos

In the drum of the dome, between the windows, there are remains of damaged figures of prophet Moses, with the tablets of the law, Melchizedek, with a vessel and pieces of bread, Zachary (?) with an unrolled scroll (Isaiah 1, 16), Samuel, with the horn of anointment, an unidentified figure and Aaron with the manna vessel and the rod. Under them stands another line of prophets, all shown in half-figure and with texts written out on unrolled scrolls: Jonah (Jonah 2, 3), Joel (Joel 3, 12), Malachi, Zechariah with a sickle, Habakkuk and Sophoniah (Sophoniah 3, 14). Further

still is the inscription concerning the decoration of the church with the date (6)804 (1295/6). The evangelists are on the pendentives: John on the south-east, Mark on the south-west, Luke on the north-west and Matthew on the north-east; the opening words of their gospels are preserved only on the books of John, Mark and Luke.

In the space beneath the dome, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple is located on the east wall, Baptism on the south (a prophet with a scroll inscribed with words from Isaiah 11, 1 and another with the text of Ezekiel 34, 10 appear on the arch), in the lower register stands the Betrayal of Judas and two holy doctors, Sampson and Diomedes, in medallions, as well as the Road to Calvary; on the west wall we find the Transfiguration (two prophets with unrolled scrolls appear on the arch) and on the north the Raising of Lazarus (another two prophets are painted on the arch – probably Eliah and Elisha – with scrolls; one, that of Jeremiah, carries the text of Baruch 3, 36) with the Entry into Jerusalem below it and Sts. Cyrus and, probably, John in medallions as well as Christ Before Pilate, with remains of an inscription from Matthew 27, 24.

Around the iconostasis, on the western faces of the two eastern pilasters, we find the Annunciation and, under it, half-figures of archangels Michael (almost entirely damaged) and Gabriel.

The south choir. On the western part of the vault stand the remains of the Washing of the Feet. On the east wall, from the iconostasis, are the following images: Christ, St. Achilleios, John the Prodromos (the opening verse of the sticheron dedicated to him on his scroll) and Nicholas (?). On the south wall: an unknown megaloschimos, St. Ephrem the Syriac (in a medallion), Peter and Paul and leaved crosses in the lunette of the window ($\bar{\Gamma}\bar{C} \bar{X}\bar{C} \bar{N}$) and on the window posts ($\bar{\Gamma}\bar{C} \bar{X}\bar{C}$). On the west wall: Sts. Constantine and Helena with the cross, John Chrysostomos and the Virgin with Christ.

North choir. On the west wall are Sts. Demetrios, George (?), Theodore Teron and Theodore Stratelates (?). No frescoes have been preserved on the north wall. On the east wall only a small fragment of a figure in monastic habit has survived. Better preserved are the figures of St. Stephen and the Virgin, with arms stretched out in supplication, by the iconostasis.

South-west pilaster. On the east side is a holy warrior and, under this figure, Sts. Sergius and Alexander (in half-figure); on the north: Sts. Auxentius, Menas and Damian; on the west: St. Eugenios and, lower, St. Laurus and Chist at the very bottom of the pilaster.

North-west pilaster. On the east side is an unknown martyr with a sword (St. Bacchus) and another in half-figure; on the south: Sts. Eustratios, Victor and Cosmas in the bottom register; on the west: an unknown deacon at the top of the pilaster (Abibus?) and, below him, Sts. Florus and Symeon Nemanja with an unrolled scroll (Ps. 33, 11) at the very bottom.

West bay. Of the frescoes decorating the front side of the arch connecting the pilasters, five medallions with half-figures of martyrs have been preserved. On the south wall – below an ornamental cornice – are other half-figures of martyrs in medallions. Flanking the window are two figures of martyrs (one being St. Mardarios) and inside the window are two leaved crosses with bases. The middle zone is taken up by the Birth of the Virgin and the bottom register by a line of monks made up of St. Stefan Provovenčani ("St. Simon Stefan King"), Uroš I ("St. Symeon Uroš King") and queen Jelena ("Jelena Queen of all Serbian land"). In the top register of the west wall is the Dormition, south of the entrance stand bishop Jevsevijs ("Jevsevijs, Bishop of Moravica") and archbishop Jevstatije (II) ("Jevstatije, Archbishop of all Serbian land"), small remains of a half-figure appear in the lunette while two Serbian archbishops, St. Jevstatije (I) and Joanikije, stand north of the entrance. In the uppermost zone of the north wall there is a fragment of a saint in a medallion and, flanking the window, figures of two holy martyrs while remains of leaved crosses with bases appear on the inner faces of the window opening (the inscription ΜΑΡΙΟΥ stands by the one on the east). The central zone is taken up by the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and in the bottom register there are figures of Serbian archbishops, St. Sava (II), Arsenije and St. Sava ("St. Sava the first Serbian Archbishop").

Narthex

The vault only displays random traces of the Ecumenical Councils. On the east wall is a fragment of some council and, below it, representations of the Fifth and Fourth (?) Ecumenical Councils as well as the Sacrifice of Abraham and, flanking the entrance, archangel Michael and St. Achilleios (only minor traces remain of the half-figure of Christ in the lunette). The uppermost zone of the south wall contains two medallions of saints in half-figure and, below them, representations of the First (?) Ecumenical Council and Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria while the bottom register displays the ktetor's composition with figures of king Milutin ("Stefan King of all Serbian land and the Littoral Uroš") and king Dragutin ("Stefan King and first ktetor") carrying a model of the church, both are blessed by Christ depicted in half-figure above them, while Dragutin's wife, Katelina ("Katelina Queen"), stands at the end of this sequence of figures. On the west wall is the Tree of Jesse, in the lunette a half-figure of St. Eustathios Placidus, by the entrance stand Dragutin's children, Vladislav and Urošić ("lord Vladislav, lord Urošić, sons of King Stefan"), who receive blessings from Christ Emmanuel painted in a segment of the firmament. The uppermost part of the north wall is likewise decorated with images of two martyrs in medallions, the Seventh (?) Ecumenical Council is below them and, directly beneath it, the Council of Symeon Nemanja ("Council of St. Symeon Nemanja King")

while the bottom zone contains the figure of Gerasim, bishop of Moravica, and the Death Scene of St. Merkurije, bishop of Moravica.

Exonarthex

In the lunette above the former western entrance to the church is a half-figure of St. Achilleios.

In the lunette on the south facade located above the southern entrance to the exonarthex there are remains of a damaged representation of Christ, apparently from the beginning of the XIV century.

The quite well preserved frescoes of Arilje became the subject of scholarly attention early on so that the gathered material and data concerning them is almost entirely complete. Of a number of amateurs of antiquities who visited Arilje during the first half or around the middle of the XIX century and recorded some of their impressions, the article of S. Obradović, *Opisanije okružija užičkog*, Glasnik DSS 10 (1858), 332–333, deserves special mention. The historical figures also drew the attention of M. Valtrović and D. Milutinović who described and even published some of them (Glasnik SUD XLVI, 1878, 253–254; Nova Iskra 1, 1901, 13, 29), while V. R. Petković recorded the inscriptions accompanying them (*Likovi ktitora u starim crkvama srpskim*, Nova Iskra 10, 1911, 301–302) and, a while later, made a correct dating of the frescoes based on an incised inscription from a doorpost of the parekklesion of St. Nicholas (V. R. Petković, *Starine – zapisi, natpisi, listine*, Beograd 1923, 366). The study of Okunev, *Aril'e*, 221–254, was especially important in perceiving the frescoes of this church in their entirety because it offered a careful survey of scenes and single figures of saints, inscriptions and a brief evaluation of the iconography of the themes and the artistic characteristics of the frescoes. Several years prior to the publication of Okunev's study, some of the frescoes were already published and the most important themes noted by V. R. Petković (Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 25–28; II, 16–17, pl. XXX–XXXII). Some twenty years later the same author was to complete this task more thoroughly and with an additional entry on the history of the monastery in another publication, Petković, *Pregled*, 5–8. The publishing of the entire scope of the preserved frescoes from Arilje was especially significant for their scientific study: Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, II, pl. 68–87, 101, 103; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumental-malerei*, 26–27, Abb. 144–157, Plan 18–19; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 164. Apart from several popular monographs which included considerations of the frescoes, although without an intention of perceiving their programme in all its details (M. Tatić-Djurić, *Arilje*, Beograd 1960; S. Petković, *Arilje*, Belgrad 1965; M. Čanak-Medić, *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju*), a quarter of a century ago the drawings of all the frescoes were also published B. Živković, *Arilje – rasposed fresaka*. Useful corrections and additional infor-

mation have been offered by D. Vojvodić, *Prilog iščitavanju ikonografskog programa živopisa u Arilju – naos i oltarski prostor*, Glasnik DKS 20 (1996), 91–96.

Documentary material published in such a manner served as an extraordinarily useful basis for a more indepth investigation of the fresco decoration of Arilje and some of its particular representations. In reviewing the relevant historiography, we find that researchers were first interested in portraits and "historical" compositions. Already the article published by Petković on the subject of ktetors in Serbian churches pointed out the most important historical themes found in Arilje, and they were described more thoroughly by Okunev, *Portreti koroje-ktitorov*, 82–85 and elucidated even better by Radojčić, *Portreti*, 30–35, who, being aware of their crucial importance in determining the appearance of Serbian royal portraits, devoted full attention to the ktetor's composition and explained it as a representation modelled on the form of the Byzantine dual portrait while associating the images of Dragutin's ancestors with similar representations in earlier Serbian art. More thoroughly than M. Kašanin (*Nemanjin sabor na fresci u Arilju*, Politika, 6. January 1931; id., *Portret jedne srpske kraljice*, Vreme, 11–14. April 1931) the same author also interpreted the Council of St. Symeon Nemanja. In addition to that, he also produced an excellent artistic analysis of the portraits. His views on the subject were long regarded as a reliable starting point for further study by subsequent scholars. V. J. Djurić (*Istorijske kompozicije*, II, 137–141) once again focused attention on the representation of Nemanja's council and reviewed meticulously its iconography and meaning and, within the framework of much broader research of death scenes in Serbian art, regarded also the fresco showing the death of bishop Merkurije (Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije*, III, 103–114). Evaluations made by Radojčić and Djurić were, in most cases, the basis upon which the authors of studies involving representations from Arilje produced their works: Winfield, *Four Historical Compositions*, 271–272 (on the burial of bishop Merkurije); Milošević, *Die Heiligen Serbiens*, 19–23; ead., *Srbi svetitelji*, 158–159, 165, 193, 195, 200; Velmans, *Le portrait*, 116, 122 et passim; Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 110 (on the Council of Nemanja); Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 178 (also on the Council of Nemanja); M. Tatić-Djurić, *L'iconographie de la donation dans l'ancien art serbe*, Actes du XIV^e cong. int. des ét. byz., III, Bucarest 1976, 316; R. Nikolić, *Zašto se kralj Milutin kao ktitor nije slikao sa sinovima*, Raška baština 2 (1980), 94–98; Babić, *Peintures murales byzantines*, 368. The same applies to the authors of brief monographs and synthetic works on Serbian medieval art. Only Babić, *Nizovi portreta*, 322–324, studied thoroughly the representations of Serbian archbishops and bishops of Moravica and explained the portraits of Vladislav and Urošić, Babić, *O jednom vidu investiture vladara*, 158.

The contents of other Arilje frescoes were not the subject of greater scholarly attention. True, some of them were included already in Millet's studies of the iconography of

gospel scenes (Millet, *Recherches*, 123, 229, 271). The same manner of investigation of these frescoes, iconographical in nature, was to continue in other works: Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 148–149, involved the Dormition from Arilje in broader considerations of this theme; Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 109–110, did the same with the Ecumenical Councils; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 25–26, and Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 119, 125, 159, with the frescoes surrounding the iconostasis and the Sacrifice of Abraham (Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 470 and Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 185); in writing about the programme of lateral chapels, G. Babić took into consideration, among others, the parekklesion of St. Nicholas from Arilje (Babić, *Les chapelles*, 134), N. Ševčenko studied the cycle of this saint (Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*, 40, 66–69, 76–83, 104–114), and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne investigated scenes from the cycle of the Virgin (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, I, Bruxelles 1964, 261, 273); the Tree of Jesse from Arilje was also considered in studies devoted to this theme (M. Garidis, *L'ange en cheval dans l'art byzantin*, Byzantion XLII, 1972, 34–35; Milanović, *The Tree of Jesse*, 48–59, passim) the same is true of the Communion including a representation of Judas (Miljković-Pepk, *Deloto*, 88–93). An interpretation of the iconography of the representation of the winged St. John the Prodromos bearing his decapitated head and a scroll with the text of his Sticheron (M. Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona Jovana Krilatog iz Dečana*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja VII, 1973, 39–52), while an explanation for the appearance of this and other saints in the south choir has been based on the prayer read during the carving of the particles at the Proskomide rite (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 258). Finally, G. Babić (*Les croix*, 57) deciphered some of the inscriptions surrounding the painted crosses.

At first, the question of style, artistic merits and authors of Arilje's frescoes drew little attention of the researchers; in fact, only Radojčić, *Portreti*, 31–34; Okunev, *Aril'e*, 239–243 and N. L. Okunev, *Monumenta artis Serbicae*, III, Prague 1931, 7, considered these aspects. Only after the first cleaning of the frescoes, undertaken in 1955–1956, these problems became the focus of scholarly attention. Immediately upon the discovery of the slogan of Thessalonikan followers of Michael VIII, ΜΑΡΙΟΥ, and its deciphering (S. Radojčić, *Studije o umetnosti XIII veka*, 40–45; by the way, we should point out that the interpretation of this slogan as an abbreviation of a Serbian inscription reading "Merkurije ariljski – or arhijerej – počinu" / "Merkurije of Arilje – or archpriest – passed away" can not be accepted, contrary to what has been suggested by R. Nikolić, *Prilozi tumačenju srednjovekovnih natpisa i zapisa*, Raška baština 3, 1988, 43–48), the question of the painters came up. Already Radojčić concluded correctly that they came from Thessaloniki and, earlier still, identified them with the artists who decorated the church of the Peribleptos in Ohrid (Radojčić, *Majstori*, 27, note 48), a hypothesis which was not accepted in scientific circles just like the one claim-

ing that the wall paintings of Arilje were produced by Nikola and his brothers, Dobroslav and Georgije (Dj. Bošković, *O nekim našim graditeljima i slikarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka*, Starinar IX–X, 1959, 127). On the other hand, V. J. Djurić advised that nothing more than the origins of the artists can be deduced from this inscription found in Arilje (Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIII^e siècle*, 156). Although the inscription served as a good pointer in the search for similar artistic creations, it proved to be of no greater use because, in Thessaloniki, monuments dating from the close of the XIII century have not been preserved. However, other monuments suspected to be the work of artists from Thessaloniki were investigated for analogies with the frescoes from Arilje, for example – the mosaics of the Parigoritissa church in Arta and the frescoes of the Omorphi Ecclesia in Athens (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 258, note 46; Todić, *Arilje*, 39–42). However, assumptions that one of the painters from Arilje later worked in the church of St. Nicholas in Prilep (Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 27; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 290, 300) or that he originally came from the Raška region (R. Nikolić, *Zapis o živopisu Arilja*, Glasnik DKS 5, 1981, 23–29; id., *Povodom sedamstogodišnjice fresko-slikarstva u Arilju, 1296–1996*, Glasnik DKS 20, 1996, 47–51) are unacceptable.

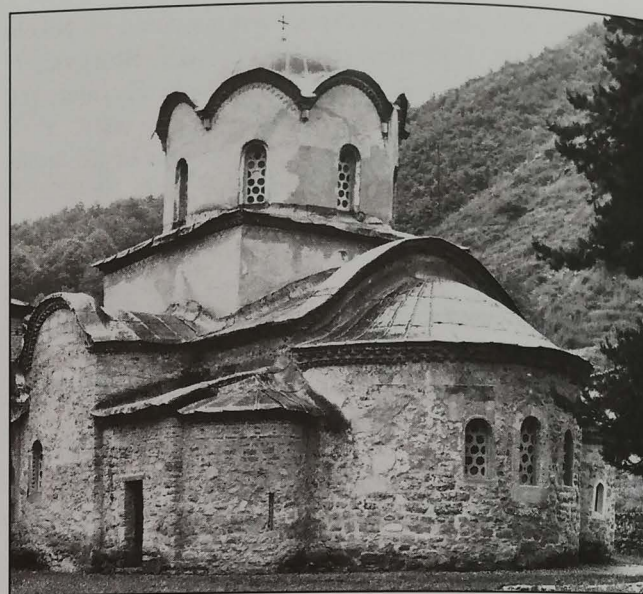
Several other texts are also devoted to the art of Arilje, texts studying its artistic values: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 72–73; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 62; S. Petković, *Arilje*, pp. VII–X; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 342–345; Todić, *Arilje*, 27–43; *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 424–425 (V. J. Djurić); Todić, *Srpske freske*, 73–74, 77–78, 81–87; M. Čanak-Medić, *Sveti Ahilje u Arilju*, 33–50. All authors share

the opinion that this painting does not rank among the best works of its era, that it displays rather pronounced oscillations in quality and even stylistic traits: this art is mostly related to the older art of the XIII century, still, and not only in the domain of iconography, it does introduce some novelties of the Palaiologan style. Such evaluations of Arilje's frescoes were also maintained by other authors who incorporated them into broader surveys of Serbian and Byzantine art: Demus, *Die Entstehung*, 1–63; P. Miljković-Peppek, *Sozdavanjeto na nov monumentalen stil vo XIII vek*, Razgledi 3 (1960), 235; D. Tasić in: *Srbija – znamenitosti i lepote*, Beograd 1965, 193; Lazarev, *Storia*, 302–303; A. Grabar, *L'art du Moyen âge en Europe orientale*, Paris – Baden-Baden 1968, 62; Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 132–133 et passim; Radojčić, *Klasizismus*, 190; S. Radojčić, *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst*, Berlin 1969, 42.

On the other hand, some of the scholars investigated only certain elements of the frescoes from Arilje: P. Miljković-Peppek (*Poreklo jednog stilskog elementa na freskama Sv. Sofije u Ohridu*, ZRVI 5, 1958, 125–128; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 157–159) asserted that the manner in which the figures are encircled with a white line is not of western provenance, as maintained by Okunev, *Aril'e*, 242–243; the painted architectural backdrop seen on the frescoes of Arilje was investigated by T. Velmans (*Le rôle du décor architectural et la représentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues*, CA XIV, 1964, 205) and Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 120, 193 et passim, while the manner of illumination of the figures was studied by M. Čanak-Medić, *Svetlo na ariljskim zidnim slikama*, Zograf 19 (1988), 13–18.



Peć

Church of the Holy Apostles

The oldest church of the Patriarchate complex at Peć was constructed around the middle of the XIII century on the location of a Byzantine basilica in a form which did not differ much from other churches of the Raška school. It was decorated in the days of bishop Arsenije, around 1260, and in several other instances in the period between the XIII and XVIII centuries. Around 1350, pilasters connected by an arch were constructed on the location of the eastern wall of the original narthex, or a bit further to the west, thus covering a part of the fresco decoration from the beginning of the XIV century. On the western wall there is an entrance with a window above it, transformed into a niche and covered with wall paintings in 1633/34. This produced a bay of rectangular groundplan covered by a longitudinal barrel vault and without any window openings. On the architecture of this part of the church of the Holy Apostles cf. Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, 26–29, drawings II–III, fig. 70 (V. Korać); M. Čanak-Medić, *L'architecture da la première moitié du XIII^e siècle. II. Les églises de Rascie*, Beograd 1995, 32–33.

The frescoes painted around 1300 covered all the walls and the vault of this space. They no longer exist on the north and a part of the west wall while some of the paintings on the south wall were repainted in 1356 and 1633/34. They were cleaned in the 1960's. The time of creation of the frescoes is not attested by an inscription or any other source so that we date them to the period around the year 1300, or shortly after that year, based only on their artistic qualities. The appearance of figures representing monks from the Nemanjid family gives us reason to presume that their ktetor was king Milutin.

The inscriptions on the frescoes are in Serbian.

The names of the painters are not known.

The preserved frescoes are distributed in the following manner: on the south part of the *vault* are the Washing of the Feet, Betrayal of Judas and Christ Tried Before Annas (which continues on the western wall), on the north part of the vault are Christ Tried Before Caiaphas, Peter's Denial and Christ Judged by Pilate. The cycle then continued on the lower south part of the vault but this part was repainted in the XVII century. Only Simon carrying the cross has been preserved on the *west wall* and it seems that a scene representing Christ before the Cross also stood there. In the bottom register, only the figures of Stefan Prvovenčani ("Stefan King monk Simeon") and Uroš I ("Stefan King Uroš monk Symeon") in monastic habit have survived on the *south wall* while the *west wall* displays two large half-figures of the Virgin with Christ and St. Nicholas and, located above the entrance, half-figures of Sts. Constantine and Helena holding the cross between them.

The state of publication of these frescoes is satisfactory: Petković, *La peinture serbe*, II, 41, pl. LXXXII–LXXXV; Petković, *Pregled*, 250; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 24, Plan 14–15; R. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetih apostola u Pečkoj patrijaršiji*, Beograd 1973, figs. 38–59 (published reproductions of all the frescoes); Djurić, *Pećka patrijaršija*, figs. 70–75 (colour reproductions). At first they were dated to the broad framework of the XIV century (V. R. Petković) or the beginning of that century (P. Mijović, *Pećka patrijaršija*, Beograd 1960, 11), and later to the period around 1330 (R. Hamann-Mac Lean and H. Hallensleben) while some of them were associated with archbishop Sava III (R. Ljubinković). Radojčić opted for the late XIII century (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 74; S. Radojčić, *Die Entstehung der Malerei der Paläologischen Renaissance*, JÖBG VII, 1958, 113), while

V. J. Djurić (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67; Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 121–130) and S. Petković (*The Patriarchate of Peć*, Belgrade 1982, 12–13) date them more cautiously to the period around 1300, which seems to be more acceptable.

These frescoes were studied most thoroughly by Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 74–75, who investigated their style from the viewpoint of its relation to antique models, mostly based on the scenes of Christ's passions, and he repeated his observations in other instances as well: S. Radojčić, *Die Entstehung der Malerei der paläologischen Renaissance*, 113–114; id., *La pittura in Serbia e in Macedonia dall'inizio del secolo XII fino alla metà del secolo XV*, X Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina, Ravenna 1963, 306–310; id., *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst*, Berlin 1969, 41–42. After him, Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67–68 and, more thoroughly in Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 121–130, focused his attention on all the preserved frescoes and studied not only their style but also their iconography while offering, at the same time, a conclusive interpretation of images of Nemanjid monks. Both Radojčić and Djurić, as well as other authors who wrote about these frescoes (R. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetih apostola u Peći*, pp. XV–XIX; S. Petković, *The Patriarchate of Peć*, 12–13), agreed that they expressedly display traits of the transitional style. Recently, V. J. Djurić placed them among other Byzantine monuments of the same type: Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 68–70.

The stylistic and iconographic likeness between these frescoes and other works of art created around 1300 prompted the researchers to look for parallels in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 74; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 227–228; R. Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetih apostola u Peći*, pp. XVII; S. Petković, *The Patriarchate of Peć*, 13) as well as in the Protaton and other contemporary churches (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67–68; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 70). At one point, Radojčić even assumed that the artists from Ohrid worked in Peć (S. Radojčić, *La pittura in Serbia e in Macedonia*, 306), and even Djurić considered the possibility that Michael and Eutychios could be the authors of these frescoes which, in his opinion, would thus actually represent the first work the two painters produced in Serbia (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67–68; Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 130). Later on, however, the same author was more cautious in claiming that the authors of these frescoes from Peć belong to the circle of artists associated with the Ohrid Peribleptos and the Protaton (Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 70). A similar conclusion – namely that their author was a painter close to Michael and Eutychios but not actually identical with either one of the two – was stated by Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 227–228; the work of this artist is most similar to the creations of an anonymous painter from Žiča (Miljković-Peppek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 48–51).



Sušica near Skoplje

Church of the Virgin



The church is now dedicated to St. Nicholas but it has long since been established that its patron saint had been changed at an undetermined date, cf. J. Hadži Vasiljević, *Skoplje i njegova okolina*, Beograd 1930, 444; K. Balabanov, *Komu e posvetena crkvata, na sv. Nikola ili na sv. Bogorodica?*, *Vesnik na muzejsko-konzervatorskoto društvo na NR Makedonija* 1 (1955), 16. Both the identity of the ktetor and the date of construction remain unknown.

The groundplan of the church has the form of an elongated rectangle with two apses, a shallow niche appears on the south wall of the altar space and the church is covered by a barrel vault (briefly on the architecture of the church in L. Mirković – Ž. Tatić, *Markov manastir*, Novi Sad 1925, 29, fig. 29). Around the middle of the XIV century a narthex with an entrance on its south side was added to the church and portraits of unidentified ktetors painted on that same facade, barely visible today (cf. Djordjević, *Zidno slikarstvo*, 167).

The frescoes are better preserved on the walls of the sanctuary and the naos while only random traces remain on the vault. They have recently been cleaned and properly conserved.

The few preserved inscriptions are Slavonic, of an archaic orthography.

The authors of the frescoes are not known.

We date these frescoes to the period around 1310, slightly different from presently accepted assumptions. Should we disregard the earliest incidental notes on them, including unfounded datings, historiography has acknowledged as standard the dating which associates their creation with the close of the XIII or the beginning of the XIV century. Considering their iconographic and, even more, stylistic features, Gordana Babić (Babić, *Sušica*, 338–339)

dated the frescoes in question to precisely that period and her opinion was accepted by S. Radojčić (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 76–77: "they probably belong to the very close of the XIII century") and V. J. Djurić (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67: "das es sich hierbei um Werke handelt, die ganz am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts entstanden sind").

Preserved frescoes.

Sanctuary

On the vault are parts of the Ascension of Christ. In the apse stands the Virgin of the Signs and, below her, the Celebration of Holy Liturgy of which only two rhypidia bearing angels and Sts. Basil and John Chrysostomos with scrolls have been preserved. This composition unfolded on the walls as well, as attested by an unknown bishop by the apse, St. Cyril of Alexandria on the south wall, with the opening verses of the "Meet is it in very truth" prayer read at the liturgy written out on his scroll, a bishop with the text of the Prayer below the chancel steps and yet another unidentified bishop on the north wall whose scroll apparently displayed the words of the First Prayer of the Faithful. The processions of bishops ended with the figures of two archpriests represented in a frontal stance. The Descent of the Holy Spirit (?) was painted on the east wall, in the lower zone stood half-figures of saints in medallions interconnected by foliage rinceau and directly above the apse the Mandelion. Representations of the Annunciation and Visitation appeared on either side of the apse with scenes from the cycle of the Virgin below them. In the prothesis apse stands a half-figure of a deacon, the south wall held the Nativity and, in a niche in the bottom register, an enthroned Virgin with Christ.

Naos

Other Great Feasts were located in the uppermost register of the walls and probably on the vault. The Dormition and Entry into Jerusalem have been preserved on the west wall. Above them stood medallions with half-figures of saints, as seen already in the sanctuary. The lower zone, including all the walls, was reserved for scenes from the cycle of the Virgin which, rather unusually, began on the north wall with the Refusal of the Offerings and, following a number of now destroyed scenes, continued on the same wall and in the altar space with the Birth of the Virgin. Part of this scene appeared on the east wall which also included the Blessings of the Three Priests. The cycle continued on the south wall with the Virgin Caressed by Her Parents, the Virgin's First Steps, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and Mary Given Away to Joseph, of which only small fragments have survived. The Annunciation at the Well was the last scene represented on the south wall. Finally, the closing scenes of the cycle are located on the west wall: Drinking of the Water of Purification, Virgin Receiving the Skein of Purple Wool and Joseph Reproaching the Virgin. The bottom register was filled with standing single figures of saints: three holy warriors and an unknown saint on the south wall, two holy doctors and Sts. Constantine and Helena on the west (remains of two figures of saints are visible on the doorposts); figures of four holy warriors are only barely visible on the north wall.

A rather well preserved Virgin of Tenderness type is represented in the niche above the entrance.

The only more complete list of frescoes, with minor omissions and some wrongly identified compositions, has been put together by G. Babić who also published practically all the better preserved frescoes (Babić, *Sušica*, 303–339, sch. I–II, fig. 2–9, dess. 1–3). She investigated their iconography on a broad basis (the cycle of the Virgin was befittingly discussed also by J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, I, Bruxelles 1964, 46, 113, 123, 126, 183, 203), at the same time pointing out the uniqueness of their style in comparison with contemporary achievements from Serbia and the territory of Macedonia. In another instance (Babić, *Les croix*, 6), she deciphered the abbreviations surrounding the painted cross. In their studies of frescoes from Sušica, S. Radojčić and V. J. Djurić devoted most of their attention to the artistic qualities of the paintings (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 76–77; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 67, 259). The first author noted that the girls appearing in scenes related to the Virgin are dressed according to Constantinopolitan fashion of the late XIII century and that the qualities of these frescoes place them at half-way point between the Ohrid church of the Peribleptos and Kraljeva crkva from Studenica. The other author saw in the frescoes of Sušica elements of a strong tradition of the Raška school.

Frescoes from Sušica were noticed already by P. N. Miljukov (*Hristianskie drevnosti Zapadnoj Makedonii*, *Izvestija Russkogo arheologičeskogo instituta v Konstantinopole* IV/2, 1899, 136) who believed that the church dated from the XVI–XVII century; they were mentioned by P. J. Popović (*Prilog za studiju stare srpske crkvene arhitekture*, *Starinar* 1, 1923, 114) and observed more carefully L. Mirković who dated them to the second half of the XIV century (*Još nešto iz Markova manastira kod Skoplja*, *GSND* I, 1925, 304–307). J. Hadži Vasiljević (*Skoplje i njegova okolina*, 444) was the first to draw attention to the image of the Virgin above the entrance while assuming that the church was dedicated to her, as repeated later by Balabanov (*Komu e posvetena crkva*, 16), who also dated the wall paintings to the XIV–XV century.

Opinions stated by S. Radojčić and G. Babić that these frescoes date from the close of the XIII or the beginning of the XIV century were substantiated by V. J. Djurić who observed that the inscriptions on them are written in an archaic redaction of the Slavonic language, probably used by the lower clergy (on the use of the Slavonic language of both Serbian and Bulgarian redactions in the regions of the Serbian state in the environs of Skoplje following 1282 cf. R. M. Grujić, *Skopska mitropolija*, Skoplje 1935, 182–184; B. Koneski, *Crkvenoslovenskiot jazik na freskite vo Makedonija*, *Simpozium 1100-godišnjina od smrtta na Kiril Solunski*, II, Skopje 1970, 97–104, and on the example from Sušica on pg. 101; N. Džumurova-Janjatova, *Odrzot na srpskata redakcija na crkveno-slovenskiot jazik vrz natpisite, signaturite i svitocite vo nekoj crkvi vo Severna Makedonija*, *Kulturno nasledstvo* VI, 1975, 57–63; V. Mošin, *Gramotite na manastiroi Sv. Georgi-Gorg skopski*, *Spomenici na Makedonija*, I, 97–115) and that mention of a priest in Sušica appears in Milutin's charter issued to the monastery of St. Georgios Gorgos in 1299/1300, which would imply that this church had already existed at that date. The first argument only proves that the frescoes from Sušica were really painted after 1282 while the other was later discarded because it turned out that the Sušica mentioned in king Milutin's charter is not identical with the village housing the church of the Virgin (V. Mošin – K. Ilievska – A. Slaveva, *Gramoti na manastiroi Sv. Georgi-Gorg skopski*, *Spomenici na Makedonija*, I, 228). In fact, Sušica is a frequent toponym and can hardly be located without more precise attributes. For example, it is known that, around 1308–1310, a man by the name of Radin Nagoričanin from Žegligovo copied almost all the liturgical book required by some Bulgarian priest who served in Sušica, most probably in the vicinity of Skoplje, on the lands of kaznac Jovan Dragoslav (*SSZN*, I, 15–16; R. M. Grujić, *Skopska mitropolija*, 182; on a new dating of Radin's inscription *Vizantijski izvori*, VI, 173, note 52 – S. Ćirković), which could be associated with the Sušica in question here. Our dating of the frescoes is, however, only approximate and based most of all on their iconographic and artistic traits.

Žiča

Church of the Saviour



The church was raised by great jupanus Stefan and was first decorated with wall paintings in 1220–1221, at which time it became the see of the autocephalous Serbian archbishopric. Around 1230 an exonarthex with an entrance tower including a parekklesion on its upper floor was added to the church. The monastery was devastated in the last decade of the XIII century in an attack of Bulgarians and Tartars, and its restoration was entrusted to the care of archbishops Jevstatije II (1292–1309), Sava III (1309–1316) and Danilo II (1324–1337). Together with Peć, Žiča remained the see of Serbian archbishops (and, after 1346, patriarchs) and became deserted in the XVIII century. It was renovated in the following century and in three instances during the XX century. It was last devastated during World War II when the north-west part of the church was torn down. On the history of the monastery cf. V. R. Petković, *Manastir Žiča – historija*, Beograd 1911; Mijović, *Žiča*, 5–52 (M. Kašanin); M. Čanak-Medić – O. Kandić, *L'architecture de la première moitié du XIII^e siècle. I, Eglises de Rascie*, Beograd 1995, 15–25.

Originally, the church had the form of a single-naved vaulted structure with a dome and a large apse in the altar space, choirs flanking the central space of the naos, a narthex with two adjacent parekklesia, dedicated to St. Stephen (south) and St. Sabas the Sanctified (north). The wall dividing the naos and the old narthex was torn down when an exonarthex with a tower was added to the church in the 1230's. Most clearly on the architecture of the church: Mijović, *Žiča*, 58–98 (Dj. Bošković); M. Čanak-Medić, *Arhitektura žičke Spasove crkve i Radoslavljeve priprate*, Saopštenja XXIV (1992), 4–47; M. Čanak-Medić – O. Kandić, *L'architecture de la première moitié du XIII^e siècle. I, Eglises de Rascie*, 25–75.

Of the earliest decoration only a few frescoes remain in the naos and of those dating from around 1230 in the room on the upper floor of the tower. Other surfaces of the

church interior were covered with new wall paintings at the beginning of the XIV century. According to one hypothesis, the sanctuary and the naos of the church, including all adjoining spaces, were decorated in the days of archbishop Jevstatije II while the frescoes of the exonarthex and the entrance under the tower were commissioned by Sava III (Mijović, *Žiča*, 26–27 – M. Kašanin). Another opinion has it that all the frescoes date from the time of Sava III (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 96–97; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68 and note 50). It seems, however, that G. Subotić (*Žiča Monastery*, Belgrade 1988, 32) is most accurate in stating that the decorating of this church lasted longer, that it began during the last years of the episcopate of Jevstatije II, whose merits in the restoration of Žiča are attested by archbishop Danilo II, *Životi*, 283, and was completed in the days of Sava III, whose portrait, together with that of king Milutin, has been preserved in the entrance portico. Thus, one can be least mistaken if the frescoes of Žiča are dated to the period around 1310. Only parts of those frescoes have been preserved in the sanctuary, random patches on the walls of the naos, in the south and north parekklesion, inconsiderable fragments in the exonarthex and much more and in a better state in the passage under the tower. Some of the frescoes which no longer exist were seen, described and their existence recorded by the first researchers, cf. S. Bogdanović, *Mihailo Valtrović i Dragutin Milutinović kao istraživači srpskih starina*, Izlozi Srpskog učenog društva, Beograd 1978; Petković, *Žiča* (I–II), 160–173; *Žiča* (IV), 27–106; Petković, *Spasova crkva u Žiči*. The frescoes were conserved in 1965–1967 (B. Živković, *Konzervatorski radovi na živopisu manastira Žiče*, Raška baština 1, 1975, 269–272, including a list of the wall paintings).

The inscriptions on the frescoes are in Serbian.

The painters are unknown. Although there is an assumption that one of them signed his name on the hiton on St. Theodore of Stoudion (Miljković-Peppek, *O poznatim*

i anonimnim slikarima, 50–51; G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, 29), the text of that inscription is difficult to decipher today.

Even with the data gathered by its first scholars, today the programme of Žiča's fresco decoration of king Milutin's age can be perceived only partly.

Sanctuary

In the apse, frescoes have been preserved below the moulded cornice. On either side of the window there are four figures of bishops carrying unrolled scrolls taking part in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: the scroll of the first in line (St. Gregory the Theologian?, Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 68–69, fig. 21) bears the opening words of the prayer over the offertory-table, on the scroll of St. Athanasios of Alexandria (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 68) is the Prayer after the Communion while the prayer of the Small Entrance appears on the scroll of the third figure; the first of the four bishops on the south side is St. Cyril of Alexandria (name not preserved) and his is the only scroll with a decipherable text, namely the opening words of the prayer of the Second Antiphon. Half-figures of holy bishops encased in frames resembling icons appear under this composition: the first has a tonsure and no preserved name, those following him are Metrophanes, Methodios, Nicephoros, Tharasios, James Brother of the Lord, Proclus and Phocas; finally, above the synthronos are twelve squares filled with geometric and floral ornaments.

On the north wall, surrounding the window, one of two bishops (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 68) is preserved and, in a lower register, two equally damaged fresco-icons with half-figures of holy bishops; next to the apse stand the remains of a stylite and, under him, an unidentified deacon. South of the apse we also find a stylite and, under him, a deacon (Euplus, Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 70); on the south wall are the remains of two figures of bishops, two more around the window (the name John is preserved by the first), and in the lowest register are two half-figures of bishops in frames resembling icons and a part of a figure of some saint.

On the north-east pilaster stands a preserved figure of the prophet Aaron, an unknown bishop and St. Timothy below him and, in the bottom register, an angel-deacon. On the south-east pilasters are prophets Melchizedek and Moses, below them two bishops and, in the lowest register, an angel-deacon. On the soffit of the arch connecting the pilasters are half-figures of bishops in colourful medallions. There are ten such medallions and the names of Sts. Porphyrius, Sosthenes (marked also as Trophimus), Sospitrus (also marked as Aristarchos) and Hermias.

Naos

In the drum of the dome only the feet of the apostles and the Virgin from the scene of the Ascension have been preserved. The evangelists are on the pendentives: John on

the south-east, Luke on the south-west, Mark on the north-west and Matthew on the north-east, three of them have preserved opening verses of their gospels on their scrolls. Between the pendentives, on the east, is the Mandelion and, on the opposite side, a barely visible Keramion while half-figures of angels in medallions appear on the north and south side.

Space under the dome. On the front of the triumphal arch is the Annunciation to the Virgin, under it the prophets David and Solomon and two figures of Old Testament righteous. At the top of the south wall is the Pentecost and on the intrados of the arch are medallions filled with half-figures of martyrs Peter, Helladius and others. On the east side of the arch spanning the space between the two western pilasters is a part of the Last Supper and, on the arch, two medallions with images of martyrs (originally there were more, among them are Sts. Pegasius and Probus, Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 62). On the north wall, below the medallions with the images of nine martyrs on the soffit of the arch, among whom only St. Alympius, is known by name is the Annunciation to Zachary while the Mission of the Apostles (M. Valtrović – D. Milutinović, *Izlozi Srpskog učenog društva*, 198) and the Incredulity of Thomas once stood below this scene. On the south and the north wall, under those scenes, are figures of prophets with scrolls, only two on either side have been preserved (Elijah and Daniel on the north).

By the iconostasis, in the lowest register of the piers stand the figures of the Virgin with Christ and Christ surmounted by painted arches and those of Sts. Stephen the Protomartyr and Demetrios, on the south wall, and Sts. George and Sabas the Sanctified, on the north, also surmounted by painted arches.

Of the frescoes dating from the XIV century only parts of the Transfiguration are visible on the vault of the south choir and, perhaps, parts of the Descent into Hades on the south wall of the same space.

On the east side of the south-west pilaster were three prophets (among them also Habbakuk, Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 64), half-figures of three martyrs and, in the bottom zone, the Virgin of Passion with an angel carrying the cross, sponge and spear; on the front of the same pilaster is a martyr in the uppermost zone, a half-figure of another martyr in the central register and one standing figure of a martyr in the bottom register; on the west side, the two upper zones are filled with images of two martyrs in full figure and half-figure while St. Nicholas appears in the bottom register.

On the north-west pilaster there are no preserved frescoes. This spot once housed figures of saints fully symmetrical with those on the opposite pilaster: Old Testament figures in the uppermost zone, half-figures of saints with oriental head-dresses and, in the bottom register, a martyr, a deacon beside him and an unknown saint on the south side; the uppermost register of the west side was filled with

a saint in full figure, the central register with a half-figure of a martyr and the bottom with St. John the Prodromos (M. Valtrović – D. Milutinović, *Izlozi Srpskog učenog društva*, 197, 198, 205, 210; Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 46–47, 64–65, figs 12, 19).

West part of the naos. Frescoes are preserved only on the walls. In the upper zone of the south wall are fragments of the Entry into Jerusalem, in the bottom register St. Eusthathios (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 43, fig. 8) and three other damaged figures of holy warriors; on the east and the north side of the west pilaster are fragments of two other warriors (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, fig. 9); on the west side of the pilaster and on the south wall there were seven figures of monks. Almost the entire surface of the west wall is taken up by the Dormition while in the bottom register we find three holy doctors to the left and the Synaxis of the Archangels to the right of the entrance. Holy monks also stood on the north wall of the west bay, seven figures all together (among them some holy poets as well); further on towards the east were holy warriors with swords and crosses (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 45, figs. 10–11). Although once present in far greater number, their line stretching all the way to the north-western pilaster of the space beneath the dome (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 44–45), only two on the south and east side of the pilaster are visible today.

South parekklesion (St. Stephen)

At the summit of the apse is a damaged image of the Virgin (her arms originally stretched out, Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 79) surrounded by archangels, Michael and the now damaged Gabriel. Below them is the Celebration of Holy Liturgy including the figures of Sts. Gregory, Basil, John Chrysostomos (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 77, fig. 29) and Athanasios. Distributed around the apse is the Annunciation and the figures of three holy deacons: an unknown saint, Lawrence and Abibus. Of the frescoes under the dome only the image of an Old Testament high priest remains on the south-west pendentive and a half-figure of an angel in a medallion on the south side. On the arch by the west wall are traces of some martyr. At the top of the south wall is the Crucifixion, below it the Translation of Relics of St. Stephen and, in the bottom register, frontally positioned figures of holy bishops Metrophanes and Gregory of Nyssa as well as those of Sts. Demetrios and George, dressed in ornate chlamidae and holding crosses. On the west wall is a part of a scene from the cycle of St. Stephen (Invention of the Relics?) and in the bottom register the images of Sts. Procopios and Artemios in ornate chlamidae while St. John Calybites (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 83, fig. 31) in half-figure appears in the lunette above the western entrance. The cycle of St. Stephen begins on the north wall (from right to left: Judgement of Stephen, Stephen Lead to Execution, Stoning of Stephen); a half-figure of an unknown saint appears in the lunette above the entrance and, further on, frontal, standing figures of Sts. Nicholas and Stephen and,

in the altar, those of St. Tarasios (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 83–84) and an unknown bishop.

North parekklesion (St. Sabas the Sanctified)

Only a few of its frescoes have been preserved, most of them were destroyed during the last war (cf. Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 73–77, figs. 27, 28). The apse was once decorated with an image of the Amnos on a paten with a chalice beside it standing on an altar table flanked by two bishops with arms outstretched and no scrolls; around the apse were figures of three frontally positioned bishops (only the one next to the apse is discernible today). The pendentives were decorated with images of Old Testament high priest of which only Melchizedek is better visible today. The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (cf. Mijović, *Žiča*, 170) and a part of another scene were once visible on the north wall under the dome. It appears that the cycle of St. Sabas the Sanctified unfolded on all the walls, in the lower register of frescoes. Only insignificant traces of it remain and even the once best visible scene of Death of St. Sabas has been destroyed in the meantime. In the bottom register, on the south wall, stand even now the figures of Sts. Athanasios the Athonite, Euthymios, Sabas the Sanctified and Anthony encased in a painted arcade; a small trace of a half-figure of some saint remains in the lunette above the entrance. On the west wall, in the lunette, the half-figure of St. John was once better preserved. In the same zone of the north wall, the frontally positioned figures of St. Spyridon and deacon Romanus no longer exist in the altar space.

Narthex

Only a part of the Tree of Jesse has been preserved on the west wall. Once there were also some frescoes around the entrance to the south parekklesion: St. Stephen the Protomartyr (?) in the lunette and a couple of representations related to the Baptism of Christ (Petković, *Žiča*, IV, 85–86, fig. 35).

Passage under the tower

On the vault is the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste while the lateral walls display the inscribed words of two charters issued to *Žiča* by Stefan Prvovenčani and king Radoslav. On the intrados of the western entrance are representations of apostles Peter and Paul and, above them, on the east side, the scene "If you should not be as this child". Above the entrance to the narthex, on the east wall, is the text of the Christmas hymn and, below this inscription, its illustration which also includes the portraits of Sava III ("Sava Right Reverend Archbishop of all Serbian land and the Littoral") and king Milutin ("Stefan King Uroš sovereign of all Serbian land and the Littoral") with his entourage; in a lower register, around the entrance, are images of kings Radoslav ("King Radoslav") and Stefan Prvovenčani.

Because of the significant place it holds in the history of the Serbian people, Žiča became the focus of scholarly interest early on (cf. D. Davidović, *Žiča, monastir u Srbiji*, *Letopis serbski* II, 1828, 9–22 and the reports of M. Valtrović and D. Milutinović in: *Glasnik SUD* 39, 1873, 328–329; *Glasnik SUD* 46, 1878, 253–254; *Glasnik SUD* 52, 1883, 265–267; *Glasnik SUD* 53, 1883, 237–238, and also *Izlozi Srpskog učenog društva*, 54, 98, 121–122, 124, 126, 141–144 et passim), its frescoes were precisely catalogued and a large number of them published: Petković, *Žiča* (I–II), 160–173; Petković, *Žiča* (III), figs. 2, 11–12, 17; Petković, *Žiča* (IV), 27–106, figs. 1–3, 5, 8–12, 15–38, 40–49; Petković, *Saborna crkva u Žiči*, 21–88, figs. on pp. 26, 30, 32–33, 37, 54–57, 59, 67, 69–70, 72, 74, 76, 81, 82, 86; Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 5/a–c; II, 20–22, pl. XXXIV–XLI; Petković, *Pregled*, 121–123; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, I, pl. 48–52, 54, 56–61; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 31, Abb. 213–220, Plan 26a–b; Mijović, *Žiča*, 124–200 and figs. on pp. 6–7, 15, 29–35, 37–41, 124–181, 183–191, 193–195, 197–198; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 172–173; G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, 17–32, figs. on pp. 7, 19, 21–23, 25, 27–31, 33–37, 43; B. Živković, *Žiča. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1985.

Already Petković, *Žiča* (IV) and *Saborna crkva u Žiči*, distinguished correctly the older layers of frescoes from those of the XIV century and investigated their iconography, a task carried out in greater detail by Mijović *Žiča*, 124–220. Equally important for the study of Žiča's frescoes are works dedicated to the questions of their subject matter. The uncommon programme of the space beneath the dome – closest to that found in the Holy Apostles at Peć from around 1260 – inspired assumptions that the painters who worked in Žiča in the first decades of the XIV century for the most part repeated older paintings and proof was sought in the choice of themes associated with Jerusalem and the church on Zion, Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIII^e siècle*, 162–163; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68 and note 50; V. J. Djurić, *Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba*, Sava Nemanjić – saint Sava, *Histoire et tradition*, Beograd 1979, 252–253; B. Todić, *Najstarije zidno slikarstvo u Sv. apostolima u Peći*, *Zbornik LU* 18 (1982), 20–28, 37–38; Djurić, *Pečka patrijaršija*, 48–51; Todić, *Sionskaja cerkov'*, 34–36. More evidence that the younger frescoes imitated the programme of the older layer is found in the fact that likenesses can also be established with other monuments of the XIII century which were created under the auspices of Sava (B. Todić, *Mileševa i Žiča – tematske i ikonografske paralele*, *Mileševa dans l'histoire du peuple serbe*, Beograd 1987, 81–88). The representation of the Christmas hymn located above the entrance to Žiča was another subject which drew particular attention of the scholars, due both to its iconography and the images of king Milutin and archbishop Sava III incorporated into this scene: Radojčić, *Portreti*, 34–35; Mijović, *Žiča*, 190–196;

Djurić, *Portreti*, 244–255; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 189–190; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 77–78; N. K. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting*, Leiden 1986, 125; Orlova, "Čto Ti prinesem, Hriste", 127–140. Both in connection with this composition and unrelated to it, other frescoes especially the representations of kings Prvoženčani and Radoslav, have also been the subject of different texts: Radojčić, *Portreti*, 35; V. J. Djurić, *Portreti na poveljama vizantijskih i srpskih vladara*, *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta VII/1* (1963), 261 (= *Portreti vizantijskih i srpskih vladara s poveljama*, *Esfigmenska povelja despota Djurdja*, Beograd 1989, 40–41); Mijović, *Žiča*, 182–198; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 187–190; Milošević, *Srbi svetitelji*, 199, 230–231; Z. Gavrilović, *The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in the Painted Programme of Žiča Vestibule*, *JÖB* 32/5 (1985), 185–193. The theme of the Virgin of Passion was investigated already by Petković, *Žiča* (IV), 63–64; Mijović, *Žiča*, 155 et passim; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 261 (note 50). The decoration of the lateral parekklesia and the cycles of Sts. Stephen and Sabas the Sanctified were investigated by G. Babić, *Chapelles latérales des églises serbe du XIII^e siècle et leurs décor peint*, *L'art byzantin du XIII^e siècle*, Beograd 1967, 181–182, 186 and Babić, *Les chapelles*, 145–146; Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Odras kulta sv. Stefana*, 50–51; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 158–159; V. J. Djurić, *Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba*, 249–250; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 23. Themes found in the west part of the church were studied by Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 112–113, 116, while some of Žiča's frescoes (Last Supper, Christmas hymn, Annunciation to Zachary) were included already by Millet in his considerations of evangelical scenes in late Byzantine art, Millet, *Recherches*, 19, 68, 406.

The artistic values of the frescoes from Žiča have been studied to a somewhat lesser extent. Based on different methods, they were investigated by V. R. Petković, S. Radojčić, P. Mijović, H. Hallensleben, V. J. Djurić and others. Petković (*Žiča*, IV, 95–100 = *Spasova crkva u Žiči*, 92–102) offered a careful description of the frescoes and concluded that they date from the XVI century, thus agreeing with a much older opinion of M. Valtrović (*Glasnik SUD*, 46, 1878, 250). Radojčić noted the likenesses between Žiča's frescoes and the decoration of Bogorodica Ljeviška (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 96–98), a point further developed by Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 161–163, who ascribed them to the painter Astrapas (on the other hand, Miljković-Pepk, *Deloto*, 228 was inclined to consider these frescoes – closest to those of the west bay of the Holy Apostles at Peć – a creation of an anonymous painter, close to Michael Astrapas and Eutychios); Mijović (*Žiča*, 124–199, in particular 124 and 165–168), interested most of all in the iconography of the frescoes, dwelled only briefly on their artistic values but did establish a strict stylistic distinction between the frescoes of the naos and the

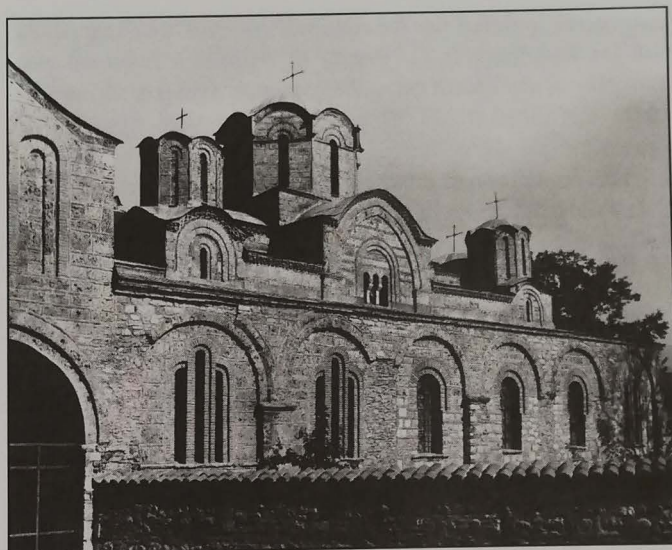
sanctuary and those of the exonarthex and the entrance portico pointing out pronounced oscillations between monumental and narrative concepts of its authors while associating only the decoration of the portico with Ljeviška and regarding their authors as identical; Djurić also believed that some painters from Ljeviška did work in Žiča although not Michael and Eutychios but rather their assistants and that the monumentality in the appearance of Žiča's frescoes was the result of copying of both the distribution and the dimensions of paintings from the XIII century (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 69); G. Babić (*Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 480–481) and V. J. Djurić (*La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 71–72) determined the place of the fresco decoration of Žiča within a group of Byzantine and Serbian monuments dating from the period between 1301 and 1313 which exemplify the search for new directions leading to early XIV century classicism.

Having considered all of the above stated opinions on the frescoes from Žiča, G. Subotić (*Žiča Monastery*, 26–32) dated them correctly to the period around 1310 and pointed out that the lack of uniformity they display is the result of the work of several painters gathered around Michael and Eutychios.

Apart from these major questions – of chronology, iconography and style – other aspects of the frescoes from Žiča were also discussed in other instances, within broader surveys of Serbian and Byzantine art or specific interesting themes, see the note on the historiography of the subject in Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 260–261, note 50 and a list of the most important works in G. Subotić, *Žiča Monastery*, 44–46. Recently, a number of participants of a congress focused on Žiča, held in 1995, communicated the latest results of their study of early XIV century frescoes from this monastery.



Prizren

Bogorodica Ljeviška

King Milutin raised the cathedral of the bishopric of Prizren upon an old basilica from the IX–X century which had already been restored by his ancestors in the XIII century. Today there are only architectural remains of the oldest church (probably dedicated to the Virgin Eleussa, A. Loma, *O imenu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta XVI–A, 1989, 91–99) as well as several frescoes from the XIII century restoration (V. J. Djurić, *Jedna slikarska radionica u Srbiji XIII veka*, Starinar XII, 1961, 63–75). Milutin raised his church around 1306–1307 with the assistance of Damjan and Sava, bishops of Prizren (SSZN, IV, 4). Several years later it was decorated with frescoes. This church was the see of the bishops and, from 1346, metropolitans of Prizren (Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije*, 143–146, 183–184), perhaps all the way until the XVIII century when it was converted into a mosque (cf. H. Kaleši, *Kada je crkva Svete Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu pretvorena u džamiju*, PKJIF 3–4, 1962, 253–261; S. M. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, Beograd 1963, 33), its frescoes damaged and covered by mortar. It was returned to the Christian cult only in 1912. On the history of the church cf. Dj. Sp. Radojčić, *O pomeniku Sv. Bogorodice Ljeviške*, Starinar XV (1940), 43–69; S. M. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 23–38; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 9–27 (D. Panić).

The features of Milutin's church were largely conditioned by the size and shape of the earlier basilica. However, protomagister Nikola skillfully fitted a structure of a cross-in-square plan with ambulatory aisles into the existing shell, constructing it upon old and newly built piers. Old aisles ending in parekklesia, the one on the south was dedicated to St. Nicholas, were preserved on the lateral sides. All three parts – the main church and the parekklesia – were closed off by a narthex. An open exonarthex stood in front surmounted by a tall belfry ris-

ing over its central axis flanked by two lateral parekklesia dedicated to St. George and St. Demetrios. They were approached from the inner narthex. Access first lead to a front room and only the space it opened to lead to the parekklesia. Most completely on the architecture of the church S. M. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 67–185.

All church walls and piers, as well as the open exonarthex, were covered with frescoes. Less than half of them have been preserved, what's more, in a very damaged state. Based on a portrait of Milutin's son Stefan, first mentioned in the sources in 1306 (F. Miklosich, *Monumenta serbica*, Wien 1858, 67–69), and confined in Constantinople following a rebellion against his father in the early spring of 1314, they are dated to the period between 1309 and 1313 (Stefan's image was identified by S. Mandić, *Jedan vladarski lik u Bogorodici Ljeviškoj*, Zograf 1, 1966, 24–27, which enabled a more precise dating of the entire decoration, cf. also Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, note 49). Prior to the full removal of the layer of mortar researchers were familiar with just a couple of frescoes (Radojčić, *Portreti*, 34; Petković, *Pregled*, 264; M. Korunović, *Otkriće u Bogorodici Ljeviškoj*, Zograf 5, 1974, 68). Work on their cleaning began in 1950 (V. Vulović, *Čišćenje krečnog sloja sa fresaka u Bogorodici Ljeviškoj u Prizrenu*, Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture VI–VII, 1955–1956, 253–255; B. Živković, *Konzervacija fresaka Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu*, 257–260; id., *Konzervacija i restauracija oštećenih fresaka u crkvi Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu*, SKM VI–VII, 1972, 229–234; *Sećanja konzervatora*, Beograd 1982, 67–73), although with rather long ceasures, work on their conservation and preservation is still in progress.

The frescoes were painted by Michael Astrapas and his assistants. Astrapas's name, together with the name of the master builder Nikola, has been preserved in an

inscription painted in the exonarthex (on this inscription and its contents cf. D. Panić, *O natpisu s imenima protomajstora u eksonarteksu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, Zograf 1, 1956, 21–23 = Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 22–27 – D. Panić).

The inscriptions on the frescoes are in Serbian while Greek is used only in rare instances.

Preserved frescoes of Milutin's era.

Sanctuary

In the apse is a half preserved figure of the Virgin standing upon a low podium and below her the central part of Celebration of Holy Liturgy: Sts. Basil and John Chrysostomos turning toward and altar table and blessing the Amnos on a paten, two scrolls, an asterisk and a chalice; an imitation of drapery with two-headed eagles is painted on the socle. On the vault and the upper part of the walls there are remains of the Ascension. Christ's parting from the apostles stood on the north wall together with a half-figure of an archangel and, below a painted cornice, an unknown bishop from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy carrying a scroll inscribed with the prayer of the First Antiphon and followed by a seraph and the Communion with Bread; in the first zone we find St. Romanus and a deacon with a lighted candle, an unknown bishop taking part in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, carrying a closed gospel book and a censer, and St. Athanasios the Great with an unrolled scroll inscribed with the prayer recited before the Lord's prayer. On the south wall is a preserved Communion with Wine, a seraph and a bishop from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy and lower still St. Gregory with the prayer for the Virgin recited prior to the Anaphora and St. Cyril with a closed gospel book in his hands followed by a candle-bearing deacon. The soffits of the arches over the passageways leading to the prothesis and the diaconicon are decorated with two angel-deacons each.

Prothesis

In the calotte of the dome rising over this space is a half-figure of Christ "in his age", below him, in the drum, are Old Testament righteous Asher, Zebulun, Naphtali and Gad. Lower still, on the walls, are scenes from Resurrection lections: Christ on the Sea of Galilee (north wall), the bread and the fish on the fire (east), Christ giving bread to the apostles and remains of two ambiguous scenes on the south wall. In the apse is a half-figure of Christ. In the same zone on the south wall are parttakers in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: one bishop in half-figure and another (in full figure) with a scroll inscribed, in Greek, with the common opening words of liturgical prayers, "O Lord, our God". In the bottom register is St. Clement, probably of Ohrid, and, standing beside him – in the passageway leading to the central part of the altar space, St. Methodios.

Diaconicon

The calotte of the dome is filled with a half-figure of Christ Ancient of Days; in the drum below are figures of Aggias (?), Malachi, Obadiah (?) and Joel (?), lower still are quite badly damaged evangelical scenes: Healing of the Lame (north wall), Christ and the Sinful Woman (east), Sinful Woman Purchasing Myrrh and a cherub above her (south wall). In the apse is a half-figure of St. John the Prodromos. In the same register on the walls is an unknown bishop from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with a closed gospel book and a half-figure of St. Germanos on the north wall and the Last Supper and Washing of the Feet on the south.

Naos

The dome and the space beneath it. An eight-point star encircles Christ Pantokrator in the calotte. Out of it angels surge forth in the direction of the prophets in the drum (from north to south: angel with a rolled-up scroll, angel with an unrolled scroll with the Greek text "Thus speaks the Lord, here I...", two angels with rolled-up scrolls, damaged angel, angel with a scroll simply inscribed with "Sabaoth" in Greek, angel with "Thus speaks the Lord" inscribed in Greek on his scroll and a seraph with a spoon). There are eight prophets with scrolls in the drum, Isaiah's is the only legible text (Isaiah 6, 6). On the south-east pendentive is evangelist Matthew and a personification of Divine Wisdom floats between him and the evangelist on the south-west pendentive, offering scrolls to the two saints. Insignificant fragments remain of the Keramion on the west side. The evangelist on the north-west pendentive has not been preserved while only the contours of the one on the north-east are still visible. They, too, received scrolls from Divine Wisdom. Finally, a damaged Mandelion appears on the east side.

In the upper zones of the space beneath the dome frescoes have been preserved only in the south arm of the cross: a part of the Baptism in the vault, Presentation of Christ in the Temple on the south wall, a cherub in the lunette above the three-light window; in the register below – on the east and south wall – Myrrhophores, Three Women at the Sepulchre and a figure of resurrected Christ on the west wall. Below the cornice on the north wall is a part of the Betrayal of Judas and Trial Before Annas. At the top of the north wall is the scene of Christ appearing before two myrrhophores, a seraph on the timpanon of the window, in a lower register is the Road to Emmaus (on the west wall), Supper at Emmaus, a small part of the scene of Luke and Cleopas telling the apostles of their encounter with Christ (north wall) and "Peace be unto you" (east wall).

Above the original iconostasis, on the east side of the naos, is the Annunciation.

On the west wall of the naos is the Dormition and Christ in a mandorla above it.

Lateral ambulatory aisles. South aisle: (for the diaconicon cf. supra) in the south-west corner, at the apex of the dome, is a half-figure of Christ Emmanuel and lower, in the drum, are prophets Elisha (?), Jonah, Nathan and an unidentified figure and on the walls the remaining part of the scene with Christ and four saints. North aisle: in the calotte of the north-west dome is a half-figure of Christ "in another form" and, lower, four Old Testament righteous (among them Micah? and Reuben), below them are three scenes with Christ and the apostles and a half-figure of a martyr (for the prothesis cf. supra).

Frescoes on piers. On the south side of the south-east pier under the dome is an enthroned Virgin with Christ; on the south-west pier under the dome: in the upper register are four martyrs (among them perhaps Sts. Epymachos and Vicentius), in the bottom register are some holy doctors (Panteleimon?) (east side), St. Cosmas (north), Christ (west) and prophet Daniel (?) (south). On the pier by the west bay there are four martyrs in the upper zone and in the lower Barbara (east side), an unknown holy woman (north), Theodosia (west) and Christ "Guardian of Prizren" (south); on the arch spanning the space between the westernmost pier and the west wall are remains of half-figures of two Old Testament righteous. On the west wall, in the passageway leading to the narthex, are figures of apostles Peter and Paul and, above them, a medallion with Christ Emmanuel in half-figure blessing the two saints. On the north side of the pier of the west bay are four martyrs in the upper zone and lower Sts. Kyriaki (south side), Irene (east), Christ (north) and St. Paraskevi (west); on the arch connecting this pier with the west wall is a figure of an unknown Old Testament righteous. On the north-west pier of the space beneath the dome are martyr saints Orestes, Pegasius (?), Gervasios and an unidentified martyr, a damaged figure of a holy warrior below them (east side), another warrior saint without a preserved name (north), the Virgin Helper of the Poor (west) and St. Damian (south). On the north-east pier of the space beneath the dome are more martyrs in the upper register, Sts. Auxentius (?), Eugenios (?), Eustratios (?) and Mardarios, and below them an unknown holy warrior (east side), one other warrior saint (north), Christ (west) and St. John the Prodromos (south).

Parekklesion of St. Nicholas

In the conch of the apse is a half-figure of the Virgin of Signs and below her the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with St. Basil (the prayer of the Cherubic hymn inscribed on his scroll) and St. John Chrysostomos.

On the groin vault over the easternmost bay are scenes from the cycle of St. Nicholas distributed around a medallion with an angel in half-figure: the saint goes to school, the saint ordained deacon, the saint ordained priest, only the inscription and a small fragment of the scene of the saint appearing to Ablabius has been preserved while

even smaller fragments remain of the other scenes which are, therefore, difficult to identify. On the lobed segment of the wall below the vault is the Birth of St. Nicholas and further down half-figures of the Virgin and Christ offering an omophorion and a gospel to St. Nicholas (now vanished); on the opposite, south wall there are only fragmentary remains of the saint appearing to the three generals and a frontally positioned figure of St. Cyril below this scene.

The death of St. Nicholas was located on the north wall of the second bay to the west.

In the next bay, on the vault and the north wall, are remains of two Ecumenical Councils and just a damaged holy warrior in the bottom register of the pier. (XIII century frescoes are also found in this space).

The north wall of the west bay is also decorated with a representation of an Ecumenical Council while an image of a young saint appears on the pier and above it, on the soffit of the arch, a part of an angel in a medallion.

North parekklesion

In the apse stood the Celebration of Holy Liturgy of which only parts of a bishop figure and the altar table now remain.

Other frescoes remain only on the south wall and in passageways leading to the naos: on the north side of the westernmost pilaster is St. Mary the Egyptian with Zosimus giving her communion on the next pilaster; between these two are figures of two holy monks, the Virgin Grigorovoithissa and a holy woman appear in the passageway as well as an angel in a medallion on the intrados of the arch; two half-figures of holy monks with inscribed scrolls stood further on down the wall after the figure of Zosimus while the Virgin with Christ and St. Thekla appear in the passageway and a seraph in a medallion on the soffit of the arch above them. On the front side of the third pilaster is St. Pachomios once addressed by a now nonexistent angel depicted on the next pier, by him is a figure of St. James the monk with an inscribed scroll, in the passageway leading to the naos is an unknown holy warrior and at the centre of the intrados an angel in a medallion.

Narthex

East wall. On the pilaster is a fragment of a Virgin with Christ. Left of the entrance to the naos only the portrait of king Milutin still stands ("In Christ God faithful sovereign and holy birth Stefan Uroš King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral, great grandson of St. Symeon Nemanja, grandson of the First-Crowned King Stefan, son of the Great King Uroš, son-in-law of the Great Greek Emperor Palaiologos kyr Andronikos, and ktetor of this holy place"); above the entrance is a half-figure of Christ blessing with both hands; on the other side of the entrance only the inscription remains by a now vanished

figure of king Uroš I: "Stefan Uroš the Great King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral, grandson of St. Symeon Nemanja, son of the First-Crowned Serbian King Stefan, father of the King Uroš".

West wall. Following a small figure of a candle bearing deacon stands St. Sava and next to him St. Symeon Nemanja shown in half-figure above the entrance ("St. Symeon Nemanja leading to the Lord all ktetors of the Serbian lands"), to his right is Stefan Prvovenčani ("The First-Crowned King, son of Symeon Nemanja, Father of King Uroš"); next to him is Milutin's son Stefan: "Stefan" (probably: grandson of King Stefan) "Uroš and son" (probably: of King Stefan Uroš); only the green pillow on which the figure stood now remains. On the north pilaster stood an unclear funerary inscription and parts of leaved crosses in the doorway while imitations of hangings with two-headed eagles graced the socle.

Storey above the inner narthex and the exonarthex

First entrance room. Around the two-light window on the east wall are two holy stylites, Symeon and an unknown saint, while Christ and the Virgin appeared on its inner sides.

Second entrance room. East wall: below an angel in a medallion is a scene with a man torn apart by beasts. South wall: in the upper register are Christ Emmanuel and two angels in medallions, above the entrance to the parekklesion is St. Demetrios on horseback and around the entrance figures of martyr saints, Lupus, Gervasios (?) and Gourias (?). On the west wall is the Virgin in half-figure flanked by angels in medallions turning towards her, further down, in the lunette of the two-light window, are stories of human vanity from the romance of Barlaam and Joasaph. At the top of the north wall are medallions with images of Christ and angels, above the entrance to the parekklesion St. George on horseback and holy martyrs Platon, Romanus (?), Kyricus and Julitta, around the entrance.

Parekklesion of St. Demetrios. On the east wall, originally probably reserved for themes typical of altar spaces, only traces of a bishop turning towards the centre remain today, proof that this spot once housed the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. On the vaults and the lobed wall surfaces beneath them ran the cycle of St. Demetrios of which only the following scenes have survived: Nestor Kills Lyaeus, Death of St. Demetrios and Tomb of St. Demetrios. On the face of the reinforcing arch were angels, the figures of which now remain only from the waist up. Single figures of saints stood above the socle: on the south wall Sts. Demetrios and George blessed by the hand of God appearing from a segment of heaven, on the west wall six martyrs (of which only the figure of St. Tryphon can be clearly recognised), among them also a deacon, while two saints surrounded the entrance in the north wall with traces of leaved crosses in the doorway itself.

Parekklesion of St. George. The programme of fresco decoration resembled that of the previously described parekklesion. Judging by the remains of a bishop figure, the Celebration of Holy Liturgy was located on the east wall. Only traces remain of the cycle dedicated to the patron saint: Torture on the Wheel and the Saint Encouraged by an Angel (north wall) and remains of a scene including princess Alexandra (south wall). Standing single figures were painted on all the walls but damaged fragments of a saint remain only on the south and those of another on the west wall. Figures of the Virgin with Christ, Christ, a martyr and a holy warrior, probably George, can be discerned on the north wall. A leaved cross on a base is still visible in the doorway.

Exonarthex

Central bay. In the lunette over the eastern entrance is a half-figure of the Virgin with Christ whose open gospel book displays the text of Matthew 7, 2 and John 7, 24. At first, this image was surrounded by long incipitions (apparently celebrating the Virgin and newborn Christ) but immediately upon their completion they were covered with a layer of mortar and replaced by depictions of two angels. On the vault is the Baptism of Christ (from the hand of God in a circle filled with angels a ray of light with the dove of the Holy Spirit descends upon the figure of Christ standing in the Jordan). This scene is accompanied by an inscription from Matthew 3, 16. Around it are various scenes, illustrations of John's sermons: the sermon delivered to the people about Christ who is to come and to be baptised (John 1, 33), the text on John's scroll being John 1, 30, with the addition of the people addressing Christ (Matthew 11, 3); sermon to the soldiers and the publicans (Matthew 3, 10; Luke 3, 12 and 3, 14); People of Jerusalem going out to the Jordan (Matthew 3, 5) and John preaching to them (Matthew 3, 3 and 3, 2); Meeting of John and Christ on the Jordan (the text on John's scroll is from Matthew 3, 14) and the sermon to the people about Christ who shall clean his threshing floor (Matthew 3, 11–12). On the arches of this bay is the representation of the "Prophets from Above" hymn: on the south side are prophets Aaron with a staff (text from Numbers 24, 17 on his scroll) and beside him pitcher, Solomon with a scroll (Wisdom 9, 1) and seven pillars beside his figure, Jacob with a scroll (Genesis 28, 12) and a ladder beside him, Jeremiah with a scroll (Ezekiel 44, 2) and a door, Zechariah (text of the service of the feast of Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple on his scroll and a gold censer beside him) and Zachary with a scroll inscribed with "Candlestick shining in the world" and a candlestick and on the north side: prophet Moses with a scroll (Exodus 3, 2) and the bush, David with a scroll (Psalm 131, 8) and the ark, Daniel with a scroll (Daniel 2, 35) and a rock, Habakkuk with a scroll (Habakkuk 3, 2) and a boat with Christ, Isaiah with

a scroll (Isaiah 6, 6–7) and a seraph and Balaam the sorcerer with a scroll (Numbers 24, 17) and a star. By the figure of Jacob is the inscription of the rule of "providing provisions" with mentions of names of the master builder Nicholas and master painter Astrapas "who constructed and decorated the church".

South bay. An extensive Last Judgement is preserved only on the vault and on the upper parts of the west wall. In the bottom register are frontally positioned figures of Serbian archbishops (in the following order going from north to south): Arsenije ("Arsenije the Right Reverend – *preosvešteni* – Archbishop of all Serbian Land and the Littoral"), Sava (II) ("Sava the Right Reverend Archbishop"), Joanikije ("Joanikije the Right Reverend Archbishop"), Jevstatije ("Jevstatije the Right Reverend Archbishop"), Jakov ("Jakov the Right Reverend Archbishop") and Jevstatije II with a damaged inscription.

North bay. On the vault and the enclosing arches is a partly preserved Tree of Jesse. In the upper register of the west wall are representations of Damascene's Kanon on the Dormition of the Virgin, Jacob Wrestling with the Angel of the Lord and Jacob's Ladder. In the bottom register of the west wall are figures of bishops of Prizren (from south to north): Ilarije ("Ilarije the Right Reverend – *vseosvešteni* – bishop"), Amvrosije ("Amvrosije the Right Reverend bishop"), Varlaam ("Varlaam the Right Reverend bishop"), Jovan ("Jovan the Right Reverend bishop"), Damjan ("Damjan the Right Reverend bishop") and one other ("Right Reverend ...").

Western entrance. On the inner side of the doorway are personifications of the New and Old Testament.

The frescoes of Bogorodica Ljeviška became known to scientific circles rather late: before the Second World War only three portraits on the west wall were visible – those of Symeon Nemanja, Prvovenčani and Milutin's son Stefan – and they were included in Radojčić's study on the portraits of Serbian rulers (Radojčić, *Portreti*, 34). Immediately upon the uncovering of all the surviving frescoes (in 1950), they drew the attention of scholars, once again that of Radojčić first of all who noted the significance of Astrapas's name and associated it with the painter who had worked in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos at Ohrid, published several frescoes and pointed out the most prominent artistic features of the decoration of this Prizren church (Radojčić, *Majstori*, 19–36). At the same time these frescoes were also commented by Hamann - Mac Lean in the catalogue accompanying an exhibition of their copies (*Aus der mittelalterlichen Bildwelt Jugoslawiens. Einzelheiten des Freskenzyklus der Kirche der Gottesmutter von Leviša in Prizren*, Marburg a. d. Lahn 1955), and shortly after H. Hallensleben published a list of the preserved frescoes, their distribution within the church and a large number of reproductions (Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumental-*

malerei, 29–30, Abb. 182–212, Plan 23–25). Some ten years later, the church received a monograph in which Gordana Babić studied the frescoes, dated them more precisely, deciphered their programme, investigated the iconography of some themes and assessed their artistic values within the framework of Byzantine painting of the early XIV century, published a great number of black and white and colour reproductions as well as drawings of the wall paintings (Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 47–104, pls. I–XVIII, figs. 11–30, drawings 8–21 and on pp. 116–140). Recently, drawings of these frescoes have been published more completely: B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviška. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1991. In that way, the documentary material on Ljeviška's frescoes has been rounded off and the most significant questions related to them identified and solved in monographic form.

In the meantime, certain features of the wall paintings from Ljeviška were discussed in several instances. Following their cleaning, a magnificent gallery of portraits of Nemanjids appeared. Their identification not only dispelled earlier hesitations but also offered an opportunity to understand more fully the situation in Serbia around 1310 and to evaluate better the overall value of the frescoes from Ljeviška. Having dedicated a special discourse to the figure standing by that of Prvovenčani, S. Mandić (*Jedan vladarski lik u Bogorodici Ljeviškoj*, 24–27) proved that it represents Milutin's son Stefan and thus dispelled earlier assumptions which saw in it a portrait of king Milutin (Radojčić, *Portreti*, 34), king Radoslav (Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 43, note 49 – D. Panić), king Uroš I (Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja*, 37–38) or king Dragutin (Radovanović, *Portreti Nemanjića*, 281–299). Most of Radovanović's study is dedicated precisely to this portrait although all the others were also described and explicated with great care. Some of these portraits were the subject of interest also to Milošević, *Die Heiligen Serbiens*, 64–67 and ead., *Ikonografija svetog Save u srednjem veku*, Sava Nemanjić – saint Sava. Histoire et tradition, Beograd 1979, 296–297 and Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 16–19. G. Babić also made a significant contribution to a better understanding of the portraits in question because not only did she explain some of their specific features but also compared the visual images and their accompanying inscriptions and considered the Constantinopolitan court and its customs which were certainly familiar to Serbia of Milutin's age (Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 58–63). Once again, S. Mandić returned to the problem of the portraits from Prizren (S. Mandić, *Drevnik*, Beograd 1975, 146–154) with a hypothesis that the images of Milutin and Uroš flanking the entrance to the church disclosed a double ktetorship which would mean that king Uroš should be credited with the restoration of Ljeviška carried out in the XIII century. Eva Haustein (Haustein, *Der Nemanjidenstammbaum*, 199–201) saw in the portraits from Ljeviška a direct

inspiration for the Nemanjid family tree painted in Gračanica. Portraits of bishops of Prizren and Serbian archbishops located in the exonarthex were again treated with greatest attention by G. Babić (Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 66; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 115 and Babić, *Nizovi portreta*, 324–328).

Immediately upon being uncovered, although rather damaged, the decoration of Ljeviška, became an attractive field of iconographic studies. Thus, S. Radojčić (*Jedna scena iz romana o Varlaamu i Joasafu u crkvi Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu*, *Starinar* III–IV, 1955, 77–81) gave an explanation for the Story of Human Vanity represented on the upper floor of the church, a scene otherwise often found in manuscripts, while D. Medaković began investigating the Tree of Jesse (*Predstave antičkih filozofa i sivila u živopisu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, *ZRVI* 6, 1960, 43–55), a task perpetuated by other art historians too: N. Davidović-Radovanović, *Sibila carica etiopska u živopisu Bogorodice Ljeviške*, *Zbornik LU* 9 (1973), 29–42; Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 106, 116, 118; Milanović, *The Tree of Jesse*, 48–59. The decoration of the exonarthex was studied more extensively by Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 106, 115–124 and Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 173–182, 196–197. G. Babić (*L'image symbolique de la "Porte fermée" à Saint-Clément d'Ohrid*, *Synthronon*, Paris 1968, 145–151), C. Grozdanov (*Prilozi proučavanju Sv. Sofije ohridske u XIV veku*, *Zbornik LU* 5, 1969, 42–49) and V. Milanović (*"Proroci su te nagovestili" u Peći*, *L'archevêque Danilo II et son époque*, Beograd 1991, 409–423) offered more thorough explanations – in works focused on other monuments – of Damascene's Kanon on the Dormition and the composition "The Prophets from Above", including examples of these themes from Prizren, while I. Djordjević (*Stari i Novi zavet na ulazu u Bogorodicu Ljevišku*, *Zbornik LU* 9, 1973, 15–25) wrote more extensively about the frescoes surrounding the western entrance. A large number of images of Christ, the Virgin and holy women found in Bogorodica Ljeviška and their interesting iconography drew the attention of several researchers, above all that of J. Radovanović (*Neveste Hristove u živopisu Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu*, *Zbornik LU* 15, 1979, 115–134 = *Ikonografska istraživanja*, 67–78 and id., *Prikazi Bogorodice u crkvi Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu*, *SKM*, 1963, 125–129), and also M. Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Dve dečanske ikone Umilenija*, *Starinar* III–IV (1951–1953), 89–90; M. Tatić-Djurić, *Ikona Bogorodice "Prekrasne", njeno poreklo i rasprostranjenost*, *Zbornik Svetozara Radojčića*, Beograd 1969, 344 and ead., *Jedna groteska iz Ljeviške*, *Zograf* 4 (1972), 24–26; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 171. The iconography of some other frescoes from Bogorodica Ljeviška has also been studied although not in as much detail as the previously mentioned subjects: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 92–95 (on the frescoes of the exonarthex);

Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 110–111, 119 (on the Ecumenical Councils); Babić, *Les chapelles*, 149 (on the frescoes of the parekklesia on the upper storey); Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*, 1983, 40, 66–89, 120–122, 134–142 (on the cycle of St. Nicholas); Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 71–72, 75–77, 80–86 (on the iconography of the Dormition, Baptism, Last Supper and Washing of the Feet) and Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 24–26, 47–53 (on the resurrection appearances and different guises of Christ). Naturally, they are also mentioned as comparative material in numerous other works focused on the study of iconography of medieval painting.

Because of their exceptional artistic qualities, the wall paintings from this Prizren church understandably inspired a number of scholars who dedicated to them interesting studies in which they investigated their features and the question of their authors. The following researchers wrote about the place of these frescoes on the path of development of Serbian and Byzantine painting of the early XIV century: Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 133–148; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 88–96; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 68; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 71–72; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 81–93; V. Mako, *Pojedini postupci u komponovanju scena Pričešća apostola slikarske radionice Mihaila i Evtihija*, *Zograf* 23 (1993–1994), 18–27. From the moment of discovery of Astrapas's name, in 1952, a lively discourse has been going on concerning his identity, the question whether he can be identified with Michael, the painter who worked in the church of the Peribleptos at Ohrid and other churches in which he signed his name, and even on the relations of the wall paintings from Ljeviška with the frescoes found in those churches: Radojčić, *Majstori*, 19–32; S. Radojčić, *Die Meister der altserbischen Malerei vom Ende des XII bis zur Mitte des XV Jahrhunderts*, *Μεπραγμένα του Θ' Διεθνούς Βυζαντινολογικού Συνεδρίου*, I, Αθήνα 1954, 436; R. Hamann-Mac Lean, *Aus der Mittelalterlichen Bildwelt Jugoslawiens*, 12–14; id., *Zu den Malerinschriften der "Milutinschule"*, *BZ* 53/1 (1960), 112–117; Dj. Bošković, *O nekim našim graditeljima i slikarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka*, *Starinar* IX–X (1958–1959), 125–131; Miljković-Peppek, *Pišuvanite podatoci*, 139–170; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 17, 228–230; Σ. Πελεκανίδης, *Ο ζωγράφος Μιχαήλ Αστραπάς*, *Μακεδονικά* 4 (1958), 545–547; Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 34–44; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 24–25, 28–30, 33–34; K. Kalo-kyris, *Entstehung und Gestaltung der byzantinischen Denkmäler in Mazedonien, Alt-Serbien und Bulgarien*, *Thessaloniki* 1970, 26–27; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 156–157; Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, 81–93. All arguments and opinions were gathered by Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, note 16 and 49 who concluded that Michael and Astrapas were one and the same person whose activities can be followed from the Ohrid Peri-

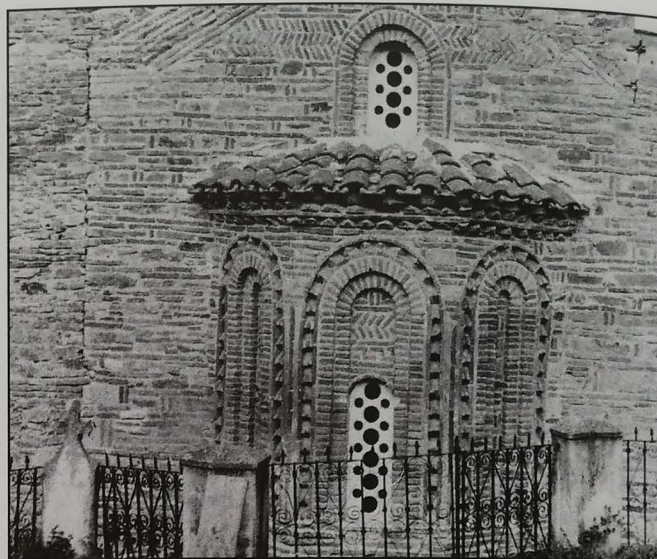
bleptos to Bogorodica Ljeviška of Prizren and in other monuments of a later date, as attested also by newly gathered evidence: S. Kisas, *Solunska umetnička porodica Astrapa*, *Zograf* 5 (1974), 35–37; P. Miljković-Pepk, *Prilog kon soznaniyata za solunskoto poteklo na slikarskata familija Astrapa i za možnoto poistovetuvanje na zografot Mihail Astrapa so Panselinos*, *Godišen zbornik na Filozofskiot fakultet* 5–6 (1979–1980), 209–217; id., *L'atelier artistique proéminent de la famille thessalonicienne d'Astrapas de la fin du XIII^e et des premières décennies du XIV^e siècle*, *JÖB* 32/5 (1982), 491–494. However, Miljković-Pepk, *O poznatim i anonimnim*

slikarima, 52–53, rejects the possibility that Michael and Eutychios worked in Ljeviška while E. Mercato, *Michele ed Eutichio "pittori" nella Peribletos di Ocrida – nuovi indici di una problematica*, XVIII^e congrès int. des ét. byz., *Résumés des communications*, II, Moscou 1991, 727–728, suggests further ways of investigating their work.

The painting of Bogorodica Ljeviška has also been included in all the more recent surveys of Serbian and Byzantine art and several popular texts have also been written on this subject, cf. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, note 49.



Vranje

Saint Prochor of Pčinja

The church was raised on an ancient sacral site where the recluse Prochor lived in ascesis. Tradition ascribed the raising of the church to king Milutin (Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 32). The church was decorated with wall paintings for the second time in 1488/9, perhaps following a fire (on these frescoes G. Subotić, *La peinture des Saints-Pierre-et-Paul à Orlica et son cercle stylistique*, Sixième congrès international d'études du Sud-Est européen. Résumés des communications – la littérature, ethnologie, droit, arts, tables rondes, Sofia 1989, 201–202; id., *Obnova zidnog slikarstva u Svetom Prohoru Pčinjskom krajem XV veka*, Leskovački zbornik XXIX, 1989, 9–14; S. Petković, *Srpska umetnost u XVI i XVII veku*, Beograd 1995, 29–31). During the centuries which followed, a number of parekklesia rose around the church and frescoes from the XVII century are preserved in some of them (cf. A. Jovanović, *Pčinja. Istorijaska crta iz nove srpske pokrajine*, Glasnik SUD 49, 1881, 316–322; J. Hadži Vasiljević, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski i njegov manastir*, GNČ XX, 1900, 73–83). Most of these additional structures were torn down in 1898 when the new church was constructed (Petković, *Pregled*, 269), and only the church from the XIV century was spared (except for its western part) and transformed into a prothesis of the new building. The original patron saint of the church is not known; it may have been archangel Michael.

Because of later demolition and additional construction, the shape of the older church is not entirely clear. However, it must have been small, single-naved, without a dome and had an apse on its east side.

The time of construction and decoration of the church is not known and neither is her ktetor. It is highly improbable that it was king Milutin because all his endowments were carefully listed by archbishop Danilo who makes no mention of the church of St. Prochor on the Pčinja. Data

found in *Genealogy of Karlovci* may be based on some unpreserved inscription from the church which mentioned that the church was raised in the days of king Milutin. The fact that there really was a restoration at the beginning of the XIV century is attested by the masonry technique of the church and even more by a brick bearing the name Sava built into the north facade (J. Hadži Vasiljević, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 77; B. Deljanin, *Istraživački radovi u 1983. godini u manastiru Prohoru Pčinjskom*, Glasnik DKS 8, 1984, 43), since the shape of the letters is very close to those found on the facade of Bogorodica Ljeviška (cf. S. M. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, Beograd 1963, 26, pls. XXXIX, XL), it is, therefore, beyond doubt that we are dealing with the same person – namely the bishop of Prizren (1307–1309) and archbishop Sava III (1309–1316). We are convinced that a brick with Sava's name could have appeared on the facade of the church of St. Prochor only during the time Sava was archbishop for only then could he have been mentioned also in the eastern regions of the state. G. Subotić and D. Todorović placed the construction of the church in the period between 1309 and 1316 and identified the date of its decoration with that of the nearby church at Staro Nagoričino (1316–1317) (Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 123–124, 137). There are, however, indications that all this could have taken place a while earlier. Namely, so far as we know today, the regions in the south which king Milutin added to the Serbian state already in 1282–1283 were not organised into specific bishoprics even in the first decades of the XIV century. They were subjected to the ecclesiastic authority of bishops of Prizren and Lipljan, perhaps also those of Debar and Skoplje (Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije*, 59–60). It seems that proof of such a situation can be found also in a passage of the charter of Gračanica (cf. the most recent and best reading of its text: B.

Živković, *Gračanička povelja*, Beograd 1992, 39–42), a spot considerably damaged but still quite clear in meaning: the king gave the Greek lands in the south (Vranje, Slavište, Zletovo, Morozvzd, etc.) to the bishoprics of Prizren and Lipljan without specifying clearly the dividing line between the authority of the two. In any case, the region of Vranje, in which the church of St. Prochor of Pčinja is located, could have been under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Prizren. This assumption could be substantiated by the brick with Sava's name, similar to those from Bogorodica Ljeviška which were built into its walls precisely in the days of Sava's episcopate there. Therefore, it seem possible that the church on the Pčinja river was built between 1307 and 1309 and that bishop Sava did have some merit in its construction. At the same time this means that it was decorated with frescoes several years later, after Ljeviška and before Nagoričino, thus around 1315.

Of those frescoes only small fragments are visible today, uncovered and cleaned in 1981–1982: M. Andjelković, *Početak istraživačkih radova na freskama manastira Sv. Prohora Pčinjskog (radovi u 1981. godini)*, Glasnik DKS 7 (1983), 38–41. The new frescoes painted in 1488/1489 literally copied the older paintings.

The author of the wall paintings was Michael (Astrapas) who signed his name on the shield of St. Demetrios (Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 125–126).

The inscriptions on the frescoes were Greek.

Because the younger paintings (1488/9) copied the older, we shall list all the preserved frescoes found in the church today and mark with an asterisk those from the XIV century which were uncovered fully or only partially.

Apse

In the conch is a half-figure of the Virgin with Christ and below her the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the figures of Sts. Basil, John Chrysostomos, Gregory the Theologian and Athanasios the Great.

Vault

Of the Great Feasts, representations of the Nativity, Crucifixion, parts of Entry of Christ into Jerusalem and Descent into Hades are located on the vault.

Walls

On the east wall, above the apse, is the lower part of the Ascension and in the lower register the Mandelion, Annunciation and Visitation. Around the apse is the Communion of the Apostles and further down figures of saints Polycarp, Daniel the Stylite, Symeon the Stylite* and a half-figure of Blasios. In the prothesis niche is an unknown deacon* and St. Stephen in the diaconicon niche. On the south wall, in the upper zone are representations of the Last Supper and Washing of the Feet; in the central zone Christ appearing to the myrophores, Healing of the Paralytic and Healing of the Blind; in the bottom register are figures of St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Clement (?), participating in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, as well as St. Romanus, St. Prochor of Pčinja, St. Sava the Serbian and St. George. At the top of the north wall are representations of the Road to Calvary, Ascent of the Cross and Descent from the Cross, below them Christ Healing Peter's Mother-in-Law*, an almost entirely damaged Healing of the Leprouses and Holy Women at the Sepulchre* and in the bottom register fragments of a saint*, St. Demetrios*, an archangel (partly preserved)* and bishops participating in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: Nicholas* and Silvester*. (J. Hadži-Vasiljević, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 82, saw other figures of saints as well: on the right – the south wall? – stood images of Sts. Mardarios, Eustrathios, Auxentios and others, and on the left – the north wall? – Sts. Constantine and Helena, St. Symeon the Serbian and others).

The recently uncovered parts of the XIV century fresco decoration of St. Prochor of Pčinja have already been completely studied. Subotić and Todorović (*Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 117–137) carefully distinguished the two layers and noticed that the younger copies the older, explained the programme of the frescoes and compared it to those of Milutin's other churches, above all Nagoričino and Gračanica. They were successful in reading the name of the painter Michael signed on St. Demetrios's shield which gave them an opportunity to communicate all the known facts related to this artist and his assistants. They dated the older layer of frescoes to the period between 1316 and 1317.

Staro Nagoričino by Kumanovo

Church of St. George



Upon the walls of an XI century structure king Milutin raised a new church in 1312/13, as attested by an inscription carved into the lintel of the west portal, and dedicated it to St. Georgios Tropaiophoros (Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 181; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 25–26, fig. 7, drawing 1). The church was restored towards the close of the XVI century at which time several new inscriptions were probably written out on its frescoes. When exactly the monastery became deserted remains unknown. Works on the protection of the church and archeological excavations of restricted scope were performed in 1930–1931 (Dj. Bošković, *Izveštaj i kratke beleške sa putovanja*, Starinar VI, 1931, 173–176; id., *Arhitektonski izveštaji*, GSND XI, 1932, 215–220), and the frescoes conserved in 1959. No report on these activities has been published. On the history of the church cf. Todić, *Nagoričino*, 25–29.

The size and, to a lesser measure, the shape of Milutin's church depended on the existent older building encountered on the site. At the beginning of the XIV century Nagoričino was given the shape of a cross-in-square structure (without the west arm of the cross) with an altar space, two parekklesia and a narthex. It seems that the church was encircled on three sides by an open porch, torn down in the meantime. A dome rises over the naos, supported by free-standing piers on the east and pilasters adjoining the walls on the west side of the naos. Four other smaller domes stand above the parekklesia and the corner bays of the narthex. The narthex is divided longitudinally into three parts by walls and columns. The altar space opens to the naos and the prothesis and communicates with the diaconicon through a door. As opposed to the prothesis, the diaconicon is separated from the naos by a full wall. On the other side of the structure, the wall dividing the narthex from the naos, in its lower parts, is pierced by large arched passageways. The old stone iconostasis was probably walled-up and decorated with fresco-icons. There are two entrances to the church, one on the west and

another on the south side. On the architecture of the church of Milutin's era cf. Todić, *Nagoričino*, 43–70.

The only remaining example of the wall paintings which once decorated the old church from the XI century is a single fresco on the north wall (Dj. Bošković, *Arhitektonski izveštaji*, 219, fig. 6). All other frescoes were created in the age of king Milutin and, except for those in the upper parts of the church, are well preserved. They were painted in the days of hegoumenos Venjamin and there are inscriptions which inform us of the two years during which the artists worked on them: the year 1316/17 appears on the hiton of a holy warrior located in the passage connecting the naos and the narthex (written by the signature of the painter) and 1317/18 in the lunette above the entrance and on the west wall of the narthex. Judging by these inscriptions, Nagoričino was decorated in 1316–1318 (Todić, *Nagoričino*, 26–27, drawings 2, 26). Considering the size of the church and the fact that all these inscriptions are located in the bottom register of its western end, we should allow for the possibility that work on the fresco decoration began at least a year earlier, that is in 1315, and that it was finished by the end of 1317, i.e. 6825/6826 (Subotić – Todorović, *Sveti Prohor Pčinjski*, 136).

The painters were Michael and Eutychios and they were certainly assisted by others as well. They signed their names twice: Michael on the shield of a holy warrior on the north wall of the naos and both of them on the hiton of St. Theodore Teron standing between the naos and the narthex.

The inscriptions on the frescoes are mostly Greek, although some are written out in Serbian or even in a mixture of the two languages in a single inscription (they have been published in two instances: P. J. Popović – V. R. Petković, *Staro Nagoričino – Psča – Kalenić*, Beograd 1933, 3–16 and, more completely, Todić, *Nagoričino*, 71–87).

Distribution of the preserved frescoes.

Sanctuary

At the apex of the apse is an enthroned Virgin with Christ on her lap, flanked by bowing figures of archangels Gabriel and Michael. Below them are frontally depicted half-figures of bishops: Meletios, Nikephoros, Sophronios, Averikios, Silvester of Rome, Methodios of Constantinople, Clement of Ancyra, Hippolytus, Metrophanes, Methodios of Patras and Genadius. In the lower register is the Communion of the Apostles with bread and wine and, further down, another row of frontal half-figures of bishops: Atticus, Anatolios, Eusebius, Diadochos, Juvenal, Eustathios of Antioch, Alexander of Alexandria, Nikephoros of Constantinople, Meletios of Antioch, Hierotheos, Phedimos, Antipatrus, Palladios and Modestos. In the bottom register is the Celebration of Holy Liturgy including the figures of the following bishops with unrolled scrolls: St. Gregory of Nyssa, the First Prayer of the Faithful on his scroll, St. Nicholas with the prayer of the Anaphora, St. Gregory the Theologian with the opening of the Cherubic hymn, St. John Chrysostomos with the beginning words of the Prayer of Oblation, St. Athanasios the Great with the prayer of the First Antiphon, St. Cyril of Alexandria on whose scroll is the text of the lection from the dyptich read over the throne and St. John the Merciful with the opening of the prayer of Third Antiphon. A leaved cross is depicted in the window opening of the apse.

On the soffit of the arch in front of the apse are medallions with half-figures of bishops arranged around a cross. They include three images whose names are now damaged and Sts. Jude, relative of Christ, Basil and Eustratios of Antioch.

On the vault of the bay in front of the apse was a representation of the Ascension of Christ and on the walls scenes tied to liturgical readings, on the south: Healing of Peter's Mother-in-Law, one damaged miracle of Christ, Healing of the Blind and on the north: Parable of the Publican and the Pharisee and two other damaged scenes. In the lower register are representations of Resurrection lections, on the south wall: Christ appearing to the myrrhophores, Holy Women at the Sepulchre and "Nolli me tangere" and on the north: Incredulity of Thomas, Christ speaks to Peter following his third resurrection appearance and Christ parting from the apostles on the Mount of Olives. In the zone below are events associated with Passion lections, on the south wall: Last Supper and Washing of the Feet and on the north: Descent from the Cross and Entombment. The row of half-figures includes representations of: St. Gregory Dialogos, Gregory of Agrigentum, Gregory the Armenian, Cyprian, Babylas, Leo of Rome, Lucianus, Achilleios (?), Eustathios of Thessaloniki and Niphon. The bottom zone is dominated by figures of bishops taking part in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, on the south wall St. Ignatios with a scroll displaying the beginning of the prayer of the Second Antiphon and St. Peter of Alexandria in half and full figure, further

on are other participants of this composition: St. Dionysios the Areopagite with the beginning of the prayer of Fervent Supplication on his scroll and St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos with the prayer of the Entrance. On the north wall is St. Eleutherios and in the passageway leading to the prothesis, under a double cross inscribed in a circle, Sts. Patapios and Blasios and, lower still, holy deacons Euplus and Stephen.

On the back of the iconostasis, the side facing the altar, are two leaved crosses with abbreviations $\bar{\epsilon} \bar{\eta} \bar{\beta} \bar{\kappa}$ and $\bar{\tau} \bar{\varsigma} \bar{\chi} \bar{\varsigma} \bar{\gamma} \bar{\theta} \bar{\gamma}$.

Prothesis (Parekklesion of the Virgin)

In the calotte of the dome is a half-figure of the evangelist John and in the drum figures of five bishops.

On the walls are scenes from the cycle of the Virgin: in the top register Refusal of the Offerings (east wall), Joachim and Anne returning from the Temple and Birth of the Virgin (south wall), Annunciation to Anne and Annunciation to Joachim (east wall); in the register below: Zachary giving Mary to Joseph (east wall), Annunciation at the Well, Mary reproached by Joseph and the Virgin drinking the water of purification (south wall), the Virgin caressed by her parents, the blessings of the three priests and Zachary praying over the rods of the suitors (north wall).

In the register of frontally depicted bishops we find Sts. Silvanus, Eulogius and Flavian on the east wall, Cosmas, Martin and Nirsas on the south and Isaacios, Florus, Elias of Antioch, Dometios and Theodotos on the north wall. In the window opening in the north wall we find St. Antipas and a leaved cross with the cryptogram $\bar{\tau} \bar{\varsigma} \bar{\chi} \bar{\varsigma} \bar{\gamma} \bar{\theta} \bar{\gamma}$.

In the bottom register is the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: on the east wall the Amnos (Christ as a child on an altar table in a paten, a chalice beside him, two angel-deacons with rypidia flanking the altar table); on the south wall is St. Spyridon with the Prayer below the chancel steps on his unrolled scroll and on the north St. Constantine Kabasilas with a scroll opening with the words "Bless and celebrate", St. Clement of Ohrid with the text of the epiklessis after the reading from the dyptich, St. Hypatius in front of the Amnos with an illegible text on an unrolled scroll and St. Polycarp with a rolled-up scroll.

Diaconicon (parekklesion of St. Nicholas)

In the calotte of the dome is a half-figure of the evangelist Luke and below him, in the drum, bishops Abericius, Parthenios, Anthimus, Joseph and one other whose name is damaged.

The two upper zones of the walls are reserved for the cycle of St. Nicholas; the top register: Birth of St. Nicholas (north wall), the saint goes to school (east), St. Nicholas ordained deacon and then priest (south), the saint ordained bishop (west), appearing to the three innocently accused men (north); the lower register: St. Nicholas cutting a tree in Plakoma (east wall), the saint appears to the eparchos

in a dream and likewise to the emperor (south), Saving the three just men from the sword (west) and the Miracle at Sea (north wall).

In the zone below are half-figures of saints in medallions: Galaction and Episteme (?) (east wall), Blasios, Agathangelos, a cross with Christ's name followed by Caesar (south), Philogenios and Theodotos (west), Timotheos, an unknown saint, Dominus and one other unknown martyr (north wall).

In the bottom register are holy monks, on the east wall: Gerasimos and Chariton; on the south: St. Athanasios the Athonite, Nilus, Acacios and John Calybitis; on the west: Poimen and Hilarion; on the north: Paul the Simple and Alexios the man of God.

In the lunette above the entrance is a depiction of a leaved cross with the cryptogram $\overline{\text{TC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{OY}}$, an identical cross was also located on the inner side of the western doorpost.

Naos

Dome. A medallion with Christ Pantokrator is in the dome, it is upheld by eight angels in flight. Further down is the Celestial Liturgy. Between the windows of the drum there were eight prophets with unrolled scrolls, among them Jeremiah (with the text of Jeremiah 3, 17 on his scroll), Elijah, Elisha (holding a scroll with the text of the Second Book of Kings 2, 4), Sophoniah (?) with the text of Sophoniah 3, 18 (?), Joel with a scroll (Joel 2, 12); only small fragments remain of the other figures. On the pendentives are equally badly damaged representations of the evangelists with personifications of Divine Wisdom standing behind them. Only Mark on the north-west pendentive and John on the north-east are discernible today. Traces of the Mandelion on the east and the Keramion on the west side can be discerned between the evangelists.

On the vaults of the arms of the cross and the peditments under them were representations of the Great Feasts of which the Nativity, Presentation of Christ in the Temple and Baptism are preserved on the south wall, Raising of Lazarus on the west, Entry into Jerusalem on the north and Descent into Hades and the Pentecost on the east wall.

The uppermost register of the walls continued with the cycle of scenes from the altar space (cf. sanctuary) related to liturgical readings, from the south wall of the altar: following a damaged fresco we find the Healing of the Paralytic (prophet Samuel below this scene), Christ and the Samaritan woman (prophet David with the text of Psalm 44, 11 below), Christ and Zaccheus, Healing of the Man with the Water Disease, Christ in the Synagogue, Mid-Pentecost (the righteous Noah below), Purification of the Temple (below are the righteous Job and Joseph the Beateous), "If you should not be as this child", Christ Healing the Woman with an Issue of Blood, Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (below is prophet Solomon with the text of Wisdom 31, 29 on his scroll), Christ in the

House of Martha and Mary (prophet Zachary is depicted below the following, now destroyed fresco). Scenes continue on the north wall of the altar space (cf. sanctuary). Other images painted at this level are prophets on arches which in the east part of the naos connect the piers with the surrounding walls: Moses, Melchizedek, Aaron and four others without preserved names.

The cycle of Christ's resurrection appearances, tied to the Paschal gospel lections, continues (cf. sanctuary) on the south wall of the naos with representations of the myrrhophores informing the apostles of Christ's resurrection, apostles discovering Christ's empty tomb, Road to Emmaus (in the lunette of the three-light window are representations of Sts. Symeon the Stylite and Symeon of Mandras), Luke and Cleopas informing the apostles of their meeting with Christ; on the west wall is one of Christ's appearances to the apostles and Christ appearing behind closed doors; on the north wall the apostles setting off for a fish hunt (in the lunette of the three-light window are holy stylites Alypius and Daniel), the appearance of Christ on the Sea of Galilee and Christ eating the honey and the fish. The cycle ends inside the altar space (cf. sanctuary).

In the zone below there are representations of Passion lections which are a follow-up of those found in the altar space (cf. sanctuary), south of the iconostasis: Christ lecturing the apostles after the washing of the feet; on the south wall: Agony in the Garden, Judas accepting the pieces of silver, Betrayal of Judas, Christ Tried Before Caiaphas, Christ Tried Before Annas; on the west wall: Christ Judged by Pilate, Peter's first and second denial, Third Denial of Peter, Peter's Remorse, Christ Judged by Herod and Pilate turns Christ over to the Jews; north wall: Mocking of Christ, Road to Calvary, Ascent of the Cross, Crucifixion, Joseph asking Pilate for the body of Christ. The cycle ends inside the altar space (cf. sanctuary).

Further down is a register with the cycle of St. George, south of the iconostasis: St. George before Diocletian and Torture by Spear; on the south wall: Torture on the Wheel, the saint encouraged by an angel, St. George faces the emperor again, Massacre of the Christians (in the window are figures of Sts. Eutropios and Leontios), Torture in the Lime Pit, the saint drinking poison, Torture by Nails, Torture by Beating; west wall (following a figure of St. Philemon): St. George and the magician, the saint raising the dead to life, Torture by Stoning, Torture by Rake (and St. Adrianus); north wall: St. George restoring Glycerios's two oxen to life, the saint tearing down idols, return of St. George to Lassia with the princess and the beaten dragon (in the window are St. Euppsychios and Alexandra), Diocletian sentences to death St. George and Alexandra, Beheading of St. George, Burial of St. George and death of other Christians.

Register of single standing figures. On the east wall, south of the iconostasis, is a Synaxis of the Archangels. On the south wall are martyrs Eustratios, Auxentios,

Eugenios, Mardarios, Orestes and holy warriors Procopios, Nicetas, Andronicos and Sabas Stratelates (in half-figure) (on the inner sides of the entrance are two leaved crosses accompanied by the letters $\overline{\Gamma\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{X}\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{Y}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$), Demetrios Apokauchos and Nestor. On the west wall are St. James the Persian, the evangelist Mark, apostle Peter; in the passage leading to the narthex St. Theodore Teron (?) followed by the apostle Paul, evangelist Luke, Hermogenes and Menas Kalykelados. On the north wall are holy warriors Artemios (?), Alexander, Christopher, Merkurios, Menas, Eustathios Plakidas and martyrs Anempodistos, Elpidophoros, Aphthonios, Pegasios, Acindynus and, finally, archbishop Sava "Sava the Right Reverend (*hagiotatos*) archbishop...".

Pilaster strips on the east wall around the iconostasis. Below the Annunciation are half-figures of prophet Daniel with a scroll (Daniel 2, 34), a rock with an image of Christ Emmanuel beside him, and the Old Testament patriarch Jacob with a scroll (Numbers 24, 17) and a star with the image of Emmanuel. In the bottom zone are representations of the Virgin Kaicharitomene with Christ on the north and Christ the Merciful with an open gospel book (Matthew 11, 28) on the south pilaster strip.

Iconostasis. Two fresco-icons are painted on the surfaces of the walled-up intercolumnal spaces: St. Georgios Tropaiophoros (the inscription later changed into Diasoritis) and the Virgin with Christ (later added and rubbed out inscription reading "the Caressing of the Lord" and, over this text, "Mother of God for all Pelagonitissa").

South pier. In the uppermost zone are half-figures of martyrs, Sts. Theodule and Theodotos (south side), Agathopous and Eutropios (west), an unknown martyr and Sozon (north), Sebastian and Benjamin (east). Below them are figures of martyr saints Zenobia and Hermylus (south side), Florus and Laurus (west), Boniface and Justin the Philosopher (north), Genadius and Rhodion (east). Further down is another register of martyrs: Sts. Polychronia and Gerontios (south side), Sergius and Bacchus (west), Porphyrios (north) and Onesiphoros (east). In the register of single standing figures, on the south side we find an unknown martyr, on the west St. George under an ornamental arch, on the north St. Nicholas and on the east an unidentified martyr.

North pier. In the uppermost zone are half-figures of martyr saints Romanus and Plato (south side), Agathopous and Lucianus (west), Meliton and Antonin (north), Nicholas the New and Gordios (east). Below them are figures of holy martyrs Zenobia and Paramonos (south side), Carpus and Papyrus (west), Trophimos and Sabbatios (north), Anthimos and Parthenios (east). Further down is another register with figures of martyrs: Tryphon and Mamas (south side), Nicholas the New and Eudocimos (west), Caesar and Darius (north), Maximianus and Proclus (east). In the register of single standing figures of saints we find St. John the Prodromos on the south, the evan-

gelist Matthew on the west, St. Polyeuctos on the north and St. Hyacinthus on the east side.

Narthex

In the calotte of the south-west dome is a half-figure of evangelist Matthew with an open book (Matthew 1, 1) and in the drum representations of Old Testament kings, Solomon, Rehoboam and another two with no names preserved while the figure of the fifth king is badly damaged.

In the calotte of the north-west dome is a half-figure of evangelist Mark with an open gospel book (Mark 1, 1); five Old Testament patriarchs appear in the drum but only the names of Abraham and Reuben have been preserved while images of cherubim decorate the pendentives.

The vaults and upper parts of the walls are filled with scenes and personages from the Menologion tied to the immovable feasts (a detailed survey of their distribution is found in V. R. Petković, *Kalendar u starom živopisu srpskom. Freske u Starom Nagoričinu*, Starinar III, 1, 1923, 3–18; Mijović, *Menolog*, 259–284 and Todić, *Nagoričino*, 79–85).

In the two-light window on the west wall are four medallions with half-figures of St. Cosmas, Anthony and two other unknown saints. On the west wall is the Dormition of the Virgin.

Standing single figures of saints are located in the bottom zone. On the south wall: Sts. Cosmas, Damian, Panteleimon, Anthony, Sabas, Euthymios, Arsenios, Paul of Thebes and an unknown monk. On the west wall: hosios father Prochor of Pčinja, hosios father Joachim of Sarandapor, the inscription referring to the decoration of the church, Ephraim the Syriac, Stephen the New, Theodore of Stoudion, in the lunette above the entrance is the year 6826 (1317/18), on the south lintel is a leaved cross with abbreviations $\overline{\Phi}$ $\overline{\text{X}}$ $\overline{\Pi}$ $\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}$, and on the north an identical cross with the letters $\overline{\Gamma\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{X}\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{Y}}$ $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}$ ($\overline{\text{E}}$) $\overline{\text{E}}$, further on – an angel in monastic habit turning towards St. Pachomios, Joseph the Melodos, Cosmas the Melodos with the words of the sticheron "More honourable than the cherubim" on his scroll and John Damascene. On the north wall are figures of the holy emperor Constantine and empress Helena with the cross, Simonida ("Simonida the most exalted Queen Komnene"), king Milutin ("Stefan Uroš in Christ God faithful King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral"), with a model of the church in his hands, St. George extending a sword to the king and three other saints. On the east wall are figures of St. Eugephos, the Virgin Paraklissa with an unrolled scroll, Stephen the Protomartyr, Georgios Gorgos, Christ the Saviour with an open gospel (John 8, 12; 12, 46–48) and St. Benjamin.

On the capitels of the pillars are inscriptions with the name of king Milutin in a Hellenised form, the same also appears on the north pillar and above the walled-up opening of the staircase on the west wall.

Facade

In the lunette above the western entrance is a badly damaged half-figure of St. Georgios Tropaiophoros.

The frescoes of Nagoričino are well known to scholars because they have been catalogued and published a number of times: Okunjev, *Staro Nagoričino*, 87–120; P. J. Popović – V. R. Petković, *Staro Nagoričino – Psuća – Kalenić*, 1–49, pls. IX–XXXIII; V. R. Petković, *Kalendar u starom živopisu srpskom*, 3–18; Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, pl. 40–43/b; II, 23–29, pl. XLVII–LVII; Petković, *Pregled*, 204–208; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 58–62, sh. IX–XII, pls. CXVI–CLXXXVIII; Millet – Frolov, *La peinture*, III, pl. 71–119; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 34–36, Plan 31–33, Abb. 273–316; Mijović, *Menolog*, 259–284, figs. 19–114; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 71–87, pls. I–XVII, figs. 7–103.

The beginnings of their study date back to the last decades of the XIX century and were at first restricted to noting the inscription with the date of the decoration and mentioning the frescoes of historical contents. Works of this sort were published by P. Srećković, *Nagorič*, Brastvo III (1889), 228–235; J. Hadži Vasiljević, *Nagoričke crkve*, Glasnik pravoslavne crkve, Beograd 1901, 10–12; id., *Južna Stara Srbija, I. Kumanovska oblast*, Beograd 1909, 427–435; N. P. Kondakov, *Makedonija – arheologičeskoe putešestvie*, Sankt-Peterburg 1909, 196–199, figs. 135–137. Only G. Millet who studied the frescoes of Nagoričino, especially their iconography, with greater care (Millet, *Recherches*, s. v. in the index *Nagoriča*). He also discovered the signature of one of the painters, Eutychios (G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*, Paris 1916, 12, fig. 2; id., *L'ancien art serbe. Les églises*, Paris 1919, fig. 10; id. in: *Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, avril – juillet, Paris 1934, 223). The inscription referring to the decoration of the church with wall paintings was published by Lj. Stojanović in *SSZN*, I, 21; J. Ivanov, *B'lgarski starini iz Makedonija*, Sofia 1931, 132 (along with the year recorded in the lunette above the western entrance) and later by many others.

A new page in the study of Nagoričino's frescoes was written by N. L. Okunev and V. R. Petković who catalogued and described them while also publishing a notable number of the wall paintings. Petković also discovered the signature of the painter Michael (P. J. Popović – V. R. Petković, *Staro Nagoričino – Psuća – Kalenić*, 23, pl. XXX/2). This opened the way for more in-depth scholarly investigations, primarily in the domain of iconography: J. Myslivec included the cycles of St. Nicholas and St. George from Nagoričino in broader studies of these themes in Byzantine art (J. Myslivec, *Svatý Jiri ve východokřesťanském umění*, BS V, 1933–1934, 304–369; id., *Dve studie z dějin byzantského umění*, Praha 1948, 55–93); Lj. Wratislav-Mitrović and N. L. Okunev wrote about the Dormition

(Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 153 et passim); N. Belaev on the Virgin from the iconostasis (N. Beljaev, *Obraz Božej Materi Pelagonitisy*, BS II, 1930, 387–392), convinced that the accompanying epithet Pelagonitissa was original, a hypothesis acknowledged for a long time (P. Miljković-Peppek, *Umilitelne motivi vo vizantiskata umetnost na Balkanot i problemot na Bogorodica Pelagonitisa*, Zbornik na Arheološkiot muzej vo Skopje, II, 1958, 1–27; L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Pelagonitissa et Kardiotissa: variantes extrêmes du type Vierge de Tendresse*, Byzantion LIII/1, 1983, 9–16); S. Radojčić studied the scene of Mocking of Christ (S. Radojčić, *Ruganje Hristu na fresci u Starom Nagoričinu*, Narodna starina XIV, 1939, 3–19 = Radojčić, *Uzori i dela*, 155–179), included the portraits of king Milutin and queen Simonida in his book on Serbian royal portraits (Radojčić, *Portreti*, 37–38) and reflected on the artistic qualities of other frescoes (S. Radojčić, *Freske u Milutinovim zadužbinama*, Umetnički pregled II/7, 1939, 205–206).

The discovery of the signatures of painters Michael and Eutychios in the Virgin Peribleptos at Ohrid and Bogorodica Ljeviška at Prizren in the 1950's, together with their already known signatures from Nagoričino and St. Nikita, inspired several scholars to investigate their works, the relationship between the two artists, their origins and other questions related to these painters (cf. Todić, *Nagoričino*, 32–33); cf. the entries Bogorodica Ljeviška and St. Prochor of Pčinja in this chapter). The most valuable book published as a result of such interests is that written by Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, in which the author focuses most of his attention on three monuments with fresco ensembles signed by Michael and Eutychios: the Ohrid church of the Peribleptos, St. Nikita and Nagoričino, as well as on other similar works. He pointed out the iconographic and stylistic features of the frescoes and attempted to distinguish the works of each artist. He made an almost complete list of the frescoes, devoted somewhat more attention to the decoration of the dome, the iconography of the Great Feasts and some of the saints and carefully investigated the most significant elements of the paintings. Hallensleben's *Die Malerschule*, created as a result of similar impulses underlying the previously mentioned book by P. Miljković-Peppek – a desire to study the art of Michael and Eutychios and their associates as a whole – although based on a different method often resulting in different conclusions, is no less important in the study of Nagoričino's frescoes: the author published once again all the inscriptions containing historical data (pp. 31–34), investigated the programme of the wall paintings (57–60), reflected on the iconographically most interesting representations (68–98) and their artistic treatment (110–121).

Historical portraits represent another circle of themes lately of great interest to the scholars. Thus, in an article dedicated to the role of the Serbian court and church in the art of the early XIV century in Serbia, V. J. Djurić demon-

strated in what way the mixing of Serbian, local and cults nurtured in the archbishopric of Ohrid reflected on the frescoes of Nagoričino (Djurić, *L'art des Paléologues et l'Etat serbe*, 179–191), a subject later expounded further by Grozdanov, *Portreti*, 78, 161–162. After Radojčić, the ktetor's composition was studied most meticulously by Djurić: having studied all the data offered by the inscription written out on the lintel of the western entrance and the painting in which king Milutin holds a model of the church, with St. George offering him a sword, he associated the construction of the church with the triumph over the Turks in Asia Minor which the Serbian army had attained in those years (Djurić, *Tri događaja*, 68–76), an interpretation acknowledged among scholars: Milošević, *Srbi svetitelji*, 199–200; Velmans, *Le portrait*, 112–113; Kisas, *Solun*, 29–42. Recently, Djurić (Saopštenja XXVI, 1994, 194–197) returned again to the problem of the ktetor's composition and briefly communicated the results of his latest research of this painting and the inscription accompanying Simonida and Milutin.

We should also mention some of the more recent works on the iconography of the frescoes from Nagoričino: S. Radojčić, *Pilatov sud u vizantijskom slikarstvu ranog XIV veka*, ZRVI XIII (1971), 293–310; id., *Die Reden des Johannes Damaskenos*, 305–310; A. Grabar, *Sur les sources des peintres byzantins des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, CA XII (1962), 351–354; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, I, Bruxelles 1964, 46, 64, 112, 127, 132, 177, 178, 205; Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*, 42, 66–122; T. Mark-Weiner, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George in Byzantine Art*, New York University 1977, 47–48, 123–124, 154–155, 163, 174, 183–185, 207–208, 216; Mijović, *Menolog*, 7–11, 35–39, 71, 119–120, 259–284; Lj. D. Popovich, *Compositional and Theological Concepts in Four Prophet Cycles in Churches Selected from the Period of King Milutin (1282–1321)*, Cyrillomethodianum VIII–IX (1984–1985), 283–317; Babić, *Les chapelles*, 136–137; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, passim; Babić, *Les croix*, 7, 8, 10, 11. The iconostasis and the surrounding wall paintings drew the attention already of the first visitors of Nagoričino and, apart from Beljaev, Miljković-Pepk and L. Hadermann-Misguich, they were also inves-

tigated by A. Grabar, *Deux notes sur l'histoire de l'iconostase d'après des monuments de Yougoslavie*, ZRVI 7 (1961), 17–22; I. M. Djordjević, *Dve molitve kralja Stefana Dečanskog pre bitke na Velbuždu i njihov odjek u umetnosti*, Zbornik LU 15 (1974), 136–140; Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 27–31; *Ikone*, Beograd 1983, 140 (G. Babić). The artistic qualities of the paintings created by Michael and Eutychios at Nagoričino were studied with greatest dedication by Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 102–105 (as the most comprehensive expression of representative court academism in Serbian painting of king Milutin's age); Miljković-Pepk, *Deloto*, 120–200 (analysed them carefully using the morphological and attributive method); Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 156–157; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 71–72 (regarded them as the apogee in the path of development of the two painters); Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 74–75 (included them in the classicist phase of development of Byzantine painting of the early XIV century); Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 130–132 et passim (investigated the manner of representing architecture on the frescoes, M. Σωτηρίου, *Η Μακεδονική Σχολή και η λεγόμενη Σχολή Μιλουτίν*, ΔΧΑΕ, 4/5, 1969, 1–25 (compared them to other contemporary frescoes, primarily those of Thessalonikan origin); V. Mako, *Pojedini postupci u komponovanju scena Pričešća apostola slikarske radionice Mihaila i Evtihija*, Zograf 23 (1993–1994), 18–27.

Recently, in a new monograph (Todić, *Nagoričino*), significant attention has been focused on the frescoes: the inscriptions referring to the ktetor and the painters (pp. 25–27) and the historiography (29–34), the frescoes were catalogued once more (71–87), the programme of the sanctuary studied (89–94) as well as the theme of the Incarnation (94–100), the iconography of the Great Feasts and other cycles (100–116), the portraits (117–126) and artistic merits of the painters working at Nagoričino (127–138).

In the meantime, the frescoes of Nagoričino entered all the more significant surveys of ancient Serbian and Byzantine art, less extensive texts, both popular and scientific in genre, were also written about them and they were included in numerous works on medieval painting. For a complet bibliography on these wall paintings cf. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 262–263 and Todić, *Nagoričino*, 29–34 et passim.

Studenica

Church of Sts. Joachim and Anne (Kraljeva crkva)



In 1313/14 king Milutin raised a parekklesion in Studenica, the most highly esteemed of all Serbian monasteries, the final resting place of its ktetor and the king's ancestor, the great jupanus Stefan Nemanja (St. Symeon). The acting hegoumenos Jovan was also engaged in the endeavour (cf. M. Janković, *Studenički arhimandrit i protosindjel Jovan*, *Istorijski časopis* XXXVII, 1990–1991, 205–210), as recorded in the carved inscription on the east facade of the church, located by that including the name of the ktetor, king Milutin, and the date of construction of the church, 6822 (1313/14) (this inscription has often been published, most recently in Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 20–21). Other sources also associate the construction and decoration of the church with king Milutin: Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 181, as do the inscriptions on the colonettes of the two-light windows and the king's portrait in the church. The church shared the fate of the monastery, cf. Babić, *Studenica*, 10–20, 90–94, 146–153, 180–187 (S. Ćirković), but did not suffer too much damage. The frescoes were conserved in two instances, in 1951–1953 and 1969–1976 (*Kulturno nasledje Srbije 1947–1982*, Beograd 1982, 82).

The church is a building of the abridged cross-in-square type with a dome. The sanctuary consisting of a deep altar apse with a niche and two other apses for the prothesis and the diaconicon lies on the east. All the walls are covered with well preserved wall paintings. On the architecture of the church cf. Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 27–35.

It is usually assumed that the frescoes were created in 1314 or around 1315. However, that assumption is not entirely correct because, as a rule, churches were decorated with frescoes only a couple of years after their construction. An early dating of these wall paintings from Studenica was substantiated by the changes in the appearance of king Milutin observed on his portraits, from Arilje to Gračanica (H. Hallensleben, *Die Stifterbildnisse als mittelbare Quelle für die Datierung der Malereien in den Kirchen König Milutins*, XII^e Congr. intern. des études byzantines. Résumés des communications, Ohrid 1961, 43–44; Miljković-Pepel, *Deloto*, 231, fig. 139). Although minor chronological alterations were introduced to the dating of wall paintings in some of the churches in the meantime, they did not affect considerably the suggested order of creation of the king's portraits. Compared to the precisely dated example from Nagoričino, on his portrait from Studenica the king appears to be older. However, it should be pointed out that Milutin's portrait from Nagoričino is quite damaged and that in both churches his beard looks practically the same. Had the king really been portrayed in 1314–1315 in Studenica, and in 1317/18 in Nagoričino, the difference would certainly have been greater. It is, therefore, more probable that the chronological distance between the two paintings is shorter. Also, in Studenica, there are more greys in the king's beard and his eyes are more slanted. For those reasons it seems that the first of the two portraits was cre-

ated in Nagoričino (1317/18), to be followed immediately by that from Studenica painted in 1318 or 1319. Such a relationship between the two churches decorated by the same painters, even if we disregard the fact that Nagoričino was raised before Kraljeva crkva which could have affected the order of their decoration, would account for the irregularities in the drawing, contrasting colours and divergencies from classicism occasionally still present in Nagoričino and non-existent in Studenica as well as for the fact that Studenica is stylistically closer to Gračanica, especially to its frescoes from the upper zones. The works of Michael and Eutychios would, thus, stand in the following order: Nagoričino – Studenica – Gračanica; in the first church they would have worked from 1315 to 1317/18, in the second in 1318–1319 and from 1319/20 to 1321 in the third.

The signatures of the painters have not been preserved but there is no doubt that they were Michael and Eutychios.

The inscriptions on the frescoes are Serbian.

The programme of the fresco decoration.

Sanctuary

In the conch of the apse is an enthroned Virgin with Christ on her lap with an archangel on either side of the throne. On the capitel of the colonette of the two-light window is a leaved cross and on either side of the window opening representations of Communion with bread and Communion with Wine. Below the window is a niche with the Amnos on a paten and a chalice, surrounded by angel-deacons with rhydia and accompanied by an inscription the text of which is adopted from the Proskomide ride. On both sides and not only in the apse, the Amnos is approached by a number of bishops with unrolled scrolls those taking part in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: on the North side is St. Nicholas (with the text of the prayer of the Third Antiphon), in front of him is St. Athanasios (with the prayer of the Trisagion hymn) and in front of this bishop St. Basil (with the prayer of the Cherubic hymn); on the south side are St. John Chrysostomos (with the prayer of Oblation), behind him St. Gregory the Theologian (with the prayer preceding "More especially...") and then St. Cyril of Alexandria (with the text of "More especially our most holy and undefiled..."); the procession of bishops continues on the north side of the altar: St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos (with the prayer following the Anaphora, "Moreover we offer into thee"), St. Dionysios the Areopagite (with the prayer following the reading of the names of the deceased from the dyptich) and St. Gregory of Nyssa (the prayer following "Our father"), and on the south side: St. Ignatios Theophoros (with the text preceding the Anaphora), St. Peter of Alexandria (with the prayer following the Communion, from the liturgy of Chrysostomos) and St. James brother of the Lord (with the prayer following the communion from the liturgy of St. Basil).

Above the apse is the Annunciation and further down

the Presentation of Christ in the temple, divided into two parts, and on the soffit of the arch the images of David, Solomon and two old testament high priests.

At the top of the prothesis niche is a half-figure of an unknown bishop and, below him the figures of Sts. Stephen and Romanus. In the diaconicon niche is a half-figure of St. Abercius and below him the figures of an unknown deacon and St. Isavrios. The cycle of the Virgin begins and ends in the space above these niches (cf. naos).

In the window on the north wall are half-figures of Sts. Polycarp and Spyridon and those of Sylvester and Clement in the window on the opposite wall.

Naos

The calotte of the dome is taken up by an image of Christ Pantokrator with representations of celestial powers from the vision of Ezekiel surrounding his medallion. The cherub, eagle and angels are preserved. Encircling this representation is the Celestial Liturgy. In the drum are prophets with unrolled scrolls: Ezekiel (Ezekiel 32, 1), Isaiah (Isaiah 1, 1 or 65, 17), Elijah (II Kings 2, 6), Elisha (II Kings 2, 4), Jonah (Jonah 2, 3), Habakkuk (Habakkuk 3, 2), Jeremijah (Jeremijah 38, 31) and Sophoniah (Sophoniah 3, 14).

Around the perimeter of the base of the dome there were 36 half-figures of Old Testament righteous. The names of Eve, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Salmon, Booz, Obed, Josiah, Jechoniah, Azor, Sadoch, Eliud, Ozias, Hezekiah and Manasseh.

Between the pendentives on the east side is the Mandelion and on the west the Keramion. On the south and north side are two angels in medallions. On the south-east pendentive is the evangelist John with Prochor, on the south-west Mark, on the north-west Luke and on the north-east Matthew. On the soffit of the arch by the east wall were three medallions with crosses and ten half-figures of bishops, of which St. Eleutherios, Blasios, Antipas, Leo, Epiphanius, Proclus, Niphon and Tarasios are known by name. On the front side of the lower arch are medallions with half-figures of the apostles, ending with representations of the evangelist. On the front side of the arch above the south wall are ten half-figures of martyrs in medallions, names are preserved only by Eustratios, Auxentios, Eugenios and Mardarios. On the soffit of his arch are medallions with half-figures of St. Florus and probably Laurus as well as two other saints in full figure, one of whom may be St. Pappulos and the other, perhaps, Carpus. On the front side of the arch over the north wall there were also twelve half-figures of martyrs in medallions of which only nine are better preserved and those of St. Menas, Sergius, Bacchus and Christopher together with their names. On the soffit of this arch were two half-figures of martyrs, encased in a medallion, Sts. Epiphanius and Phocas as well as two saints in full figure of which only St. Eudocimus together with his name.

Individual saints are also found on several other loca-

tions in the naos. On the south wall, left and right of the window, there are medallions with images of Sabas Stratelates and, perhaps, Andrew Stratelates. In the lunette above the window is St. Symeon the Stylite and, below him, on the capitel of the colonette, is an inscription with the king's name "Stefan". Around the window on the west wall are half-figures of martyr saints Photios and Anicetas in medallions, above the two-light window is St. Alypius the Stylite and, on the capitel, the king's name "Uroš". On the north wall are representations of St. Aretas and Polyeuctos in medallions and an unknown stylite between them. In the lower windows are representations of Sts. Cosmas and Damian (south wall) and St. Procopios and an unknown holy warrior (north wall).

On the walls of the naos are the Great Feasts which were not dedicated in the sanctuary: on the south wall the Nativity and Baptism; on the west the Metamorphosis, Entry into Jerusalem and, below them, the Dormition (with adjoined figures of holy poets Cosmas and Joseph, Johan of Damascus and Theodore of Stoudion celebrating the Virgin through their poetry written out on their unrolled scrolls), and on the north wall the Crucifixion and Descent into Hades.

The cycle of the Virgin begins in the lower zone, on the east wall of the sanctuary, by the apse with the Refusal of the Offerings and Joachim and Anne returning from the Temple and continues on the south wall with representations of Annunciation to Joachim, Annunciation to Anne, Meeting of Joachim and Anne, Birth of the Virgin, Mary Carressed by Her Parents, to be transferred to the north wall where we find the Blessings of the Three Priests, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Mary Given Away to Joseph, and end with the Drinking of the Water of Purification on the east wall, by the altar apse.

The register of single standing figures of saints includes the images of Christ (by the iconostasis), Joachim, Anne (with the infant Mary), king Milutin ("Stefan Uroš by the grace of God King and sovereign of all Serbian lands and the Littoral") carrying a model of the church and queen Simonida ("Simonida by the grace of God Queen Komnena and Palaiologina") on the south wall; remains of unknown saints on the south-west pilaster; Sts. Constantine and Helena and, apparently, Theodore Teron and Theodore Stratelates on the west wall; two other badly damaged figures of saints on the north-west pilaster and Sts. Demetrios, George, Sava the Serbian ("St. Sava Right Reverend Archbishop of all Serbian land and the Littoral"), Symeon ("St. Symeon Nemanja") and the Virgin with Christ (by the iconostasis) on the north wall.

Data on the frescoes from this church of Studenica monastery has been carefully gathered and constantly broadened for almost an entire century. The first scholar to describe and publish reproductions of a great number of these wall paintings was V. R. Petković, *Manastir Studenica*, Beograd 1924, 59–80, figs. 71–108; Petković, *La peinture*

serbe, I, figs. 36d–39c; II, 22–23, pl. XLII–XLVI; Petković, *Pregled*, 318–320, figs. 1001–1005; followed by Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 54–70; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 32–34, Abb. 245–272, Plan 29–30a; M. Rajković, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici*, Beograd 1964, pp. I–VII, figs. 2–7, 9–61; *Studenica*, Beograd 1968, 103–134 (D. Tasić); Babić, *Studenica*, figs. 84–113, and finally G. Babić in whose monograph practically all the frescoes were described and published together with their inscriptions and drawings of the paintings: Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 37–244, pls. I–XXXIII, figs. 2, 15–143, 145–147, 149, 151, 154, 157, 161.

In such a long history of scholarly interest for Kraljeva crkva and its frescoes the works of V. Djordjević, *Studenica – putnička crta*, Vila I (1865), 27–33, 46–50 (dwelled on the historical characters) and P. Pokryškin, *Pravoslavna crkvena arhitektura XII–XVIII stol., v nynešnem Serbskom korolevstve*, Sankt-Peterburg 1906, 52–57, pls. LVI, LX, LXIII (described most of the scenes and saints in the first zone, compared them to the frescoes of Nagoričino and Gračanica and assumed that the same artist worked in all three churches) are the first in line. Some valuable observations regarding the iconography of these frescoes from Studenica were published by Millet, *Recherches*, 111–112, 136, 184, 212–214, 228, 272, 409; Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 152–153, pl. VI, fig. 1–2; Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 438, 447. Following them, other authors also devoted significant attention to their iconography: Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 56–57, 72–75, 78 (on the programme of the frescoes and the iconography of the Baptism and the Dormition); J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *L'iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, Bruxelles 1964, 46, 64, 66, 74, 80, 87, 107–110, 114, 126–127, 132, 134, 154, 176, 203 (on the cycle of the Virgin); Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 88–93 (on the Communion of the Apostles); C. Grozdanov, *Prodor portreta Klimenta Ohridskog*, Zbornik LU 3 (1967), 66–67, (= Grozdanov, *Portreti*, 76, 78–79) (on the image of the saint assumed to represent St. Clement of Ohrid); Radojčić, *Die Reden des Johannes Damaskenos*, 301–312 (on the Dormition); Lj. D. Popovich, *Compositional and Theological Concepts in Four Prophet Cycles in Churches Selected from the Period of King Milutin (1282–1321)*, Cyrillomethodianum VIII–IX (1984–1985), 283–317; and especially to the portraits: Radojčić, *Portreti*, 35–37; Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja*, 38–39; Čorović-Ljubinković, *Uz problem*, 77–79, 81, 84; Milošević, *Srbi svetitelji*, 177–180, 190; D. Milošević, *Ikonografija svetoga Save, Sava Nemanjić – sveti Sava*, Beograd 1979, 297–298; S. Ćurčić, *The Nemanjić Family Tree in the Light of the Ancestral Cult in the Church of Joachim and Anna at Studenica*, ZRVI 14–15 (1973), 191–195; B. Cvetković, *König Milutin und die Paraklesia des Hl. Joachim und der Hl. Anna in Kloster Studenica*, Balcanica XXVI (1995), 251–276 (on the dedication and the motives behind the raising of this church).

The exceptional artistic qualities of the frescoes in question were a subject of interest for a number of research. Following the first scholars who wrote about Kraljeva crkva, they were investigated in particular by N. L. Okunev, *Monumenta artis serbicae*, II, Prague 1930, 4–6; III (1931), 4 and, after him, by M. Rajković, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici*, pp. I–VII; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 152–158; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 105–109; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 213–217; *Studenica*, 103–104 (D. Tasić); Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 128, 130–132, 146, 157; Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 70–71; S. Radojčić, *Kraljeva crkva, Osam vekova Studenice*, Beograd 1986, 207–214; Todić, *Manastir Studenica*, 204–212; V. Mako, *Pojedini postupci u komponovanju scena Pričešća apostola slikarske radionice Mihaila i Evtihija*, *Zograf* 23 (1993–1994), 18–27.

The results of all these investigations were gathered and critically reviewed by Gordana Babić (*Kraljeva crkva*) in 1987. Apart from historiography and architecture, she discussed in detail the question of the ktetor and dedicated the greater part of her book to the programme and iconography of the wall paintings. Basing her research on knowledge of liturgical texts and taking into consideration an abundance of similar works from more ancient or contemporary art, she examined and explained more thoroughly and successfully the contents of various images from Studenica. At

times, a certain surplus of erudition lead the author to conclusions which are not easily acceptable (for example, in the case of the themes found in the dome). In other instances, however, this erudition introduced valuable corrections and additional information to the understanding of the Nativity, Baptism, Descent into Hades or Dormition. On the other hand, G. Babić examined the style of the frescoes through the manner of rendering space, time and the human figure. This enabled her to differentiate the paintings of each of the two artists – whom she identified as Michael and Eutychios – and those of their associates and to determine much more reliably the place of these frescoes from Studenica in the art of the age of the Palaiologoi in Byzantium and Serbia.

More recently, several other texts on these frescoes have also been published: Babić, *Studenica*, 102–140; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 241 et passim; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Byzantin Wall-Paintings*, Athens 1994, 241–242; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 72–75. The wall paintings of Kraljeva crkva have long since been included in all the more significant surveys of Serbian medieval and Byzantine art, cf. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 261–262, the most complete bibliography of works published to date has been put together by B. Melcer in *Blago manastira Studenice*, Beograd 1988, 323–371.



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Studenica, Kraljeva crkva,
Prophet Isaiah, 1318–1319

Gračanica

Church of the Annunciation

Around 1315 king Milutin restored the very foundations the cathedral church of the bishopric of Lipljan at the site of an ancient basilica replaced in the XIII century by a small single-nave church raised by one of his ancestors. Several years later the church was decorated with frescoes and received a charter issued to it by the king; in a somewhat abridged form, its text is written out on the west wall of the south parekklesion (the charter has been published several times, cf. Todić, *Gračanica*, 63–68, fig. 5, and best by B. Živković, *Gračanička povelja*, Beograd 1992). Apart from the writings of Danilo II (Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 181) and the text of this charter, several portraits of the king painted on different locations in the church and his monograms in the naos (on the monograms cf. R. Petrović, *Monogrami kralja Stefana Uroša II Milutina u Gračanici*, Saopštenja XIII, 1981, 105–114) also speak of Milutin as the ktetor of this church. The acting bishop Ignjatije was also engaged in the endeavour of decorating the church (Todić, *Gračanica*, 70–71). Until the end of the XVII century it was the cathedral church of bishops of Lipljan (Gračanica, Novo Brdo). At an unknown date an exonarthex was added to the church and this structure was decorated with wall paintings in at least two different instances. In the church proper, there are only a couple of frescoes of a later date (on them cf. Todić, *Gračanica*, 76–77, 239–263, with previous bibliography). On the history of the monastery cf. S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica. King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture*, The Pennsylvania State University 1979, 12–30; M. Janković, *Lipljanska episkopija i Gračanička mitropolija*, Istorijski časopis XXIX–XXX (1982–1983), 27–36.

The architectural structure of the church is complex and harmonious. Its kernel consists of a domed cross-in-

square structure resting on four piers. The sanctuary is covered by a calotte and, apart from an apse, includes two niches, one for the prothesis and the other for the diaconicon. This kernel is enveloped by another cross-in-square structure which has the form of an underlying cross and, on ground-plan level, the appearance of a narthex and ambulatory aisles ending in parekklesia with apses and four smaller domes rising over them. The parekklesia communicate with the sanctuary through wide arched openings (closed off by low walls immediately upon their construction) and with the naos through regular entrances. There are three arched openings between the narthex and the naos. Above the narthex there is another room, the gallery chamber, reached through a staircase cut into the west wall of the naos. Originally, there were three entrances to the church but the one on the north side was later walled up. An exonarthex was later raised in front of the west facade of the church. On the architecture of Gračanica cf. S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, 31–127.

Since there is no written record of the date of decoration of the church, it can be deduced only indirectly. In his charter issued in 1321, king Milutin says that he "raised and decorated" the church which means that it must have received its wall paintings by that time. Although the fact that the first visitors of Gračanica saw the year 1321/22 inscribed "above the main door" should not be easily discarded (M. S. Milojević, *Putopis dela prave Stare Srbije*, I, Beograd 1871, 155; A. Gil'ferding, *Sobranie sočinenij, t. III, Bosnija, Gercegovina i Staraja Srbija*, Sankt-Peterburg 1873, 163; I. Ivanić, *Na Kosovu*, Beograd 1903, 56; B. Dj. Nušić, *Kosovo – opis zemlje i naroda*, II, Novi Sad 1903, 32; T. P. Stanković, *Putne beleške po Staroj Srbiji 1871–1898*, Beograd 1910, 90), it can not be validated because the fresco decoration has

vanished from that spot, perhaps in the course of reparation works carried out in 1897 (J. Popović, *Manastir Gračanica na Kosovu*, Beograd 1927, 46). Since it has long been noted that the wall paintings are similar to those from Nagoričino and that, on his portrait from Gračanica, king Milutin appears to be much older, these frescoes have been dated to the period between 1318 and 1321 (Todić, *Gračanica*, 69–74). Because scholars have acknowledged the fact that the same painters worked on the decoration of Nagoričino, Studenica and Gračanica, as well as the above mentioned chronology according to which they were present in Nagoričino from 1315 to 1317/18 and in Studenica in 1318 or 1319, they could have begun working in Gračanica in 1319 and 1320 and finished off the decoration of this church by October 1321.

The frescoes of Gračanica are quite well preserved and work on their cleaning has been under way, with longer breaks, for a number of years (*Kulturno nasledje Srbije 1947–1982*, Beograd 1982, 51). Only a partial report on these works has been published: A. Grguri, *Slikarsko-konzervatorski radovi u manastiru Gračanici izvedeni 1971. godine*, SKM VI–VII (1972), 191–197.

The authors of the frescoes are not known but, based on similarities with their signed works, it is assumed that these wall paintings were created by Michael and Euty-chios and a great number of their assistants.

Most of the inscriptions are in Serbian although those in Greek are not all that rare (Todić, *Gračanica*, 80–110).

Disposition of the frescoes.

Sanctuary

Apse. At the top of the calotte is Christ Emmanuel surrounded by cherubim. Directly below him is the Virgin Platytera flanked by archangels Michael and Gabriel. In the zone below is the Communion with Bread and Communion with Wine, and in the lunette of the three-light window a seraph with two rhypidia inscribed with the opening words of the Trisagion hymn. Further down is a register filled with half-figures of holy bishops: Gregory of Agrigentum, Gregory Dialogos, Eustathios of Antioch, Methodios, Hyppolite and Elias of Antioch. The bottom register contains the central part of the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: a paten with the Amnos, a closed gospel book and a chalice, all being blessed by Sts. Basil and John Chrysostomos while two angel-deacons with rhypidia stand behind the altar table.

In the calotte is the Ascension and in the medallions on the pendentives two angels and two bishops.

The vaults and the uppermost zones of the walls were reserved for the cycle of the Virgin of which the following scenes have been preserved: Refusal of the Offerings, Joachim and Anne returning from the Temple, Annunciation to Joachim (only partly), Birth of the Virgin (?), Blessings of the Three Priests, Presentation of the Virgin

in the Temple, Zachary Praying over the Rods of the Suitors, Zachary giving Mary away to Joseph, Annunciation (?), Joseph's reproaches and Mary drinking the water of Purification. On the west wall there were eight bishops in full or half-figure among them Sts. Eulothios, Silvanus and Agapetus. On the intrados of the triumphal arch there are eleven half-figures in medallions, mainly those of bishops: Samon, Abibus, Gourias, Therapon, Symeon, Leo the Roman, an unknown, Nicetas, Acepsimas (?), Joseph and Anthalos, and on the soffits of the arches connecting the lateral walls and the columns of the tribelon the half-figures of Sts. Neophytos and Anastasios (not preserved), Teophilos and Carterios (not preserved).

The walls, lower zone: south of the apse is the Holy Trinity (Hospitality of Abraham); on the south wall the righteous Abraham Welcoming the Three Angels and the Sacrifice of Abraham; on the north: Gideon's Fleece and the Tent of the Testament; north of the apse is Wisdom Hath Builded Her House.

Further down is a register filled with half-figures of bishops. On the east wall, south of the apse, are the images of Sts. Nectarios, Atticus and Genadius. On the south wall: Sts. Anatolios, Eusebius, Proclus, Cosmas, Theophilactus, Euty-chios and Memnos. On the west wall, below the triumphal arch, were figures of four bishops. On the north wall: Sts. Epimachos, Dionysios, Meletios, an unknown, Antipatrus, Diadochos, Eulachios and Modestos. On the east wall, north of the apse: Sts. Nicephoros, Flavian and Gregory the Armenian.

The bottom register of paintings contains, on the east wall, south of the apse, figures of bishops participating in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: St. Athanasios with a scroll (the "Mindful of our most holy..."); prayer on the south: St. Ignatios (prayer of the Little Entrance), St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos (Trisagion hymn) and St. Abercius (with the words following the Prayer below the chancel steps), and, after a candlestick, the frontally facing figures of bishops: Spyridon, Modestos and Polycarp; facing them on the north wall are Sts. Hypatius, Blasios and Eleutherios and, after a candlestick, a procession of bishops taking part in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: St. Peter of Alexandria with the Offertory Prayer, St. Dionysios the Areopagite (Cherubicon), St. Nicholas (Second Prayer of the Faithful) which continues on the east wall, north of the apse, with the figures of St. Gregory of Nyssa (First Prayer of the Faithful) and St. Gregory the Theologian (Prayer of the Catechumens). In the prothesis niche is a half-figure of St. Stephen.

Naos

Dome. The calotte is taken up by a half-figure of Christ Pantokrator encircled by a representation of the Celestial Liturgy. In the drum are eight prophets with scrolls: Isaiah (6, 3), Jeremiah (31, 27), Elijah (II Kings 2, 2), Elisha (II Kings 2, 2), Jonah (1, 1), Micah (4, 6),

Sophoniah (3, 8) and Ezekiel (1, 9). On the pendentives are the evangelists: Matthew on the south-east, Mark on the south-west, Luke on the north-west and John, inspired by the hand of the Lord, on the north-east. Between the pendentives was the Mandelion on the east, the Keramion on the west and an angel in a medallion on the south side.

The upper cross. The vaults and the pediments – east arm: on the vault is a partly preserved Nativity and on the pediment the Presentation of Christ in the Temple; south arm: on the vault is the Raising of Lazarus and the Metamorphosis and on the pediment Christ addressing the apostles after the Metamorphosis and Christ teaching in Judea; west arm: on the vault is the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem and the Crucifixion and on the pediment Mid-Pentecost; north arm: the Pentecost on the vault and on the pediment scenes representing "Peter, you are the rock" and Peter sentencing Ananias to death. The uppermost register of the walls – east arm: Descent into Hades, Parable of the Publican and the Pharisee and further down a half-figure of St. Satyr, on the arches connecting the piers and the columns in the sanctuary the half-figures of Sts. Basiliscus and Cleonicus (north) and an unknown martyr (south), also the Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Virgins and below it the half-figure of St. Andonios; south arm: Christ in the House of Martha and Mary and, below this scene, the half-figure of St. Marcellus, Christ teaching the Jew how to find salvation and Christ speaks of the end of time, further down the half-figures of St. Nazarius and another martyr and lower still those of Sts. Damian and Cosmas in medallions, also Christ and the adulterous woman and, below it, the half-figure of St. Capeton, on the arches between the piers and the walls Sts. Largus, Elpidios and another martyr; west arm: Matthew leaving the publican profession and Purification of the Temple, on the arch between the pier and the south wall Sts. Julian and Ephraim; north arm: Christ reading in the Temple and Christ asking the apostles about himself (further down St. John and another doctor in medallions) and "Be ye as children", below a half-figure of St. Sylvester and, on the arch between the pier and the wall, those of St. Nicephoros and an unknown martyr.

The lower cross. The vaults and the pediments – south arm: on the vault are representations of the Last Supper and the Agony in the Garden and on the pediment the Washing of the Feet; north arm: on the vault is the Betrayal of Judas and Christ Tried Before Annas and on the pediment Christ Tried Before Caiaphas.

The walls, the uppermost register of frescoes – south bay: Road to Calvary, St. Symeon the Stylite at the top of the window and Nicodemus carrying the cross; west bay: Christ and the Samaritan Woman, Marriage at Cana and below these two Christ Healing the Blind, Christ and Zaccheus (king Milutin's name inscribed in medallions over the two-light window and a leaved cross with the letters $\overline{\text{TC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\text{NI}} \overline{\text{KA}}$), on the capitel), Healing of the

Paralytic, a damaged scene with Christ, Healing of the Man with the Water Disease (?) and further down Christ's feet anointed by a sinful woman; north bay: Christ Judged by Pilate, Peter's Denial, St. Daniel the Stylite at the top of the window and Christ Judged by Herod (?); east bay: Healing of the Man with the Withered Hand and traces of some other scene.

The walls, middle register of frescoes – south bay: Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross and Lamentation; west bay: Angel Announcing the Death of the Virgin, Virgin Taking Leave of the Apostles, Dormition, Assumption of the Virgin, Apostles discovering the empty tomb and Thomas showing the Virgin's girdle to the apostles; north bay: Entombment and a damaged scene; east bay, north of the iconostasis: two damaged and unclear scenes with Pilate, south of the iconostasis: Annas and Caiaphas conferring with the Jews after the resurrection of Christ (?) and Joseph asks Pilate for the body of Christ.

The walls, lower register of frescoes – east bay, south of the iconostasis: three myrrhophores and the Virgin at the sepulchre of Christ, Holy Women at the Sepulchre, Christ and Mary Magdalene; south bay: myrrhophores informing the apostles of Christ's resurrection, apostle Peter with John at Christ's sepulchre, Road to Emmaus, Supper at Emmaus, Luke and Cleopas telling the apostles of their encounter with Christ; west bay: Christ appearing to the apostles and reproaching them for their disbelief and Christ appearing to the apostles behind closed doors; north bay: Christ eating the honey and the fish, Christ appearing on the Sea of Galilee and Incredulity of Thomas; east bay, north of the iconostasis: Christ speaking to Peter about John and Christ taking leave of the apostles.

The walls, register of the half-figures – east wall, south of the iconostasis: Dometian, Eutychios, Flavius, Cyril, Anthios and Eunicios; south wall: Sarcedon, Claudius, Anthios, Elianus, Philoctemon, Vivian, Gaius, Aggias and Anethios; west wall: Philemon, Eugraphos, Hermogenos, Heraclios, Eutychios, Theophilos and three other martyrs; east wall, north of the iconostasis: three martyrs, Theodoulos, Alexander and Houdion.

The walls, register of single standing figures – east wall, south of the iconostasis: Sts. John the Prodromos, John the Theologian, George; south wall: Theodore Stratelates, Theodore Teron, Arthemios, Nicetas and five leaved crosses in the arcsoilum: $\overline{\text{TC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{P}} \cdot \overline{\text{T}} \cdot \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{P}} \cdot \overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{A}} \cdot \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{P}} \cdot \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{E}} \cdot \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{IT}} \overline{\text{I}} \cdot \overline{\Phi} \overline{\text{X}} \overline{\Phi} \overline{\text{IT}}$; west wall: Sts. Panteleimon, Cosmas, Damian, Sava the Serbian ("St. Sava the Archbishop"), Constantine and Helena; north wall: Sts. Eustathios, Mercurios, Nestor, Procopios; east wall, north of the iconostasis: St. Demetrios, apostle Andrew, Stephen the Protomartyr.

The piers. South-east pier of the space beneath the dome, top register: the Virgin from the Annunciation, Sts. Darius, Eutychios, prophet David with a scroll inscribed

with Psalm 44, 10; in the zone below are prophets Moses, St. Uarus, Gregory of Agrigentum and the righteous Job; two zones further down are filled with scenes of the Menologion which begin on the west side with September 1st (on the distribution of these scenes in Gračanica V. R. Petković, *Iz crkvenog kalendara u živopisu Gračanice*, GSND XIX, 1938, 79–86; Mijović, *Menolog*, 11–15, 285–307, sh. 17–30; Todić, *Gračanica*, 99–106); in the zone with half-figures are Sts. Valerius and Smaragdus, Ecdicius, Clement, Gorgonios and Priscus; in the bottom zone are Christ (his head repainted), Sts. Sabas Stratelates, Pathapios and Basil the Great.

The piers. North-east pier of the space beneath the dome, top register: archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation, prophet Solomon with a scroll (Wisdom 31, 29), Sts. Patapios, Barachesios; further down is another zone of figures of saints: prophet Aaron, righteous Noah, Niphon, Nicander; lower still are two zones with scenes from the Menologion as well as half-figures of Sts. Candidus and Cyrion, martyrs Nicholas and Elias, Modestos, John and Domnus, finally, in the bottom zone is the Virgin with Christ as well as Sts. John Chrysostomos, Antipas and Polyeuctos.

The piers. South-west pier of the space beneath the dome: in the top register are Sts. Theophilos, Darius, prophet Habakkuk and prophet Zechariah; further down is a register with the figures of Sts. Charalempes, Galaction, prophets Daniel and Zachary; lower still are two zones with scenes from the Menologion; further down is the zone of half-figures with representations of Sts. Barus, Galaction, Marcian and Martyrius; in the bottom zone are saints Menas, Arethas, apostle Peter and archangel Michael.

The piers. North-west pier of the space beneath the dome: in the top register is an unknown martyr, prophet Joel, prophet Amos and St. Hyacinthus; in the zone below is the holy pope Bastus (?), prophet Samuel, the righteous Melchizedek and St. Sylvester; further down are two registers with scenes from the Menologion and below them a zone of half-figures: an unknown martyr, St. Florus, another unknown martyr and St. Theodoulos; finally, in the bottom register are figures of St. Sergius, archangel Gabriel, apostle Paul and St. Gourias.

Pier on the south side (south wall). On the arch connecting it with the west wall are half-figures of Sts. Clement and Agathangelos and on the one connecting it with the south-west pier of the space beneath the dome those of St. Elidios and an unknown martyr. Further down are two registers with scenes from the Menologion and below them a zone of half-figures of St. Papyrus and Carpus, Bonifacius, John the Soldier and Cyprianus; in the bottom register are full figures of St. Hermolaos, James the Persian, Virgin Mediatrix and Ignatios Theophoros.

Pier on the north side (north wall). On the arch connecting it with the west wall are half-figures of Sts. Cyrus

and John. Further down are two registers with scenes from the Menologion and below them a zone with half-figures of Sts. Castor and Cansul, Sozon, Cleonicus and Philemon; in the bottom register are figures of Sts. Bacchus, Abibus, Nicholas and Samonas.

Passageways connecting the naos and the narthex.

Central passageway. From the image of Christ upheld by cherubim and blessing with both hands, painted at the centre of the intrados, two angels with crowns fly towards queen Simonida ("Simonida the Queen Palaiologina, daughter of Emperor Andronikos") king Milutin with a model of the church ("Stefan Uroš, faithful to Christ God, by the mercy of God sovereign King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral, and ktetor").

South passageway. On the vault and the upper registers of the walls are scenes from the Menologion. In the zone of half-figures are representations of: Sts. Plato, Romanus, Photios, Anicetas, Victor, Vicentius, Manuel, Sabel and Ishmael and, on the north wall, those of Sts. Antalias, Joseph and Acepsimas. In the bottom zone, single standing figures of saints can be seen only on the south wall: Sts. Eustrathios, Auxentius, Eugenios, Mardarios, Orestes and Andronicos (?).

North passageway. On the vault and the upper registers of the walls are scenes from the Menologion. In the zone of half-figures, on the south wall, are representations of Sts. Sampson, Idyomedes and Thallelaios and, on the north, Sts. Nicholas the New, Hyacinthus, Blasios, an unknown martyr, Tryphon, Zoticus, Lucian and Eudoci-mos. In the bottom register are single figures of saints, on the north wall: Sts. Thecla, Euphemia, Kyriaki and Barbara (on the socle is a painted cross with the letters $\overline{\text{TC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\text{N}}$), while the figures on the south wall were repainted in the XVI century.

Narthex

South-west dome. In the calotte is a half-figure of evangelist Mark with an open gospel book (Mark 1, 1–2), surrounded by five angels with globes and sceptres; in the drum are eight Old Testament kings: David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram and Ozias; at the bottom of the drum, on the pendentives (with disks painted between them) and on the walls beneath them are representations of saints which belong to the Menologion.

North-west dome. In the calotte is a half-figure of evangelist Matthew surrounded by five angels with globes and sceptres; in the drum are eight Old Testament kings and righteous men: Joatham, Ahaz, Manasseh, Ammon, Josiah, Joshua, Joseph the Beateous and Hezekiah; at the bottom of the drum, on the pendentives (with disks painted between them) and the walls beneath them are parts of the Menologion.

The vaults. On the east side of the barrel vault are representations of several days of the Menologion and on the west a part of the Last Judgement. In the centre of the

groin vault is the Hand of the Lord with the souls of the righteous and a ray of light beaming from it towards the east wall while choirs of angels appear in the corners.

The walls. On the north side of the east wall there are two Old Testament scenes in the uppermost register: prophet Elijah killing the priests of Baal and the righteous Job on the dunghill; in the central register are half-figures of holy monks: Neilus, Sampson, John Calybites, Joasaph and Barlaam, and in the bottom zone Christ Emmanuel (originally crowning king Milutin and his son Konstantin) offering monastic habits to queen Jelena as a nun ("St. Jelena the most exalted and sovereign Queen") and king Uroš as a monk ("St. Stefan Uroš King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral, grand son of St. First-Crowned King Stefan" – sic). Above the central entrance is a half-figure of Christ the Terrible Judge with an open book (John 8, 12). On the south side of this wall is the Nemanjid family tree blessed by Christ: in its bottom zone is St. Symeon surrounded by St. Sava ("Sava") and Vukan ("Vuk, son of Nemanja"), above them Stefan Prvovenčani ("Stefan the First-Crowned King, son of Nemanja") surrounded by Sava II ("Sava Archbishop, son of Stefan the First-Crowned King"), Vukan's son Stefan ("Stefan, son of Vuk"), Radoslav ("Radoslav, son of Stefan the First-Crowned King") and Vladislav ("... of the First-Crowned King"), further up is Uroš I ("Uroš King, son of the First-Crowned King Stefan") surrounded by Milutin's sister Prnjača ("Brnjača, sister of the King"), Milutin's brother Dragutin ("Stefan, brother of the King"), Dragutin's sons Urošić ("Urošić, son of Stefan") and Vladislav ("Vladislav, son of Stefan"), while in the top register we find Milutin ("Uroš King") with angels offering him the crown and loros, surrounded by his children Konstantin ("Kostadin, son of King Stefan") and Carica ("Carica, daughter of the King"). Below the Menologion on the south wall are images of martyrs (cf. south passageway). Practically the entire surface of the west wall is taken up by the Last Judgement; only the south part of this wall is decorated with half-figures of holy martyrs Neophytos and Benedict and the north with an image of an unknown martyr while Menologion scenes appear below them. The Menologion continues on the north wall and there are several other half-figures below it: an unknown martyr, Sts. Julitta and Kyricus, and in the bottom register parts of the Last Judgement followed by half-figures of martyrs and full figures of holy women (cf. north passageway).

Gallery Chamber

The vault was decorated with representations of Presentation of the Virgin and, perhaps, Presentation of Christ in the Temple. On the front walls, on the east side, were prophets Samuel and Aaron with a cross ($\Phi \bar{X} \Phi$ Π) inscribed in a circle between them and, on the west, Moses and the high priest Zachary flanking a cross ($\bar{\Gamma} \bar{C} \bar{X} \bar{C} \bar{N} \bar{K} \bar{A}$). In the lunette above the two-light window on

the east is an image of St. Symeon the Stylite and that of St. Daniel the Stylite above the corresponding opening on the opposite side. Only damaged single figures remain on the walls: two monks on the east wall and St. Luke (of Stiris) and Macarios on the west. On the inner surfaces of the two-light window on the east wall are two leaved crosses, painted side by side – partly preserved letters of a cryptogram Φ (\bar{X}) Φ (Π) have been preserved by one of them.

South parekklesion

The dome. In the summit is a half-figure of evangelist John surrounded by three celestial powers in the guise of thrones; in the drum are frontally positioned figures of holy bishops: Atticus, Flavian, Cyprianus, Paul, Achilleios, Michael, Leo and Tarasios; below them are four seraphim; on the walls are figures of other saints: Epimachos and Clement, Sozon and Hyppolitus, Anastasios and Anatolios and Leo and Stratonikos.

The apse. The upper half is taken up by the Virgin with upraised arms, further down are half-figures of Sts. Diadochos and Ablabius and, above the altar table, the figures of participants in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: Epiphanius (with a scroll with the text of the Offertory Prayer?) and Germanos (with an unclear text on the scroll).

The walls. East wall: above the apse is the Annunciation. South wall: in the uppermost zone is the Visitation and the Repentance of David, in the central the Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria and Christ Calming the Storm, in the bottom register are figures of Sts. Clement of Rome and Meletios (in the altar space), Anthony, Paul the Theban, Sabas, John Climacus and Athanasios the Athonite (on the inner sides of the arcosolium are Sts. Gregory the Theologian and Ignatios and on its front side a somewhat later fresco of the death scene of bishop Teodor). Western wall: Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace appear in the top register, further down is prophet Elijah in the desert and below him a subsequently inscribed text of the king's charter to Gračanica; on the interior sides of the doorposts were two leaved crosses ($\bar{E} \bar{N} \bar{N} \bar{I} \dots \bar{K} \bar{O}$ and $\dots \bar{K} \bar{A}$); in the XV century a portrait of Todor Branković was painted over the one on the south. North wall: in the top register is the Flight into Egypt and the Burning Bush, in the central zone Christ lecturing the Jews about resurrection and "If ye should not be like this child"; in the altar space are the figures of Sts. Abercius and Nyphon and further down, in the prothesis niche, a half-figure of St. Stephen (his name later scratched into the mortar).

North parekklesion (St. Nicholas)

The dome. In the calotte is a half-figure of evangelist Luke surrounded by celestial powers in the guise of three thrones; in the drum are eight bishops: Sts. Astios,

Prochor, Clement, Epiphanius, Sosylas, Anatolios, Ambrosius and Anthimus; on the pendentives are four seraphim and on the walls below them the following pairs of saints: Sozon and Gerontios, Hermogenes and Epimachos, Eudocimus and Parthenios, Nyphon and Benjamin.

The apse. In the upper part is a figure of John the Prodromos with a scroll (Matthew 3, 2) and below him the half-figures of holy bishops Eustathios of Thessaloniki and James brother of the Lord, above the altar table are those participating in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: Elias of Antioch (with the text of the episcopal service on his scroll) and Sophronios (the Second Prayer of the Faithful).

The walls. On the east wall, above the apse, are just two half-figures of bishops, Sts. Jude brother of the Lord (?) and Prochor. The other walls were decorated with scenes from the cycle of St. Nicholas, arranged in two registers. Of this cycle, the following representations have been preserved either in their entirety or just partially: the Birth of St. Nicholas, an ordainment of the saint, Three Generals in Prison, the saint appears in a dream to Constantine, the saint appears to Ablabius, the saint saving the innocents from the sword, calming the storm at sea and tearing down idols in the temple of Artemis. In the bottom register are single standing figures of saints, on the south wall: Sts. Parthenios and Anthimus (in the altar space), Theodore of Stoudion and Stephen the New (in the passage leading to the altar space is a leaved cross with a cryptogram reading $\tilde{\Gamma} \tilde{X} \cdot \tilde{\Pi}$), Theodosios Koinobites and Ephraim the Syriac; on the west wall: St. Moses the Ethiopian and an almost damaged hermit; on the north wall only a figure of a hermit (Euthymios?) remains and Sts. Germanos and Babylas in the altar; in the prothesis niche is a half-figure of an unknown deacon and traces of two leaved crosses and several letters of a cryptogram $\tilde{E} \tilde{E} \tilde{E}$ (\tilde{E}) are found in the arcossolium.

Gračanica has been the subject of scholarly attention for quite some time which accounts for the fact that the documentary material concerning its frescoes is almost complete. They have been catalogued a number of times and a large number of reproductions of these wall paintings has been published: Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, fig. 44–63; II, 29–35, fig. 30–33, pl. LX–LXXXI; Petković, *Pregled*, 74–83, figs. 193–215a; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, Plan 34–46, Abb. 318–345; Todić, *Gračanica*, 80–110, pls. I–XXVII, figs. 6–116; *Zadužbine Kosova*, Prizren – Beograd 1987, 99–123; B. Živković, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques*, Beograd 1989.

The beginnings of investigation of the wall paintings from Gračanica can be tied to the first descriptions and reports of learned travellers and scholars who visited the monastery already in the XIX and at the beginning of the XX century and made records of its frescoes, mostly of

matter related to history and the portraits: G. Jurišić, *Dečanski prvenac*, Novi Sad 1852, 116–118; A. Gil'ferding, *Sobranie sočinenij*, t. III, 164–165 or B. Dj. Nušić, *Kosovo – opis zemlje i naroda*, II, 28–47. One of the frescoes which first drew the attention of those visitors was the ktetor's charter inscribed on the wall of the south parekklesion; it was copied and published by S. Verković (*Darstvennaja gramota korolja Uroša II Milutina monastirju Gračanice 1322 goda*, *Izvestija Imperatorskoj akademii nauk po otdeleniju russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti*, VII, 1858, 145, 155–160), and then by F. Miklošić (*Monumenta serbica*, Viennae 1858, 562–567), I. Ivanić (*Na Kosovu*, 62–68) and M. S. Milojević (*Putopis dela prave Stare Srbije*, I, 162–166), as well as by A. Solovjev (*Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava*, Beograd 1926, 99–105), J. Popović (*Manastir Gračanica na Kosovu*, 19–25), M. Pavlović (*Gračanička povelja*, GSND III, 1928, 105–140), Todić (*Gračanica*, 63–68) and B. Živković (*Gračanička povelja*). A more complete description of the scenes was offered by N. P. Kondakov (*Makedonija – arheološki putešestvie*, Sankt-Peterburg 1909, 206–210), while representations of the Great Feasts, the Passion and Miracles of Christ were investigated more comprehensively only by Millet, *Recherches*, s. v. *Gračanica* in the index, who included them in the "Macedonian school".

The attention of the first researchers was also focused on the portraits in the church, especially those which were repainted. With the intention of identifying and explaining them, they were discussed by P. Popović (*Kralj Milutin kao monah na freskama u Gračanici*, *Starinar* 4, 1927, 113–114); V. R. Petković (*Iz starog živopisa srpskog. Lik kralja Milutina kao svetitelja*, PKJIF VIII, 1928, 107–109; id., *Iz živopisa Gračanice*, *Istorijski časopis* 5, 1955, 5–6), N. L. Okunev (*Portrety korolej-ktitorov*, 88, note 1). The portrait of the ktetor and the Nemanjid family tree were also subjects of interest: V. R. Petković, "Loza Nemanjića" u starom živopisu srpskom, *Narodna starina* 5 (1923), 100; Radojčić, *Portreti*, 38–45; Dj. Bošković, *Deux "couronnes de vie" à Gračanica*, SK XI (1940), 63–64. However, at the same time the wall paintings of Gračanica were also interesting to scholars because of their style and iconography: N. L. Okunev (*Serbskie srednevekovye stenopisi*, Praga 1923, 6–18, 30; id., *Monumenta artis serbicae*, Pragaue 1930, 4; Wratislav-Mitrović et Okunev, *La Dormition*, 157–159) noted the closeness of this fresco decoration with those of Nagoričino and Kraljeva crkva and pointed out its complex iconography, in particular that of the Dormition of the Virgin; the style and iconography of certain scenes were discussed by L. Bréhier, *Utisci iz Gračanice*, *Starinar* 4 (1928), 3–8; N. Beljaev, *Lafiguration de "l'Arche de l'Aliance" dans la peinture balkanique du XIV^e siècle*, *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves*, 1/2, Paris 1930, 315, 324–325; Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, passim, while V. R. Petković published several specific iconographic discourses about them: *Parabola o*

deset devojaka u staroj srpskoj umetnosti, Raška I (1929), 23–27; id., *Freske sa predstavom Premudrosti*, Zbornik u čast Bogdana Popovića, Beograd 1929, 319–320; id., *Jedna slika u Gračanici*, Raška I (1929), 17–19; id., *Neki antički motivi u starom živopisu srpskom*, Strena Buliciana, Zagreb – Split 1924, 473–475. The earliest studies of S. Radojčić were closely related to Gračanica: apart from significant observations concerning historical characters and compositions, expounded in his book entitled *Portreti*, shortly after he published a study on Gračanica (*Gračanica*, Hrišćansko delo IV/1, 1938, 24–34) in which he conducted an iconographic and stylistic analysis of certain frescoes from this church, associated them with the frescoes of St. Nikita near Skoplje and assumed that the painters could have come from Greece. Later on, he also focused his attention on the programme of the frescoes and their relation to the space of the church (*Freske u Milutinovim zadužbinama*, Umetnički pregled II/7, 1939, 202–207; id., *Gračanica i Dečani*, Umetnički pregled III/4–5, 1940, 130–133).

After World War II, Radojčić continued his study of the art of Gračanica in discourses on the iconography (Radojčić, *Die Reden des Johannes Damaskenos*, 301–312; id., *La table de la Sagesse dans la littérature et l'art serbe depuis du XIII^e jusqu'au début du XIV^e siècle*, ZRVI 16, 1975, 215–224 and the style of the frescoes (Radojčić, *Gračaničke freske*, 173–180 = S. Radojčić, *Odabrani članci i studije*, 234–240). He also included them in broader surveys of Serbian and Byzantine painting: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 112–120; S. Radojčić, *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1969, 64–65. At the same time, there were other studies which resolved some of the questions related to certain frescoes of interesting iconography: Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 105–125; J. Radovanović, *Runo Gedeonovo u srpskom srednjovekovnom slikarstvu*, Zograf 5 (1974), 38–42 and id., *Jedinstvene predstave Vaskrsenja Hristovog u srpskom slikarstvu XIV veka*, Zograf 8 (1977), 34–43 (= Radovanović, *Ikonografska istraživanja*, 83–103); Babić, *Les croix*, 5, 7, 8, 11; Lj. D. Popovich, *Compositional and Theological Concepts in Four Prophet Cycles in Churches Selected from the Period of King Milutin (1282–1321)*, Cyrillomethodianum VIII–IX (1984–1985), 283–317; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 123–124, 141, 149; Ch. Walter, *The Invention of John the Baptist's Head at Gračanica*, Zbornik LU 16 (1980), 71–83; Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 34, 73–74, 104–106, 132–133, 150–153, 194–197; Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*, 42, 66–69, 95–101, 103–122, 130–132, there were different hypotheses on the identity of the painters (Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 54–57; Dj. Bošković, *O nekim našim graditeljima i slikarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka*, Starinar IX–X, 1959, 125–131; Miljković-Peppek, *Pišuvanje podotoci*, 163–164; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 233–234;

Miljković-Peppek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 56–58), studies focused on various elements of style (Stojaković, *Arhitektonski prostor*, 132 et passim; G. Subotić, *Teodosijeva žitija i srpski živopis Milutinovog doba*, Stara književnost, Beograd 1972, 398–403, passim; D. Milošević, *Manastir Gračanica*, Beograd 1975; M. Tatić-Djurić, *Nadživelost antike u srpskoj umetnosti i kulturi srednjega veka*, Antičke studije kod Srba, Beograd 1989, 291–293, 304–305; V. Mako, *Pojedini postupci u komponovanju scena Pričešća apostola slikarske radionice Mihaila i Evtihija*, Zograf 23, 1993–1994, 18–27), the actual space of the church interior and its relation to the painted programme (S. Ćurčić, *The Original Baptismal Font of Gračanica and Its Iconographic Setting*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja IX–X, 1979, 313–320; J. Maglovski, *Loza blagorodna kraj izvora vode žive*, Baština 1, 1991, 221–227) and interpretations of the portraits: Milošević, *Srbi svetitelji*, 169, 200–205; Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja*, 39–40; Velmans, *Le portrait*, 107 et passim; M. Tatić-Djurić, *L'iconographie de la donation dans l'ancien art serbe*, Actes du XIV^e Congr. int. des ét. byz., III, Bucarest 1976, 317; Ch. Walter, *Iconographical Sources for the Coronation of Milutin and Simonida at Gračanica*, Gračanički simpozijum, 183–200; Haustein, *Der Nemanjidenstammbaum*, 20–43, 120–126 et passim; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarske insignije*, 54–55, 60–62, 131; Todić, *Kralj Milutin sa sinom Konstantinom*, 7–22.

In his book on the school of painting of king Milutin, H. Hallensleben devoted considerable attention to Gračanica: he dated the frescoes and reflected on their programme and certain iconographic and artistic solutions (Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 34–35, 60–64, 158–160 et passim). Better than previous researchers, P. Mijović explained the antique roots of certain frescoes, fully deciphered the calendar scenes, found parallels and explanations for them and suggested interesting eschatological interpretations of the portraits in the narthex: P. Mijović, *Prilozi proučavanju slikarstva Gračanice, Dečana i Peći*, Glasnik SAN XI/1 (1959), 70–71; id., *La personification de la Mer dans le Jugement dernier à Gračanica*, Χαριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδον, I, Αθήνα 1967, 208–219; id., *O hronologiji gračaničkih fresaka*, SKM IV–V (1968–1971), 179–199; id., *Carska ikonografija u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti (III)*, Starinar XXVIII–XXIX (1979), 91–116. The work of Vojislav Djurić also had a considerable influence on shedding light on the wall paintings of Gračanica, above all on the Nemanjid family tree (*Loza Nemanjića u starom srpskom slikarstvu*, Zbornik radova I kongresa Saveza društava istoričara umetnosti SFRJ, Ohrid 1976, 53–55 = Peristil 21, 1978, 53–55) and some of the other portraits (*Le nouveau Joasaph*, CA 33, 1985, 99–109). He also introduced the frescoes of Gračanica into broader surveys of Serbian and Byzantine painting (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 72–73; Djurić, *La peinture*

byzantine vers 1300, 72–75). In an extensive note (*Byzantinische Fresken*, 263–264) he also offered a list of other works on the art of Gračanica.

Some ten years ago, the frescoes of Gračanica received a monograph study, Todić, *Gračanica*, 43–241. A greater part of this book focuses on wall paintings

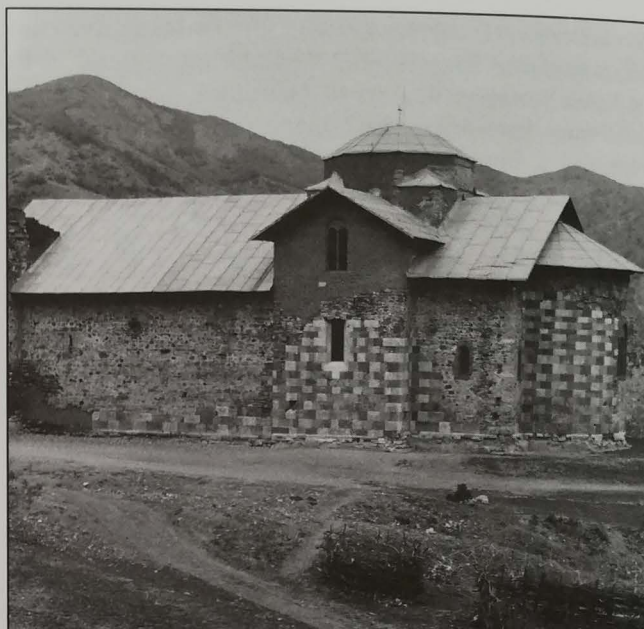
from the age of king Milutin: relevant historiography is discussed and the frescoes are dated, they are also fully catalogued along with the accompanying inscriptions, their programme is deciphered and the more significant themes studied, their artistic qualities analysed and they are compared to contemporary Serbian and Byzantine painting.



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Gračanica, *Last Judgement*,
detail, 1319–1321

Banjska

Church of St. Stephen



King Milutin raised Banjska at the site of an old episcopal church and monastery designated it as his mausoleum. Work on the restoration of Banjska began after the king's reconciliation with his brother Dragutin (1312) and ended probably in 1316. Milutin's charter issued to the monastery, signed also by Dragutin (prior to 1316) and archbishop Nikodim (after 1317), has been preserved. Obeying the king's wish, his body was laid to rest in Banjska in 1321 and remained there until the time of the Battle of Kosovo when it was translated to Trepča and, from there, to Sofia where it is still kept today. The monastery suffered destruction in 1389, in the XV and subsequent centuries. For a certain period it also served as a Turkish stronghold and mosque. A number of fires and devastations have almost stripped Banjska of its original beauty described by Danilo II (Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 192–194). It was renovated in 1938–1939 and lately extensive archeological investigations of the area around the church have been under way. On the history of the monastery cf. S. Novaković, *Manastir Banjska – zadužbina kralja Milutina*, Glas SKA XXXII (1892), 4–55, as well as two monographic texts: T. Vukanović, *Manastir Banjska*, Vranjski glasnik VI (1970), 41–64 and M. Šuput, *Manastir Banjska*, Beograd 1989.

The architectural forms and sculptural decoration of Banjska emulate to a great extent the appearance of XIII century churches of the Raška school. The church of St. Stephen at Banjska was a single-nave structure with a tripartite sanctuary, lateral choirs, a narthex, parekklesia on either side and two towers on its west facade. A dome supported by pilasters connected by arches rose above the

naos. On the architecture of the church cf. V. Korać, *Graditeljska škola Pomorja*, Beograd 1965, 103–106.

Fresco paintings adorned not only the church but also the entrance to the monastery and the refectory. Since there are no direct testimonies, we should accept the assumption that they were created in the period between 1317 and 1321, the time of Milutin's death. Some of the frescoes had a gold background, a fact which inspired an unknown author of the XV or XVI century to say that the gold of Banjska is not to be found anywhere else (Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 36).

However, only minor fragments of those frescoes remain today so that their original scope and appearance is difficult to discern.

The authors of these frescoes are unknown.

No inscriptions have been preserved on the wall paintings.

A small number of frescoes have been preserved at random spots in the church. In the *diaconicon apse* is a frontally positioned figure of a bishop and in the conch of the *prothesis apse* some scenes involving an altar table. In the *naos*, in the space below the dome, on the soffit of the arch on the west side were medallions with half-figures of saints interconnected by a band forming the figure-eight. Among them, those of three bishops are better preserved while only inconsiderable fragments remain of the others. All frescoes have a gold background or ornaments of gold.

Fragments of frescoes, mostly with geometric and floral ornaments, have been discovered in the church, the refectory and the entrance to the monastery.

These modest remains of frescoes from Banjska were rarely mentioned in surveys of Serbian painting. They were noted already by Hilferding in the XIX century (A. Gil'ferding, *Sobranie sočinenij*, III. *Bosnija, Gercegovina i Staraja Serbija*, Sankt-Peterburg 1873, 211), while other authors only established that there were traces of frescoes in the church: A. Deroko, *Banjska*, *Starinar* VI (1931), 109; Petković, *Pregled*, 16; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 86; L. Trifunović, in: *Zadužbine Kosova*, Prizren – Beograd 1987, 91. Radojčić, *Majstori*, 18, concluded that they were painted in the old style (following him, the same was repeated by T. P. Vukanović, *Manastir Banjska*, 59–60, although more specifically – that in their style these frescoes still belonged to the art of the XIII century). They were catalogued more carefully by Dj. Bošković (*Izveštaj i kratke beleške s putovanja*, *Starinar* VI, 1931, 171).

Still, he made no note of their gold background and imitation of mosaic tesserae so that – according to this author – the mention of the "gold of Banjska" to which we referred earlier did not apply to the wall paintings but

rather to something else in the monastery. Apart from mentions of the frescoes from the diaconicon and the soffits of the arches in the space beneath the dome, Djurić (*Byzantinische Fresken*, 258) added corrections to the observations of Bošković by pointing out that gold and lines imitating mosaic tesserae have been preserved on the yellow background of the frescoes. He also drew attention to the specific manner of connecting of medallions in Banjska, convinced that it was adopted from Komnenian art (V. J. Djurić, *La peinture murale de l'Ecole de la Morava*, *La peinture de l'Ecole de la Morava*, Beograd 1968, 36 = Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 143). Only one image of a bishop from the soffit of an arch from the space beneath the dome has been published so far (M. Šuput, *Manastir Banjska*, 34–35, fig. 24); this author repeated the observation that the frescoes were painted against a gold background which emulated mosaic tesserae, judged highly their artistic qualities and wondered whether their authors could have been Michael and Eutykhios.



Mušutište

*Church of the Virgin Hodegetria**

The ktetor of this church was the treasurer (great *kaznac*) Jovan Dragoslav with his family, as attested by the inscription including the year 1314/15 carved above the entrance (this inscription has been published a number of times, cf. G. Tomović, *Morfologija ćirilčkih natpisa na Balkanu*, Beograd 1974, 48). Around 1350, tsar Dušan donated it to his monastery of the Holy Archangels near Prizren.

The church is cross-in-square structure with a dome resting on four free-standing piers connected by arches with the walls. It has an apse and two niches, serving as the diaconicon and the prothesis, on the east side and a single entrance on the west (cf. S. M. Nenadović, *Beleške sa puta po Kosmetu*, Muzeji 7, 1952, 168–171, figs. 1–2).

Most probably, the church was decorated with wall paintings shortly before 1320. Only a small part of that decoration is known today, just a couple of images from the sanctuary and the north-west part of the church, and it seems that some of the original frescoes are still covered by a layer of later added mortar.

The names of the painters are not known.

Inscriptions have been preserved only in two spots in the altar and were written out in Greek.

Distribution of wall paintings visible today.

On the arch connecting the north-east pier with the east wall are two half-figures of bishops, St. Clement and another one without a name. Two other bishops are represented in half-figure on the arch spanning the space between the south-east pier and the east wall.

On the north side of the north-west pier is an image of an unknown holy woman while another holy woman (Kyriaki?) appears on its west side. On the arch connecting this pier with the north wall is a damaged half-figure of an angel in a medallion and two other figures, of an unknown woman martyr and St. Panteleimon, preserved from the waist up, appear on the arch connecting the same pier and the west

wall. Nearby, on the west wall, were representations of holy warriors: of the first figure only a sword remains (it could also represent an archangel) while the other two (two saint Theodores) are far better preserved.

The small number of frescoes from Mušutište – some of which are very well preserved – has long remained out of the sphere of scholarly interest. The first to draw attention to their existence was S. M. Nenadović (*Beleške sa puta po Kosmetu*, 169, fig. 3), and some ten years later they were investigated by Djurić, *Nepoznati spomenici*, 61–67, figs. 2–7: having made a precise list and described the preserved frescoes, he observed that they are the work of two fine painters. Djurić's text offered the most complete information on the wall paintings from Mušutište so that all the subsequent authors who wrote on the subject mostly repeated his observations: Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 120, dated them too early, to the year 1314/15, while Djurić himself dated these frescoes to the period around 1320 and saw in them a preview of the sort of art that was going to be cultivated after the death of the king Milutin (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74), a view approved also by Djordjević, *Zidno slikarstvo*, 50, 131 et passim, who included them in the large group of frescoes of XIV century aristocratic endowments from Serbia. In the opinion of P. Miljković-Peppek, they are the work of the assistants of Michael and Eutychios and were created around 1320–1325 (Miljković-Peppek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 58, 59). Frescoes from Mušutište have also been mentioned in other surveys of medieval art: *Kosovo nekad i danas*, Priština 1973, 409 (M. Ivanović); *Zadužbine Kosova*, Prizren – Beograd 1987, 488 (M. Ivanović); *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 494 (G. Babić-Djordjević); Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 231. C. Grozdanov assumed that the bishop with the name Clement actually represents St. Clement of Ohrid: C. Grozdanov, *Pojava i prodor portreta Klimenta Ohridskog u srednjovekovnoj umetnosti*, Zbornik LU 3 (1967), 66–67.

* The church was destroyed by the Albanians in 1999

Bijelo Polje

Church of Sts. Peter and Paul

The church was raised by prince Miroslav, brother of the great jupanus Stefan Nemanja, in the period between 1170 and 1190 and it was renovated probably around the middle of the XIII century when the see of the bishopric of Hum was transferred to this place (Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije*, 141–142, 171–175). In 1317, Danilo, the future archbishop, was ordained bishop of Hum and upon his request king Milutin restored the estate of the bishopric (Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, 597–598; Mošin, *Povelje kralja Milutina*, 66–67). Although it can not be discerned from the king's damaged charter whether the church itself was also restored at the same time, proof is found in the architectural interventions on the building and the new frescoes. This restoration was under way between 1317 (the year of ordainment of Danilo as bishop) and 1321 (the time of death of king Milutin) and was entrusted to the care of bishop Danilo (M. Janković, *Danilo, banjski i humski episkop*, L'archevêque Danilo II et son époque, Beograd 1991, 83–88). Nagorni narrows the time span down to the period between 1319 and 1321, D. Nagorni, *Die Kirche Sv. Petar in Bijelo Polje, Montenegro*, München 1978, 49–50. It seems that the church remained an episcopal see, although with periods of discontinuity, until the XVII century when it was transformed into a mosque. It was returned to the Christian rite only in 1922.

In the course of the restoration of 1317–1321, the old structural kernel of the building was preserved and new parts were added to it. It was a single-nave building with three bays and a polygonal apse, a narthex and two lateral towers (the one on the south is torn down). Two no longer existent parekklesia used to flank the naos. The central bay rises higher than the other two and is covered by a transversal barrel vault. On the architecture of the church cf. D. Nagorni, *Die Kirche Sv. Petar in Bijelo Polje, Montenegro* and M. Čanak-Medić, *L'architecture de l'époque du Nemanja. II, Eglises de la Vallée du Lim et du littoral adriatique*, Beograd 1989, 47–84.

In the days of king Milutin the entire interior of the church was decorated with wall paintings but only a small number of these frescoes has been preserved today. They were probably painted between 1319 and 1321 (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74, where they are dated to the period "around 1320"). At the time the church was converted into a mosque the frescoes were covered by a layer of mortar, to be cleaned between 1955 and 1960 (Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 265).

The painters are unknown and the inscriptions on the frescoes are in Serbian.

The preserved frescoes.

Sanctuary

In the conch of the apse is an enthroned Virgin with Christ in her lap with an angel standing on either side of the throne. In the bottom register are remains of two bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. On the east wall, above the apse, is the lower part of the Ascension while south of the apse stands the Virgin from the Annunciation and an unknown deacon below her. On the south wall were figures of bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy.

The upper part of the Ascension was painted on the vault together with the Nativity of Christ and the Descent into Hades.

Naos

On the vault above the central bay is the Raising of Lazarus, the Mandelion, remains of a scene and, below them, figures of prophets, all on the east side. On the west side of the same vault is the Keramion, Transfiguration and, on the arches, four prophets with unrolled scrolls (only the name of Isaiah has been preserved). On the north wall is a preserved half-figure of Christ Emmanuel.

It seems that the Crucifixion (or Entry into Jerusalem)

was located on the vault of the west bay. However, of the scenes from this vault only the Descent of the Holy Spirit is somewhat better preserved. The Dormition is located on the west wall.

Narthex

All the frescoes of the upper zones are damaged except for those on the west wall representing the Road to Calvary.

In the bottom register, just a single figure of a monk can be discerned on the south wall; on the west wall (south of the entrance) are fragments of two bishops, probably of Hum, the second in line could be identified as Danilo, and archbishop Nikodim (?); an image of Christ appeared above the entrance and north of the entrance – the ktetor's composition with the apostle Peter and prince Miroslav; two holy doctors and the lower parts of a prince (Konstantin?) and a king (Milutin?) are still visible on the north wall. Traces of a figure of a queen (Simonida?) appear on the east wall, right next to the figure of the king.

Due to the late date of their discovery and the rather poor state of preservation, the frescoes from the church of Sts. Peter and Paul have not yet received a monograph study. Also, only a part of these wall paintings have been published in reproduction so far, best of all in *Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, figs. 93–98 (P. Mijović).

At first, only the ktetor's composition and a couple of frescoes from the narthex were visible so that different datings were suggested by the researchers: after 1346 (G. Millet, *Etude sur les églises de Rascie*, L'art byzantin chez les Slaves. Les Balkans, I, Paris 1930, 149–150) or, on the other hand, the close of the XII and the beginning of the XIII century (A. Solovjev, *Les emblèmes de Byzance et les Slaves*, SK, VII, 1935, 138; Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja*, 28–29).

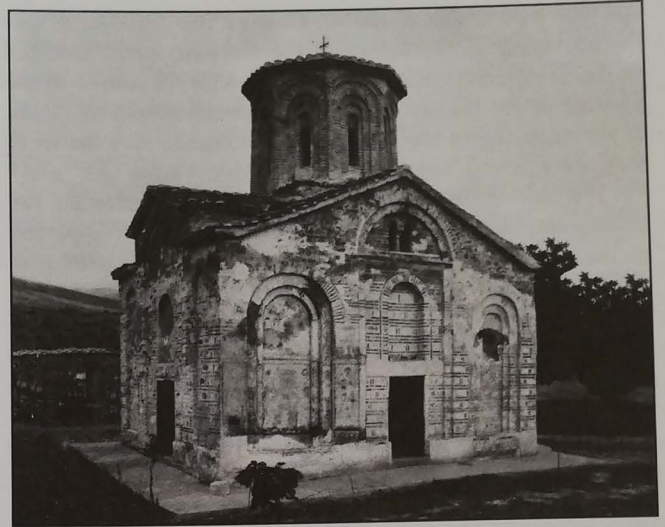
The first to write about the frescoes discovered in the 1960's was Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetoga Petra u Bijelom Polju*, 114–123, who separated chronologically the bottom zone of frescoes in the narthex from the other wall paintings. Having assumed that the frescoes of the bottom zone of the narthex are older, he identified the ktetor from the respective composition as king Uroš I, after his withdrawal

to Hum (1276), and the queen on the east wall as Jelena while, in his opinion, the figure of the archbishop in a sakkos on the west wall could represent either Sava II or Joanikije I. However, it is significant that Ljubinković associated the other frescoes with bishop Danilo and the time of issuing of Milutin's charter to the bishopric of Hum. Somewhat later, Radojčić (*Slikarstvo*, 109–112) focused his attention on the frescoes in the sanctuary and the naos and on the iconography of the Great Feasts while assessing highly the artistic qualities of the paintings. Shortly after, P. Mijović (*Istorija Crne Gore*, II/1, 260–262) made a list of the better preserved frescoes, repeated Radojčić's observation concerning their iconography and associated their authors with the workshop of Michael and Eutychios, having found the closest parallels in Gračanica. On the other hand, Djurić (*Byzantinische Fresken*, 74, 265) offered a different evaluation of the achievements of these painters and classified them within the group of poorer artists from the age of king Milutin while demonstrating, at the same time, that all the frescoes from this church date from the same period. He complemented Radojčić's observation on the influence of the texts of Cyril of Turov on the appearance of the Ascension with his own observation that other liturgical sources (above all those of St. Justin) could also have initiated the appearance of the unusual iconography of this Great Feast. This theme also inspired two other scholars who wrote on the subject: K. Wessel, *Das Himmelfahrtsbild von Sveti Petar in Bijelo Polje*, JÖB 21 (1972), 295–305 and P. Simić, *Freska Vaznesenja Hristovog u Bijelom Polju i njena liturgijska podloga*, Zograf 6 (1975), 21–23. The iconography of the Descent into Hades was explained by J. Radovanović, *Jedinstvene predstave Vaskrsenja Hristovog u srpskom slikarstvu XIV veka*, Zograf 8 (1977), 43–45 (= Radovanović, *Ikonoграфска istraživanja*, 103–106). Finally, G. Babić devoted full attention to representations of bishops of Hum and Serbian archbishops in the narthex (Babić, *Nizovi portreta*, 328–329).

Information on these frescoes can also be found in: *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 490 (G. Babić-Djordjević); P. Mijović, *Pregled umjetnosti Crne Gore*, Beograd 1976, 399; id., *Umjetničko blago Crne Gore*, Beograd – Titograd 1980, 151; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 223.

Čučer near Skoplje

St. Nikita



The church dedicated to St. Nikita, located on the south slopes of Skopska Crna Gora (in the vicinity of present day villages of Banjani and Čučer), was restored by king Milutin and, after 1308, donated to Hrusija, a pyrgos of Chilandar. This is attested by Danilo II (Danilo II, *Königsbiographien*, 181) and a number of charters issued by king Milutin and Byzantine emperors, the credibility, chronology and contents of which have not yet been sufficiently studied (cf. V. Mošin and L. Slaveva in: *Spomenici na Makedonija*, I, 286–292, 297–339, 346–350). At an unknown date, a pareklesion, torn down in the meantime, was added to the south side of the church. A considerable number of frescoes in the interior of the church was repainted in 1484 (cf. S. Radojčić, *Jedna slikarska škola iz druge polovine XV veka*, Zbornik LU 1, 1965, 69–139), and some again in the XIX century (Miljković-Peppek, *Crkvata Sv. Nikita*, 379–386). All these frescoes were cleaned in 1967–1968, S. Spirovski, *Konzervatorski radovi vrz freskite vo manastirskata crkva Sveti Nikita – Skopsko*, Likovna umetnost 7, 1980, 69–78.

The church is a medium size structure of a regular cross-in-square type with a dome resting on four piers. There are two entrances to the church, one on the west and another one on the south side. Originally, an altar screen stood between the two piers on the east. In greater detail on the architecture of the church Ž. Tatić, *Arhitektonski spomenici u Skopskoj Crnoj Gori*, GSND XII (1933), 127–134, figs. 1–8.

The oldest frescoes in the church are dated quite differently: Petković, *Pregled*, 212 (to the year 1307); S. Radojčić, *Starine Crkvenog muzeja u Skoplju*, Skoplje 1941, 15 and Radojčić, *Majstori*, 21 (1308); Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 86 (1307–1310); F. Mesesnel, *Živopis crkve Sv. Nikite u Skopskoj Crnoj Gori*, Godišnjak Skopskog Filozofskog fakulteta I (1930), 139 and note 3 (1309–1316); Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 70 (prior to 1316). Although they were dated to the period around 1320 already by V. N.

Lazarev (*Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*, I, Moskva 1948, 328), hesitancies regarding an early dating were expounded only by Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 6, 52–53, above all by offering reasons concerning their style. In more recent works on these frescoes (Miljković-Peppek, *Crkvata Sv. Nikita*, 381; Miljković-Peppek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 58, 59), the same author settled for a dating around 1320 which has been accepted among scholars (Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 157, with a question mark; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, 215; Todić, *Gračanica*, 233; Todić, *Nagoričino*, 138). The visual features of the frescoes actually do indicate that they could have been created only after Nagoričino, Kraljeva crkva and Gračanica, and the lack of a portrait of king Milutin, otherwise common in the churches he raised, could imply that these wall paintings were created immediately after the king's death in 1321. It is exactly for those reasons that we date them to the period around 1320.

The authors of the frescoes of St. Nikita are known by name – they are Michael and Eutychios, and their signatures are to be found on the shield of St. Theodore Teron (this signature was first published by G. Millet, *Sur le nom de deux peintres à St. Nikita*, *Compte rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, avril-juillet, Paris 1934, 223–224, and, following him, by numerous other scholars of medieval art, cf. Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 22, fig. 2).

The inscriptions on the frescoes are in Serbian although Greek is also used quite often.

The preserved frescoes from around 1320.

Sanctuary

Apse. The conch was taken up by a standing figure of the Virgin flanked by two angels, below her is a preserved Communion of the Apostles with bread and wine and, in the bottom register, the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. Gathered around the Amnos and the chalice, the following bish-

ops take part in this scene: St. Gregory the Theologian with the beginning of the prayer of the First Antiphon inscribed on his scroll, St. Basil with a scroll with the words of the blessing of the Bread, St. John Chrysostomos with the words of the blessing of the Chalice and St. Athanasios the Great with the opening words of the Trisagion hymn.

The bay in front of the apse. On the vault were two archangels, on the south wall below them Christ appearing to the myrrhophores followed by a group of apostles from the Communion with Wine and, further down, St. Cyril of Alexandria from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the text of magnification of the Virgin. On the north wall is the Incredulity of Thomas, in the central register the apostles from the Communion with bread and below them St. John the Merciful from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the prayer of the Little Entrance inscribed on his unrolled scroll.

On the walls of the altar space, in the uppermost register, are scenes which represent a continuation of the cycle of Resurrection lections: on the south wall the myrrhophores informing the apostles of their encounter with the resurrected Christ, the apostles Peter and John over Christ's empty tomb, on the north side of the south-east pier was one of Christ's appearances to the apostles and on the south side of the north-east pier the scene in which the resurrected Christ eats the honey and the fish. All the scenes of this cycle on the north wall were repainted in the XV century. The cycle stretched over to the east wall of the diaconicon where there was some scene representing the resurrected Christ with the apostles and Christ's dialogue with Peter (John 21, 15–22).

The south-east pier has on its east and north side themes related to the altar: on the east side, in the upper part, is a half-figure of a saint, further down is St. Nicephoros of Constantinople from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the beginning of the prayer of the Anaphora on his scroll; on the north side are the already mentioned scenes of Resurrection appearances and, in the bottom register, St. Ignatios also with the prayer of the Anaphora.

The north-east pier also had scenes related to the altar on its east side: on the south side was the mentioned scene related to the Resurrection lections and, further down, two damaged figures of bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy.

On the arch of the passage leading to the diaconicon are images of the prophet Moses and a bishop, further down is St. James the brother of the Lord from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the text of the Prayer before the Gospel.

In the passage leading to the prothesis was an Old Testament high priest.

Diaconicon. On the vault is the scene of Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace and half-figures of two holy bishops. On the east wall are two already mentioned scenes with the resurrected Christ and in the apse St. Romanos the Melodos. On the south wall, in the uppermost zone, are traces of a saint, in the central zone is the Healing of Peter's Mother-

in-Law and in the bottom zone two bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: Gregory (?) Thaumaturgos with a damaged text on his scroll and St. Epiphanius with the Second Prayer of the Faithful on his. On the arch spanning the space between the south-east pier and the south wall are half-figures of St. Macarios and St. Clement of Rome and on the south side of this pier a half-figure of a bishop and, below him, St. Spyridon, also as a participant in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy and, accordingly, with the text of the Offertory Prayer on his scroll.

Prothesis. On the east and the north wall, in the uppermost register, is the Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria and, below it, on both walls again, the Hospitality of Abraham. On the north wall are also two frontally depicted figures of holy bishops and, further down, those of the participants in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: St. Eustathios of Thessaloniki, St. Andrew of Crete and St. Gregory of Nyssa, all with the prayers read after the epiklesis inscribed on their scrolls. In the apse is St. Stephen the Protomartyr and by the apse St. Nicholas, a participant of the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, with the beginning of the prayer "Unto thee we commit our entire being and our confidence". On the arch between the north-east pier and the north wall are two half-figures of saints. Only the name of Parthenios is preserved. Below him was another bishop.

Naos

The dome. The frescoes of the calotte and some wall paintings of the drum are repainted. Among those better preserved are the prophets: Isaiah (with the text of Isaiah 61, 1 on his scroll), Jeremiah (Baruch 3, 36), Elijah (II Kings 2, 6), Elisha (II Kings 2, 2), Jonah (Jonah 2, 3) and Ezekiel (Ezekiel 34, 10). On the pendentives are quite damaged representations of the evangelists: Mark (south-east), Matthew (south-west), Luke (north-west) and John with Prochor and a personification of Divine Wisdom (north-east). Between them, on the east side is the Mandelion and on the west the Keramion. On the south and north are angels in medallions.

Arms of the cross. On the vaults and on the pediments below them there are not many frescoes which have not been repainted. On the vault of the south arm of the cross is the Nativity and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple with the Baptism painted on the wall; all frescoes of the west arm have been repainted; in the north arm only a partly preserved scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre remains.

The uppermost zone of the walls in the space below the dome and in the west part of the church was filled with scenes based on Passion lections: on the south wall is the Last Supper, Washing of the Feet, Christ lecturing the apostles on humility; above the arch connecting the south-west pier with the south wall is the Agony in the Garden; above the arch connecting this pier with the west wall the Betrayal of Judas and Christ Tried Before Annas and Caiaphas; on

the north wall are representations of the Ascent of the Cross, Descent from the Cross and the Lamentation.

In the central zone (including the piers) are scenes based on Gospels read at mattins: on the south wall is Christ changing the water into wine and the Marriage at Cana, Healing of the Woman with an Issue of Blood, Healing of the Lepers (quite damaged) and Christ and Zaccheus; on the south-west pier, on the east side, is the Healing of the Paralytic and, on the north, Mid-Pentecost; on the west wall, apart from the Dormition, are representations of Christ healing the woman with a spirit of infirmity and raising the daughter of Jairus (?), on the north Christ reading in the synagogue (damaged), Christ and the Samaritan Woman, Healing of the Man with the Water Disease, Purification of the Temple and Christ in the House of Martha and Mary.

The bottom zone. South wall: Sts. Demetrios (his face repainted), Theodore Teron, Theodore Stratelates, Cosmas, Panteleimon and Damian. West wall: Sts. Athanasios the Athonite, Arsenios, Paul of Thebes, Anthony with an unrolled scroll, Euthymios (partly repainted), Sabas and Theodore of Stoudion with an icon and a scroll. North wall: Sts. Symeon Nemanja with a scroll, Sava the Serbian ("Sava first Serbian Archbishop"), Theodosios Koinobites, Sergius, Bacchus, Constantine and Helena, George and Nicetas (under a painted arch).

Two piers on the east (flanking the iconostasis), west side: in the top register of the north pier is an almost entirely repainted archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation, in the central register a badly damaged lecture of Christ and in the bottom register the Virgin Suppliant with a scroll. In the top register of the south pier is the Virgin from the Annunciation with prophet David behind her, in the central register the Anapeson and in the bottom zone Christ the Merciful.

Two piers on the west. South pier: in the uppermost zone, on the east and north side, are two already mentioned scenes of Christ's miracles and teachings, on the east is also St. Peter (greater part of this image is repainted), on the north archangel Michael (lower part repainted), on the south St. Sozon (?) in half-figure and, further down, an unknown martyr, on the west a damaged half-figure of a martyr. On the soffit of the arch between this pier and the west wall are figures of prophet David with an inscribed scroll (Ps. 131, 8) and St. John Damascene also with a scroll, related to the nearby Dormition. North pier: only the image of St. Paul with a half-open book is better preserved on the east side while only a small fragment of a monk is still visible on the north. Other images are painted on the new layer of mortar. On the soffit of the arch between this pier and the north wall are two half-figures of martyrs with an inscription by the image of St. Sozon.

On the doorposts of the entrance were representations of leaved crosses.

Because it is not certain that the younger layer of frescoes from the XV century repeated the older in all instances, we refrained from mentioning the themes represented on it.

The church of St. Nikita is one of the small number of endowments of king Milutin without a monograph of a more recent date. However, documentary material concerning its frescoes has been published in a satisfactory manner: Petković, *La peinture serbe*, I, fig. 33–36; II, 35–37, pl. LVIII–LIX; Petković, *Pregled*, 212–213; Millet – Frolow, *La peinture*, III, pl. 31–53; Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, 31–32, Plan 26–28, Abb. 221–244; Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 54–56, figs. 86–88, pls. CIII–CXV.

After the earliest random notes on its paintings, from around 1900, the iconography of some scenes was considered by Millet, *Recherches*, 392, 482, 633, and the first more studious work on the fresco decoration of this church was written by F. Mesesnel, *Živopis crkve sv. Nikite u Skopskoj Crnoj Gori*, 139–152: if we disregard for the moment his opinion on the existence of two layers of frescoes, the older being in the altar and the younger (which he dated to the second decade of the XIV century) in the other parts of the church, this author offered a rather good catalogue of the frescoes even though some themes were left out and the difference between the paintings of the XIV and the XV century went unnoticed. He gave a brief explanation of their iconography, mostly after Millet, and considered their artistic qualities in greater extent, establishing closest ties with the art of Nagoričino and Gračanica. He repeated all these results of his investigations in brief in his paper presented at the Third Congress of Byzantine Studies: F. Mesesnel, *Mittelalterliche Wandmalereien der St. Nikita-kirche bei Skoplje*, Actes du III^e congr. internat. d'études byzantines (1930), Athènes 1932, 249–250. S. Radojčić, *Starine Crkvenog muzeja u Skoplju*, Skoplje 1941, 26–28, 33, also considered these wall paintings.

The early discovery of the signatures of the painters Michael and Eutychios (cf. G. Millet, *Sur le nom de deux peintres à St. Nikita*, 223–224 and Dj. Bošković, *Nekoliko natpisa sa zidova srpskih srednjovekovnih crkava*, Spomenik SKA LXXXVII, 1939, 9) resulted in the inclusion of the frescoes from this church in extensive discourses on the origins, identity and works of the mentioned artist (cf. Bogorodica Ljeviška). A more comprehensive investigation of their signed works and other similar creations undertaken by Miljković-Peppek contributed considerably to our understanding of the decoration of this church. He catalogued all the frescoes, differentiated precisely the older paintings from those younger in date and published reproductions of a great number of frescoes. He did show certain hesitancy regarding the problem of chronology and even questioned the possibility that Michael and Eutychios worked here at all suggesting that the frescoes may have been the work of some of their prominent associates. However, the results of his research of their style and, to a lesser degree, iconography can not be overlooked (Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto*, 22–23, 51–56, 63–101, 111–119 et passim). Nearly twenty years later, the same author resolved his hesitations (Miljković-Peppek, *Crkvata Sv. Nikita*, 379–386): having

pointed out the fact that the data found in the charters of king Milutin and emperors Andronikos II and Constantine IX most probably refers only to the construction works, he demonstrated that the dating of the frescoes must be based on their stylistic analysis. He allowed for the possibility that they represent the third phase in the development of the art of Michael and Eutychios and that they were created around 1320 while finding proof for these assumptions in their closeness to the decoration of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos at Thessaloniki, the katholikon of Chilandar and Gračanica (cf. also Miljković-Peppek, *O poznatim i anonimnim slikarima*, 58–59. The same author presumes that the damaged icon of the Virgin with Christ from the village Banjani comes from this church, but that it was not painted by these painters, *Deux icônes nouvellement découvertes en Macédoine*, JÖB 21, 1972, 205–208, fig. 3–4).

Fine passages on the frescoes of St. Nikita were written by Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 99–102; id., *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst*, Berlin 1969, 59–60, in particular concerning their programme and artistic qualities. This author came to the conclusion that the painters in question knew well the new art of the Palaiologoi and that they worked in precisely that new style. Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 29–30, 54–56, 121–127 et passim was most interested in the signatures of the artists, the programme of the frescoes and their artistic traits while considering their iconography only in passing. V. J. Djurić (*Byzantinische Fresken*, 70) also focused his attention on the painters and the manner of their work, differentiated between the creations of individual artists and singled out the most valuable achievements. After M. Chatzidakis (Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 156–157) the same author also classified the decoration of St. Nikita as belonging to the classicist phase of Byzantine art of the early XIV century (Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*,

74). V. Mako (*Pojedini postupci u komponovanju scena Pričešća apostola slikarske radionice Mihaila i Evtihija*, Zograf 23, 1993–1994, 18–27) investigated the compositional treatment of the scene of Communion of the Apostles.

After Millet, researchers showed only sporadic interest in the iconography of the frescoes: Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Uz problem*, 81, 84 and Milošević, *Srbi svetitelji*, 178–186 (wrote about the images of Sts. Symeon and Sava the Serbian); G. Babić – Ch. Walter, *The Inscriptions upon Liturgical Rolls in Byzantine Apse Decoration*, REB 34 (1976), 275 (on the inscriptions and the contents of the scrolls of bishops); Babić, *Živopisani ukras*, 26 (on the frescoes painted around the altar screen); G. Babić, *O prepolovljenju praznika*, Zograf 7 (1977), 26 (on the scene of Mid-Pentecost); Lj. D. Popovich, *Compositional and Theological Concepts in Four Prophet Cycles in Churches Selected from the Period of King Milutin (1282–1321)*, Cyrillomethodianum VIII–IX (1984–1985), 283–317 (on the prophets in the dome); Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 216 (on Christ the archpriest in the Communion of the Apostles); Hamman-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung*, 115–117, 133 (also on the Communion of the Apostles and the Virgin Suppliant); Todić, *Anapeson*, 136 et passim (on the Anapeson).

Other, less extensive texts on the frescoes from this church are cited in Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 261. Useful information about them can also be found in: *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 479, 489 (G. Babić-Djordjević) and Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 223–224. As comparative material, they are also mentioned in more recent monographs of other churches of king Milutin: Τσιτουρίδου, *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ὁρφανός*, s. v. *Ἁγ. Νικήτας*; Todić, *Gračanica*, s. v. *Sveti Nikita, manastir kod Skoplja*; Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*, s. v. *Čučer, crkva Sv. Nikite*; Todić, *Nagoričino*, s. v. *Sveti Nikita kod Skoplja*.



Thessaloniki

Church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos



Together with the churches raised in Chilandar on Mount Athos, the church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos at Thessaloniki is the best preserved of all of king Milutin's endowments raised in the Byzantine Empire. The source offering testimony that the king raised a church of such a dedication in the second city of the Empire is the text of archbishop Danilo (Danilo II, *Königsbiographien*, 179). The same author says that the king was very generous in giving alms so that he raised a hospital in Constantinople, where food was brought out daily "into the court" for the poor to take, and churches throughout the Empire and fed the feeble. This was probably also the case with his churches in Thessaloniki. Tradition had it that a foundling home was located by Hagios Nikolaos so that τῶν ὀρφανῶν (church of the foundlings) (Kisas, *Solun*, 40) is a more correct name for this church. The prolonged scholarly discussion regarding the name of the church was tied to the problem of determining its ktetor. Although O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique des origines au XIV^e siècle*, Paris 1919, 309–310, already assumed that this is one of king Milutin's endowments, A. Xyngopoulos believed that its ktetor was Nicon Skoutarios Kapandritis whose tombstone was found in the church (A. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Τέσσαρες μικροί ναοί της Θεσσαλονίκης εκ των χρόνων των Παλαιολόγων*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1952, 31–34, εικ. 13; id., *Νεώτεροι ἔρευναί εις τὸν Ἅγιον Νικολάον Ὀρφανόν Θεσσαλονίκης*, Μακεδονικά 6, 1965, 90; id., *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου*, 33). Because the hypotheses on Orphanos as the secular and family name of Nicon are without any true ground they were never accepted in science. Contesting Xyngopoulos's opinion, P. Mijović – relying, above all, on the information supplied by Danilo II – offered proof that the ktetor of the church of Hagios Nikolaos was king Milutin (P. Mijović, *Monodija o kamenu*, Kruševac 1967,

73–77 in 1965 this text was published in a daily newspaper). This challenged Xyngopoulos to restate his earlier views (A. Xyngopoulos, *L'église de Saint Nicolas Orphanos et les constructions du kral Miloutine à Thessalonique*, *Balkan Studies* 6/1, 1965, 181–185), which, in turn, inspired a reply on Mijović's part (P. Mijović, *Freske i stihovi*, Zograf 1, 1966, 44–45; id., *O gradjevinama kralja Milutina u Solunu*, *Starinar* XVIII, 1968, 233–237; Mijović, *Menolog*, 54–59, 70–71). More recently, their discourse was thoroughly re-examined by a younger generation of Greek scholars (Kisas, *Solun*, 29–30, 34–41; Γ. Ι. Θεοχαρίδης, *Μία εξαφανισθείσα σημαντική Μονή της Θεσσαλονίκης. Η Μονή Φιλοκάλλη*, *Μακεδονικά* 21, 1981, 344–348; Τσιτουρίδου, *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ὀρφανός*, 33–45) who showed that τῶν ὀρφανῶν is an older name for the church than ὁ Ὀρφανός and that themes typical of the Serbian milieu do appear in the decoration of the church, above all the images of St. Georgios Gorgos and, perhaps, St. Clement of Ohrid (cf. also C. Grozdanov, *Portreti*, 80–81), which brought them (and above all S. Kissas and A. Tsitouridou) to the conclusion that king Milutin must have been the ktetor of this church (cf. also *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 481, note 28 – G. Babić-Djordjević).

On the outside, the church has the form of a three-aisle basilica without a dome, covered by slanted roofs. Inside, its central nave is shaped as a single-nave church with an altar, two niches serving as the prothesis and the diaconicon and an entrance on the west. Through double-arched openings it communicates with the aisles which once probably served as parekklesia. On the west, a spacious narthex stands in front of the aisles and the central kernel of the church proper. For those reasons, we can speak of this church as a single-nave structure encircled by an ambulatory aisle. On the architecture of the church cf. A.

Ξυγγόπουλος, *Τέσσαρες μικροί ναοί της Θεσσαλονίκης εκ των χρόνων των Παλαιολόγων*, 36–44.

The frescoes were painted in the second decade of the XIV century, in its final years (Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 265). They are well preserved, especially in the central part of the church, and have been cleaned in 1959–1960 (Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 27, note 3).

The painters are unknown, they probably come from the circle of artists around Georgios Kalliergis.

The inscriptions on the frescoes are in Greek.

The preserved frescoes.

Sanctuary

The apse. The conch is taken up by a Virgin Acheiropoitos surrounded by archangels Michael and Gabriel. Below them is the central part of the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with the Amnos on the altar table approached, on the north, by St. John Chrysostomos (the Prayer of Oblation on his scroll) followed by St. Athanasios (with the prayer of the Third Antiphon) and, on the south, by St. Basil (with the prayer of the Cherubicon) followed by St. Gregory the Theologian (with the text of the Offertory Prayer from the liturgy of St. Basil on his scroll).

In the prothesis apse is a frontally depicted St. Spyridon.

In the diaconicon apse is a figure of St. Sylvester depicted in the same manner.

On the triangular pediment of the east wall is the Christ appearing to the myrrhophores and, below, the Annunciation (almost entirely damaged), Nativity and Adoration of the Magi. Further down, directly above the apse, is the Mandelion surrounded by the Communion of the Apostles. Lower still, around the apse, are half-figures of bishops: St. Symeon relative of the Lord, James brother of the Lord, Judas relative of the Lord and Paul the Confessor; finally, in the first zone, above the prothesis niche, are images of St. Babylas (in half-figure), Anthimus and, above the diaconicon niche, Polycarp and Bucolus. In the zones of the south wall are gospel scenes (cf. naos) as well as half-figures of bishops: Sts. Gregory of Armenia, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Agrigentum, Gregory Dialogos and Eustathios of Antioch while St. Clement of Ancyra in half-figure appears in the lower zone and, below him, in a niche, a leaved cross surrounded by the following text: $\overline{\text{TC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \text{NIKA}$; $\overline{\text{CTPOC}} \overline{\text{TY}} \overline{\text{XY}} \text{YIOY TOY } \overline{\Theta\Upsilon}$; $\overline{\text{E}} \overline{\Omega} \overline{\Theta\Upsilon} \overline{\text{T}}$, as well as two bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: St. Cyril of Alexandria (with the lecture from the dyptich in honour of the Virgin on his scroll) and St. John the Merciful (with the prayer before the lecture from the dyptich, from the liturgy of St. Basil).

The two upper zones of the north wall also contain scenes from cycles which belong to the naos (cf. naos). Half-figures of bishops appear in the lower zone: a bishop from Jerusalem followed by St. Macarios of Antioch,

Tarasios of Constantinople, George of Constantinople and Peter of Alexandria. In the bottom register is St. Nicholas, as a participant in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, followed by St. Antipas depicted frontally; in the passage leading to the north ambulatory aisle are two angel-deacons.

Naos

The top register, including also the sanctuary, contains representations of the Great Feasts: on the south wall are Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Baptism, Raising of Lazarus and Entry into Jerusalem (which spreads over to the west wall); on the west wall, at the top, is the Ascension and further down a part of the Entry into Jerusalem spreading over from the south wall, the Metamorphosis and Crucifixion and, lower still, the Dormition; on the north wall are two scenes from the Passion lections, Descent from the Cross and Lamentation, as well as the Descent into Hades.

In the zone below we find scenes related to the Passion lections arranged in the following manner: on the south wall is the Agony in the Garden, Betrayal of Judas, Christ before Annas and Caiaphas and Christ before Pilate; on the west wall the Denial of Peter (by the Dormition) and a part of the Mocking of Christ; on the north wall is the Mocking of Christ, Road to Calvary, Ascent of the Cross, Last Supper and Washing of the Feet.

The register of half-figures and single standing figures includes, on the south wall, a half-figure of an Old Testament high priest, images of the evangelist Matthew and St. Victor and a half-figure of St. Bacchus on the soffit of the arch of the east part of the two-light window, images of the evangelist Mark and St. Menas and, finally, half-figures of Sts. Panteleimon and Hermolaos on the soffit of the arch of the west part of the two-light window.

On the west wall are half-figures of Sts. Sampson Xenodochos and Diomedes, a damaged space intended for the ktetor's inscription (?) and a half-figure of St. Theodote. On the north wall are half-figures of Sts. Cosmas and Damian (?), on the intrados of the arch of the two-light window, on the west side, are prophet Daniel and evangelist Luke and a half-figure of St. Sergius and, on the intrados of the arch on the east side of the two-light window, the Ascension of Prophet Elijah and evangelist John and, finally, a half-figure of an Old Testament prophet.

The register of standing single figures of saints. South wall: by the iconostasis is a winged St. John the Prodromos with his decapitated head and a scroll (John 1, 29), on the lateral sides of the two-light window, towards the south ambulatory aisle, are representations of Christ the Saviour with an open gospel book (Matthew 11, 28) and St. Demetrios and, by the west wall, St. Theodore Stratelates. West wall: south of the entrance is St. Theodore Teron and north of it St. Artemios. North wall: at the westernmost point is St. Nestor, on the lateral sides of the two-light window, towards the north ambulatory aisle, St. Georgios Gorgos

and the Virgin Mediatrix with the beginning of her dialogue with Christ inscribed on a scroll and, by the iconostasis, St. John the Theologian with an open book (John 1, 1).

South ambulatory aisle

South wall: remains of the Menologion; in the window, on its west side, are two leaved crosses, one of which is accompanied by the following text: $\text{CTPOC TY XC YIOY TOY THY}$; TC XC NIKA , E N THY T , and the other by: $\text{TC XC NIKA TI XPICTIANOC PIPOCKYNEI CTPON XY T THMION}$. North wall, uppermost zone: Healing of the Woman with the Spirit of Infirmary, Healing of the Man with the Water Disease, Healing of the Possessed, Healing of the Lame; lower zone: Healing of the Paralytic, Christ and the Samaritan Woman and the Marriage at Cana; bottom zone: the Burning Bush and the cycle of St. Gerasimos.

West ambulatory aisle (narthex)

East wall. In the two upper zones are parts of the Menologion and the cycle of St. Nicholas, top register: Birth of St. Nicholas, the saint goes to school, the saint ordained deacon, the saint ordained priest, the saint ordained bishop and the miraculous salvation of the three virgins; the register below: the saint appearing to Ablabius in his dream and, further down, the three generals in the dungeon, the saint appearing to emperor Constantine in his dream, the miracle with the salvation of the three innocents from the sword, the miracle at sea, part of the miracle with the wheat and the death of St. Nicholas. In the zone of standing figures, around the entrance to the naos, are images of the apostles Paul and Peter and the Virgin with Christ and, on the other side, Sts. Nicholas with an open book (John 10, 9), Theodore of Stoudion and Stephen the New (with an unrolled scroll). West wall: in the upper zone are remains of the Menologion; in the zone of standing figures are Sts. Sabas of Jerusalem, Paul of Thebes, Ephraim the Syriac, Onuphrios, a cross with the cryptogram $\Phi \chi \Phi \Pi$; in the window; following a broad stretch of wall without any frescoes are St. Pachomios and an angel (both badly damaged) and John Calybites in the north part.

North ambulatory aisle

South wall. The two upper zones contain the Akathistos of the Virgin (Joseph's dream appears in the second zone, above the colonette of the two-light window); in the zone of standing figures are: St. Clement (of Ohrid?), Anne with the infant Mary in her arms, Catherine and Irene.

Although the frescoes of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos were discovered and cleaned rather late, they have been published in their entirety: *Ευγγόπουλος, Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου*, 12–24 (a full list and descriptions of the frescoes), *σχ. I–VIII* (the distribution of the wall paintings), *πίν. 2–159* (reproductions of the frescoes), *πίν. 160–190* (colour reproductions); *Τσιτουρίδου, Άγιος Νι-*

κόλαος Ορφανός, 295–299 and *σχ. 1–4* (catalogue and distribution of the frescoes), *πίν. 1–119* (black and white reproductions of the frescoes).

Shortly after their cleaning, the frescoes were dated to the period between 1310 and 1320 and ascribed to Thessalonikan artists (*Ευγγόπουλος, Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου*, 24–27). After that, their chronology was never questioned and only T. Velmans (*Les fresques de Saint Nicolas Orphanos à Thessalonique et les rapports entre la peinture d'icônes et la décoration monumentale au XIV^e siècle*, CA 16, 1966, 145–170) attempted to move it closer to the middle of the XIV century, which was not accepted in science (cf. a critical review of her text by Α.Τσιτουρίδου in: *Βυζαντινά* 2, 1970, 442–450).

The question of the identity of the painters and the similarity of their work with other creations of the early XIV century was of particular interest. Even before they were cleaned, A. Xyngopoulos noticed that they resembled the wall paintings created by Kalliergis at Veria and the works of Michael and Eutychios from Nagoričino (Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique*, 28, 43), while V. J. Djurić placed them in the same group as the frescoes of the Saviour's church at Veria and the those of the Chilandar katholikon (Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 79). In his discourse with Xyngopoulos, P. Mijović used the similarity between the decoration of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos and contemporary art in Serbia as proof of Milutin's ktetorship (cf., for example, P. Mijović, *Monodija o kamenu*, 73–77), and even Xyngopoulos himself was inclined to look for resemblances between these paintings and those of Nagoričino. Apart from assuming that Hagios Nikolaos could be Milutin's church, Radojčić, *Slakarstvo*, 213, also observed, although in passing, that its frescoes are most like those of St. Nikita and Nagoričino. Their similarity with the wall paintings of St. Nikita was also pointed out by M. Σωτηρίου, *Η Μακεδονική Σχολή και η λεγομένη Σχολή Μιλουτίν*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/5 (1966–1969), 21. The observations of Djurić and Xyngopoulos regarding the resemblance between these frescoes and the works of Kalliergis from Veria (and also to the Chora at Constantinople, Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 161–162) and those from Chilandar were further developed by Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*, 114–121, 158–164: following a detailed iconographic and stylistic analysis he came to the conclusion that some of the frescoes of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos (the Dormition, Akathistos of the Virgin, cycle of St. Nicholas and some others) were painted by Kalliergis and others by his associates. Later on, however, Djurić himself displayed a greater degree of caution in ascribing these frescoes to Kalliergis but still claimed that one of the painters from Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos also worked in the katholikon of Chilandar. In Djurić's opinion, King Milutin, the ktetor of both churches, brought to Chilandar a painter who had previously worked on the decoration of his endowment at Thessaloniki (Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 36–41).

Prior to the publishing of the second monograph on these frescoes, their iconography did not get a chance to catch the attention of a greater number of scholars. The Menologion was discussed by Mijović, *Menolog*, 77–85, 117–119, 257–259, who assumed earlier still that the Menologion scenes from this church were accompanied by couplets of the poet Christopher of Mytilene (P. Mijović, *Freske i stihovi*, 44–45). Kissas, *Solun*, 34–40, wrote extensively about the images of St. Georgios Gorgos and St. Clement which substantiated his conviction that this church had a Serbian ktetor. Being the oldest preserved example of its kind in mural painting, the image of Christ dressed as an archpriest in the scene of the Communion was especially interesting to the researchers: V. J. Djurić, *Ravanički živopis i liturgija*, Manastir Ravanica – spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici, Beograd 1981, 55 et passim; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 216; T. Παπαμαστοράκης, *Η μορφή του Χριστού-Μεγάλου Αρχιερέα*, ΔΧΑΕ 4/17 (1993–1994), 67 et passim. The cycle of St. Nicholas was also discussed by Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*, 42, 66–90, 95–122, 134–142, the cycle of St. Gerasimos by S. Tomeković, *Note sur saint Gerasime dans l'art byzantin*, Zbornik LU 21 (1985), 280–281, and the Akathistos by A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos. Die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1989, 9–10, 19–26, 31–34 et passim, Abb. 1–10, Plan 1–3.

In surveys of Byzantine art of the early XIV century and Thessalonikan painting, due attention was devoted to the frescoes of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos: Lazarev, *Storia*, 384; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 161–162; Mouriki, *Stylistic*

Trends, 61; *Η Θεσσαλονίκη και τα μνημεία της*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1985, 109–114, εικ. 25–29; Tsitouridou, *La peinture monumentale à Salonique*, 11–14; Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 208; Ch. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Byzantine Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki 1992, 137–144; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Greek Art. Byzantine Wall-Paintings*, Athens 1994, 247–249, Pls. 139–144; Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 73. So far, the decoration of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos has not been included in similar surveys of Serbian art. Some information on these frescoes can be found in more recent monographs on Byzantine and Serbian monuments of the first decades of the XIV century where they are mentioned as comparative material. A short monograph, popular in character, has also been published on this church and its wall paintings: X. Μαυροπούλου-Τσιούμη, *Ο Άγιος Νικόλαος ο Ορφανός*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1970.

The most comprehensive work on these frescoes is the book written by Anna Tsitouridou (Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*). Apart from the entire documentary material, this book also includes reviews of previous investigations of the paintings (pp. 27–30), a discourse on the name of the church and its ktetor, with new evidence in favour of king Milutin (32–45), a full explanation of the programme of decoration, the iconographic traits of the frescoes (49–206) and their artistic values (223–256). Finally, their chronology is also considered, the dating to the second decade of the XIV century suggested by A. Xyngopoulos confirmed (250–266) and their place in the art of the first half of the XIV century determined (269–276).



Chilandar

Katholikon church dedicated to the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple



On the site of the old church raised by his ancestors, Sts. Symeon and Sava, king Milutin raised a new and larger church which was decorated with wall paintings in the last years of his lifetime. In the second half of the XIV century a spacious exonarthex was added to this structure. In the meantime, several other frescoes were painted in the church, mostly of funerary nature. As a ktetor, Milutin is mentioned not only in the writings of archbishop Danilo (Danilo II, *Königsbiographien*, 175–176) and the numerous charters this king issued to the monastery (confirmed by the Byzantine emperors Andronikos II and Constantine IX) but also in the later repainted and now only partly cleaned inscription (SSZN, I, 14–15), all attested by the king's portraits. During the past seven centuries the church shared the fate of the monastery, cf. Djurić, *Chilandar*, 36–48, with a list of chosen bibliography. As for the frescoes, the first minor alterations on them were made in the third decade of the XIV century, at the time when the portraits of king Stefan Uroš III (Dečanski) and, probably, his son Dušan were painted on the east wall of the narthex. Practically all the frescoes were repainted in 1803. However, in our day, some of them have been freed of this later added layer but full reports on conservation works have not yet been published: cf. only M. Michaelidis, *Nouveaux documents sur la peinture de deux monuments de la Macédoine*, Athens Annals of Archaeology IV/3 (1971), 341–346; B. Živković, *Konzervatorski i restauratorski radovi na živopisu u manastiru Hilandaru*, Glasnik DKS 5 (1981), 40.

King Milutin's church is a building of the developed triconch type with a narthex. The altar space is tri-partite. It communicates with the prothesis and the diaconicon, and these in turn with the naos, through arched openings. On the lateral sides, the naos extends into semicircular conchs with entrances of their own while three entrances connect

it with the narthex. A dome on pendentives rises above the naos, supported by four columns. The narthex has the shape of a slightly shortened square divided into six bays covered by groin vaults, a calotte and, in the west part, two domes. Entrances to the narthex are located on the west and the two lateral sides, cf. Dj. Bošković – M. Kovačević, *Le monastère de Chilandar. Le katholikon. Architecture*, Beograd 1992.

The time of decoration of the church may have been recorded in an inscription in the narthex. On the other hand, based also on the portraits of emperors Andronikos II and Andronikos III and king Milutin, the date of its completion can be precisely placed in the period between June 1320 and October 1321 (Djurić, *Narthex de Chilandar*, 116–118).

The authors of the frescoes are unknown.

It seems that most of the inscriptions were in Greek although there are some in Serbian as well.

Not all the frescoes were repainted in 1803: some were spared (those behind the new iconostasis and in the south-west bay around the original tomb of Nemanja) and some, or their inscriptions, can still be discerned through the later layer of paint. After World War II, some the frescoes were fully cleaned and others only partly (cf. B. Živković, *Popis fresko-površina u manastiru Hilandaru*, Glasnik DKS 8, 1984, 71). In our catalogue, all the visible original frescoes from 1320–1321 which have not been repainted or those which have been cleaned are marked with an asterisk (*) and those which are only partly visible with two asterisks (**). In this catalogue we shall list all the frescoes from Milutin's church because the cleaning of the wall paintings performed to date has shown that the painters of the XIX century repeated the original decoration almost literally.

Catalogue of the frescoes.

Sanctuary

Apse. The conch is taken up by a Virgin Platytera (below her are half-figures of bishops in baroque frames, certainly painted for the first time in the XIX century), further down is the Communion with bread and wine and, in the zone below, scenes related to Christ's resurrection appearances: the apostles receiving the scrolls and Christ taking leave of the apostles on the Mount of Olives, in the bottom zone are bishops participating in the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: St. Sava archbishop of Serbia, St. Amphilo-chios, St. Gregory the Theologian, St. John Chrysostomos, St. Basil the Great, St. Athanasios, St. Cyril and St. Gregory of Neocaesarea. On the arch in front of the apse is Christ Emmanuel and frontally depicted archangels Gabriel and Michael.

On the vault of the altar space is the Ascension of Christ.

Scenes and cycles from the apse continue on the walls. On each wall there is a group of apostles from the Communion, on the south also the Washing of the Feet and on the north the Last Supper. The register below is taken up by scenes related to the resurrected Christ, on the south wall: Christ appearing to the myrrhophores and Christ appearing on the Sea of Galilee, and on the north: Myrrhophores informing the apostles of Christ's resurrection, apostles discovering Christ's empty tomb and Christ appearing to the apostles ("Peace unto you"). In the bottom register are two more bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy, St. Epiphanius on the south and St. Nicholas on the north wall. In the passage leading to the diaconicon are Sts. Andrew of Crete (from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy), Ignatius Theophoros and, on the soffit of the arch, half-figures of Dometius and Mocius. In the passage leading to the prothesis are figures of St. Spyridon and St. Gregory the Theologian from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy and, above them, half-figures of Parthenios and Fantinus.

Diaconicon. At the top of the apse is the Supper at Emmaus, below it the Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria and in the bottom zone the Celebration of Holy Liturgy with St. Methodios of Patras and a bishop with the epithet Thaumaturgos taking part in it. On the groin vault are four half-figures of archangels and on the soffit of the arch opening towards the naos Sts. Achilleios, Isaurios and another bishop in a medallion. At the top of the south wall are figures of two holy bishops, in the central register is St. Cleonicus and the Road to Emmaus and in the bottom register a bishop from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. At the top of the north wall are two holy bishops and further down Sts. Sosipatrus, Theophilactus, Clement and an unknown saint.

Prothesis. The top of the apse is taken up by a representation of the Holy Trinity, below it are frontal figures of Sts. Germanos and Tarasios and in the bottom zone St. James brother of the Lord** and St. Symeon relative of

the Lord** approaching Christ the Amnos. On the groin vault are four angels and on the arched opening towards the naos St. Basil in a medallion surrounded by bishops Elias and Eustathios. In the top register of the north wall are two holy bishops, in the central register Abraham Welcoming the Three Angels and an unknown bishop and in the bottom register St. Gregory of Armenia and St. Gregory the Thaumaturgos from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy. In the top register of the south wall are six holy bishops (among them Clement, Babylas and Polycarp) in the bottom only St. Gregory of Agrigentum from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy.

Naos

The dome. The calotte is taken up by a half-figure of Christ Pantokrator, below him are the Celestial Powers, then the Celestial Liturgy and, finally, twelve half-figures of prophets with rolled-up scrolls. The same number of prophets with unrolled scrolls appears in the drum (among them Zechariah, Micah, Joel, Malachi, Jonah, Ezekiel, Elijah and Elisha). On the pendentives are the evangelists: Matthew (south-east), Luke (south-west), Mark (north-west) and John with Prochor (north-east). Between the pendentives, on the south and the north, are angels in medallions, the Mandelion is on the east and the Keramion on the west side.

The vaults rising over the arms of the cross. East arm: Nativity and Descent of the Holy Spirit; south: Presentation of Christ in the Temple, angel in a medallion and Transfiguration; west: Raising of Lazarus, angel in a medallion and Entry into Jerusalem; north: Crucifixion, angel in a medallion and Descent into Hades.

The vaults rising over the corner bays. On the groin vault in front of the diaconicon is a half-figure of St. Stephen** surrounded by those of bishops Porphyrios, Nicephoros, Eustathios and Leo, further down are two bishops and St. Daniel the Stylite* above the colonette of the two-light window. On the groin vault in front of the prothesis was Christ Emmanuel in a medallion surrounded by half-figures of holy bishops Juvenal, Theodotus, Neilus and Athanasios, below them are figures of Sts. Theodosios and Macarios and, above the colonette of the two-light window, the image of St. Symeon the Stylite*. On the vaults covering the south-west and the north-west bay are angels in medallions.

On the front sides of the east wall, by the iconostasis, in its upper parts, is the Anapeson* (north) and Christ's sermon on the end of time* (south). The new iconostasis does not permit us to learn what was represented in the lower zones. On the arch between the east wall and the north-east column are representations of prophets Samuel** and Aaron* and on the arch between this column and the north wall Sts. Sergius** and Bacchus**. On the arch between the east wall and the south-east column is the righteous Melchizedek* and the prophet Moses* while St.

Justin the Philosopher and Sozon appear on the arch connecting this column with the south wall. On the wall above the north-east column are representations of archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation with prophet Solomon on the west and the Incredulity of Thomas on the south side, while on the wall above the south-east column stands the Virgin from the Annunciation with prophet David on the west and the Agony in the Garden on the north side.

South wall, south-east bay. On the east side of the pilaster are Sts. Boniface and Basiliscus, painted side by side, while Christ in the House of Martha and Mary and St. John the Prodromos below it appear on the front side of this pilaster.

South choir. In the conch is the Baptism and below it the Betrayal of Judas, Christ Tried Before Annas and Christ Tried Before Caiaphas. In the register below are representations of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, Healing of the Woman with a Spirit of Infirmary*, Mid-Pentecost*, Widow's Mite* and Purification of the Temple*. Below the inscription: *HMEIE ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΝ*: — *МЫИ ВОИНСТВОУКМЪ ЦРОУ СИЛАМЪ**, in the bottom register we find Sts. Demetrios*, Procopios*, Eustathios* and Mercurios* as well as an unknown monk*, Theodosios Koinobites with a scroll*, Arsenios with a scroll* and Anthony with a scroll*.

South wall, south-west bay. On the front side of the pilaster by the choir was the Healing of Peter's Mother-in-Law and, further down, a figure of St. Nicholas; on its west side was Christ and the Samaritan Woman followed by scenes representing Christ and Zaccheus and Healing of the Paralytic at Capernaum, further down was St. Symeon Nemanja ("St. Symeon")* on the pilaster and then St. Sava ("St. Sava and ktetor")* and king Milutin ("Stefan in Christ God faithful King Uroš and ktetor")* (behind him, on the west wall, was St. Stephen the Protomartyr).

West wall. The uppermost register of wall paintings includes one miracle of Christ, the Dormition and a scene involving Christ and the wealthy man (?). The middle register contains scenes from the cycle of the Virgin: Joachim's Offerings Refused, Annunciation to Joachim and Annunciation to Anne, Meeting of Joachim and Anne and the Blessings of the Three Priests, Zachary Praying Over the Rods of the Suitors, Zachary Gives Mary Away to Joseph, Annunciation at the Well, Mary Reproached by Joseph and Drinking of the Water of Purification. In the bottom register are representations of: St. Stephen the Protomartyr*, Nicodemus* (above the south entrance), Serapion, apostle Peter (on the pilaster), Synaxis of the Archangels, Christ Pantokrator with an open book (John 10, 9)* above the central entrance with two angels (on the soffit of the arch) flying towards him, Sts. Constantine and Helena, apostle Paul (on the pilaster), St. John Calybits, Acacios and Proclus (above the north entrance, the doorpost of which

is decorated with a leaved cross with the cryptogram *TC XC NI KA*).

South-west column. On the wall above the column, on the east side, is Christ Judged by Pilate and, on the north, the Triple Denial of Peter. On the arch extending towards the south wall is the Healing of the Blind and another healing while the Healing of the Woman with an Issue of Blood and the Healing of the Captain's son appear on the arch extending towards the west wall.

North-west column. On the wall above the column, on the south side, is the Mocking of Christ and on the east the Road to Calvary. On the soffit of the arch extending from this column to the west wall are two scenes: Christ Cursing the Fruitless Fig-Tree and the Parable of the Publican and the Pharisee. On the arch extending towards the north wall is one of Christ's lectures to the apostles and "Be as this child".

North wall, north-west bay. In the uppermost zone is the story of the marriage feast of the king's son, in the middle zone the Healing of the Blind and the Healing of the Lamé and in the bottom zone: Sts. Paul of Thebes, Stephen the New and Theodore of Stoudion. (An arcossolium decorated with an image of the Virgin with Christ was later constructed between this wall and the column).

North choir. In the conch is the Lamentation and Preparation of the Sepulchre; below them is Christ before the cross, Ascent of the Cross, Descent from the Cross and the Holy Women at the Sepulchre; further down is the Healing of the Lepers, one miracle of Christ and the Birth of the Virgin**; in the register of standing figures are Sts. Gerasimos, Euthymios, Sabas of Jerusalem, Hilarion and Gerontios and, below an inscription referring to holy warriors, Sts. Theodore Stratelates, Theodore Teron and George**.

North wall, north-east bay. On the south, front face of the pilaster is Christ lecturing the Jews and further down a figure of the apostle John the Theologian while on its east side we find an unknown martyr and St. Tryphon below him.

Narthex

Vaults. The groin vault rising over the north-east bay. On its segments are several scenes from the lives of celebrated monks: St. Euphrosynios (Euphrosynios in heaven, Euphrosynios giving apples to a priest, the priest showing them to the brethren, monks in awe before the heavenly apples); St. Anthony and St. Paul the Theban (Anthony looking for Paul and enquiring the centaur about him, a lioness leads Anthony to Paul, Anthony sees the devil in the guise of a satyr, the meeting of Anthony and Paul, a raven brings food to Anthony and Paul, two angels taking Paul's soul to heaven, Anthony buries Paul); St. Pambas (Pambas mocks idle demons); St. Macarios (Macarios taking to the skull of a pagan chieftain) and one unknown monk (the blessed and an outlaw, an angel appears to the

saint and orders him to bury the outlaw, the saint buries the outlaw, an angel carries his soul to heaven). In the corners are single figures of Sts. Pitirunas and John Calybites. Below the vault, on the north wall are three monks: Sts. Neilus, Pachomios and John.

Vaults. The vault rising over the bay in front of the central entrance to the naos: a medallion with the image of Christ Emmanuel is held up by four angels and, on the surrounding arches, prophets with scrolls: Moses, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Noah.

Vaults. The groin vault over the south-east bay contains a greater number of scenes related to different monks: St. Pachomios (Pachomios teaching at his monastery, Pachomios blessing the monks seated at a table); St. Paphnutios (Paphnutios prepares a catechumen, an angel appears to Paphnutios, Paphnutios lecturing about the true faith, Paphnutios blessing a pupil); St. Macarios of Alexandria (Macarios healing the priest Karkynos, Macarios showing the snake bite on his hand, Macarios standing naked in a mosquito infested swamp, Macarios addressing the monks, Macarios meets Ianis and Iambris on the road to Kypothaphios, Macarios chases demons out of Kypothaphios, Macarios fasting, Macarios argues with a heretic about the resurrection of the dead). In the corners are figures of Sts. Xenophones, Arcadios and Mark and below the vault, on the south wall, are representations of Sts. John, Onuphrios and Macarios.

Vaults. The groin vault over the central west bay contains scenes from the lives of several monks: St. Dorotheus (Dorotheus gathering rocks to make a hut, bread falling out of Dorotheus's mouth, Dorotheus sending a pupil out to the well with a snake, the pupil returns and Dorotheus lectures him); St. Isidorus (Isidorus weeps at the table); St. Nathaniel (Nathaniel and a demon, Nathaniel and a demon in the guise of a soldier, Nathaniel mocks the demon); St. Macarios (Macarios talking to the husband of the charmed woman and freeing her of the spell, Macarios heals the woman transformed into a mare, Macarios scolding monks, Macarios healing a possessed man); St. Pachomios (Pachomios lecturing the brethren and Pachomios crossing the river on a crocodile); St. Paul the Simple (Paul finds Anthony, Anthony expels Paul from his hut, Anthony weaves and untangles palm leaves, Paul eating bread with Anthony, Anthony asks Paul to free a young man of demons, Paul orders the devil to free this young man, Paul prays to God and the demon leaves the possessed in the guise of a snake, Paul and Anthony discussing this miracle).

The dome over the south-west bay. In the ribbed calotte are sixteen Old Testament kings: Obed, Jesse, David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ozias, Joatham, Achaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Ammon and Josiah. In the drum are images of Jechoniah, Salathiel, Zorobabel, Abiud, Eliakim, Azor, Sadoch and Achim. On the south-east pendentive is a scene with prophet Isaiah fed by an angel with burning coals on a spoon, on the south-

west is the scene of Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace, on the north-west is prophet Elisha purifying the poisoned waters with salt and on the north-east a cherub offering prophet Ezekiel a scroll; between each pendentive is a medallion with an angel in half-figure. Below the dome, on the south wall, is Lazarus and Poimen and, on the west, Paul of Latros and Memnon.

The dome over the north-west bay contains images of Old Testament patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and his sons Levi, Dan, Gad, Zebulun and Asher. The following scenes are located on the pendentives: Jacob wrestling with the angel (south-east), angels appearing to Samson's parents (south-west), Gideon's Fleece (north-west) and Jacob's dream of a heavenly ladder (north-east). Below the dome, on the west wall, are St. Hilarion, a monk with a scroll and another unknown monk**, another monk without a name and St. Theoktistos; on the north wall are St. Paul of Xeropotamou** and Joseph with a scroll**.

The walls, top register. East wall: Prayer of John Chrysostomos, Crucifixion, Wisdom Hath Builded Her House.

The walls, middle register. East wall: (next to the slightly later portraits of Dušan? and king Stefan Dečanski) the emperor Andronikos III ("Andronikos in Christ God faithful Emperor and sovereign of the Romans Palaiologos")**, St. Sava "the first Serbian Archbishop and ktetor of this holy family" (on the pilaster), the Virgin on a throne with Christ on her lap, surrounded by archangels Michael and Gabriel (above the central entrance), St. Symeon Nemanja ("Hosios Symeon myrrhoblytos and ktetor") (on the pilaster), emperor Andronikos II ("Andronikos in Christ God faithful Emperor and sovereign of the Romans Palaiologos")*, king Milutin ("Stefan in Christ God faithful King Uroš, and most beloved son-in-law of the mighty and holy Emperor of the Romans Andronikos Palaiologos, and ktetor of this holy monastery") and St. Stephen the Protomartyr*. South wall: Sts. Eustrathios, Auxentios, Eugenios, Mardarios, Orestes, Acindynus (on the pilaster), Pegasios, Aphthonios, Elpidophoros, Anempodistos and Gourias. West wall: Sts. Samonas, Abibus, Cosmas, Damian, John (on the pilaster), Sampson, Diomedes (on the pilaster), Cosmas, Damian, Agathonikos and John. North wall: Sts. Celsius, Protasius, and unknown martyr, Nazarius, an unknown martyr, Vicentius (on the pilaster), Victor, Menas, Andronicos, Tarachus and Probus.

The walls, bottom register. East wall: Sts. Cosmas the Melodos, a half-figure of prophet Isaiah with a scroll (above the north entrance to the naos), the Baptism**, the Virgin (on the pilaster), archangel Gabriel (north of the main entrance to the naos), archangel Michael (south of the entrance), Christ (on the pilaster), John the Prodromos**, St. Athanasios the Athonite, the ktetor's inscription **, (above the south entrance to the naos) and John of Damascus. South wall: Sts. Cosmas (in the doorway are Golgotha crosses with cryptograms $\overline{\text{TC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}$ and

TC XC Φ X Φ Π T K N K), Damian, Panteleimon* (on the pilaster), Arthemios, Sisoës, David of Thessaloniki and Zosimus (administering communion to Mary who is painted on the west wall). West wall: St. Mary of Egypt, Sisinnius, Timothy, Neilus, Ephraim the Syriac with a scroll** (on the pilaster), Dorotheus with a scroll (by the entrance), the Virgin with Christ in half-figure on her chest (in the lunette above the entrance), Theonas, Pachomios with a scroll** (on the pilaster), Silvanus, Peter the Athonite, Luke of Stiris, Joasaph (at socle level is a younger fresco of the Virgin in an arcosolium). North wall: Sts. Barlaam, Calynicus, Moses the Ethiopian, Alexios the man of God, Martinianus** (on the pilaster), Nestor (in the doorway are two Golgotha crosses with the letters TC XC N K O T Θ Θ Θ E E E and TC XC N K O T T T Δ Φ T K Π Γ) and Nicetas (at socle level are later frescoes of the Virgin with Christ, Sts. Symeon and Sava in an arcosolium).

Contrary to such a great number of wall paintings present in the katholikon of Chilandar, the number of texts on them is not nearly as great, probably because they were mostly repainted so that attention was focused mainly on the cleaned frescoes. However, documentary material on them has been published in a satisfactory manner. They were catalogued – although not all – by Petković, *La peinture serbe*, II, 18–19 and Petković, *Pregled*, 338–340, and reproductions of them published by Millet, *Athos*, pl. 59–80.

From the time before it even became known that there are unrepainted frescoes in the church, notes on them can be found in the writings of D. Avramović, *Sveta Gora sa strane vere, hudožestva i povestnice*, Beograd 1848, 12–15; P. Uspenskij, *Pervoe putešestvie v afonskie monastyri i skyti*, II, Kiev 1877, 25–28; V. Grigorovič-Barskij, *Vtoroe posešenie svjatoj Afonskoj Gory*, Sankt-Peterburg 1887, 237–238; Sava Hilandarac, *Istorija i opis monastira Hilandara*, Beograd 1894, 14, 37; id., *Sveta Gora*, Beograd 1898, 161–163. The first to display scholarly interest in them was Millet, *Recherches*, 32, 96, 184, 209, 214, 421, 500, 656, 658–659, who was convinced that, in repainting the frescoes, the artists of the XIX century repeated the programme and the iconography of the paintings from the age of king Milutin.

Upon his first visit to Chilandar, S. Radojčić agreed with Millet and, what's more, himself noticed two unrepainted frescoes – the Anapeson and Christ's sermon to the apostles (Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 179–180). Some ten years later, V. J. Djurić wrote much more not only about these paintings but also about some of the other unrepainted frescoes (those around Nemanja's tomb in the south-west bay) and the partly or fully cleaned representations (Birth of the Virgin and St. Panteleimon), Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 71–83, fig. 17–31. He not only described and studied them well but also dated them to the period between 1318 and 1320, "most proba-

bly 1319", and posed the question of their author. He rejected the possibility that it was Manuel Panselinos, favoured by the first, already mentioned researchers, and assumed that they could have been painted by Georgios Kalliergis because these Chilandar frescoes reminded him of those from the church of the Saviour at Veria and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos at Thessaloniki. P. Miljković-Pepk, *Denešnite možnosti za određivanje na avtorite na freskite vo glavna manastirska crkva na Hilandar*, Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna istorija X/2–3 (1966), 203–218 and Miljković-Pepk, *Deloto*, 230–233, disagreed and suggested, although not explicitly, that the touch of Michael and Eutychios can be discerned on these Chilandar frescoes. He also observed that they resemble the wall paintings of St. Nikita near Skopje. Although Radojčić was at first inclined to associate the wall paintings of the Chilandar katholikon with those of the Protaton (Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 180), he later gave this idea up having recognised that the frescoes from Chilandar are considerably younger in date and did not oppose Djurić's opinion that they could indeed be the work of Kalliergis (Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, 86, 127–128). Even more convinced of Kalliergis's participation in the decoration of Chilandar and Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos was Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*, 112–121. Without stating explicitly the identity of the painter, A. Tsitouridou pointed out the extraordinarily great resemblance between the katholikon of Chilandar and the mentioned church from Thessaloniki, in both iconography and style (Τσιτουρίδου, *Άγιος Νικόλαος Ορφανός*, 111, 121, 124, 126, 263–266 et passim). The new cleaning of frescoes at Chilandar was followed closely by V. J. Djurić and, based on the wall paintings from the south choir, he concluded that, for the moment, we can not claim decidedly that Kalliergis worked in Chilandar. On the other hand, these frescoes strengthened even more his belief that one of the painters from the Thessaloniki church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos did work also on the decoration of the Chilandar katholikon (Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 31–41, fig. 1–10).

The wall paintings of Chilandar, whether cleaned or under a layer of paint from 1803, were the subject of a number of iconographic studies. Apart from Millet, Djurić, and even Miljković-Pepk, Pelekanidis and A. Tsitouridou, other scholars have also investigated certain frescoes: J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, I, Bruxelles 1964, 154, wrote about the Birth of the Virgin; the portraits around Nemanja's tomb were studied by B. Todić, *Freska sv. Nikodima iz Hilandara i problem datiranja slikarstva katolikona*, Zbornik LU 21 (1985), 91–103; G. Stričević, *The Donor's Composition in Chilandari*, XVIII^e Congrès international des études byzantines, Résumés des communications, II, Moscou 1991, 1129–1130 (associates them with the icon of the Virgin Tricheiroussa); Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Odras kulta sv. Stefana*, 53 and D. Vojvodić,

Prilog poznavanju ikonografije i kulta sv. Stefana u Vizantiji i Srbiji, Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani. Material and Studies, Beograd 1995, 545 et passim, wrote about St. Stephen; G. Babić, *O Prepolovljenju praznika*, Zograf 7 (1976), 24, on the Mid-Pentecost; on holy warriors and monks, J. Radovanović, *Das Mönchtum und Märtyrertum in der Malerei des Klosters Hilandar und das Patriarchats von Peć*, Balcanica XX (1989), 57–64; on the Anapeson, Todić, *Anapeson*, 136 et passim. The same is true also of the themes represented in the narthex: on the Prayer of St. John Chrysostomos, A. Xyngopoulos, *Restitution et interprétation d'une fresque de Chilandar*, Hilendarski zbornik 2 (1971), 93–97; on Gideon's Fleece, J. Radovanović, *Runo Gedeonovo u srpskom srednjovekovnom slikarstvu*, Zograf 5 (1974), 38–42, and on the programme and the iconography of the frescoes in this part of the church, Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*, 107–111. Following the recent cleaning of the portraits in the narthex, their iconography was studied by Djurić, *Narthex*

de Chilandar, 105–121, and they helped him to give a correct dating of the Chilandar frescoes; on them also Babić, *Peintures murales byzantines*, 368.

V. J. Djurić reflected on the decoration of the Chilandar katholikon in two more instances: Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*, 74 and Djurić, *Chilandar*, 81–86 (with excellent reproductions). Moreover, he also noticed that even some of the icons, now kept in the monastery treasury, are works of the painters engaged in the decoration of the church with frescoes (Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 81–82). Recently, he returned to them once again and classified the icons and frescoes of Chilandar as classicist creations of Byzantine art of the early XIV century (Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 73). On the frescoes of the katholikon of Chilandar cf. also Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 160 et passim; Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*, 160; *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 478, 480 (G. Babić-Djordjević); Velmans, *La peinture murale*, 204; S. Petković, *Hilandar*, Belgrad 1989, 35–37; Τσιγαρίδας, Η μνημειακή ζωγραφική, 320–332.



Chilandar

Church of the Annunciation



Not far from the monastery, on the cemetery, rises the church of the Annunciation, constructed in the first years of the XIV century. Its ktetor is unknown but it can be assumed that it was king Milutin because he strove to adorn Chilandar in every way (cf. Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*, 175–177). According to Athonite, and not only Athonite traditions, large monasteries also included churches in which the bones of the deceased monks were stored and, as a rule, this church was located outside the monastery walls. Even today the ground floor of this Chilandar church serves as an ossuary while an actual church exists on the upper floor. It seems to have been deserted until the XVIII century. It was restored in 1762 and its facades received a new coat of mortar in 1868. Probably in the course of those works, the frescoes in the church were covered with a new layer of mortar. They were discovered only in 1970, cleaned and conserved in 1974, cf. Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 53–57.

The church on the upper floor is vaulted and elongated in form. Through wide arched openings the altar space communicates with the prothesis and the diaconicon. In turn, they communicated with the naos through similar but smaller openings. The iconostasis was located between the two piers under the triumphal arch, now somewhat lowered. The central part of the sanctuary is covered by a barrel vault, there is a recessed arch in front of the apse and groin vaults over the lateral parts of the sanctuary. The walls of the naos are straight, with the main entrance on the south side. The naos was once separated from the narthex by a wall. The narthex had an equally simple shape but underwent many alterations in the meantime. On the architecture of the church cf. S. Nenadović, *Arhitektura Hilandara. Crkve i paraklisi*, Hilendarski zbornik 3 (1974), 182–185.

Since there are no written sources, the frescoes in this church can be dated to the period around 1320 only on the basis of their appearance. All frescoes date from the same time. They are mostly preserved in the sanctuary, around the

iconostasis and in the bottom register of the naos. They are all damaged by mallet strikes (B. Živković, *Popis fresko-površina u manastiru Hilandaru*, Glasnik DKS 8, 1984, 74).

The painters are unknown.

All inscriptions are in Greek.

The preserved frescoes.

Sanctuary

Only in the bottom register of the apse there are traces of four figures of bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: of the northernmost figure only traces remain and the beginning of the prayer of the Third Antiphon on his scroll, in front of him is St. Basil with a scroll with the text of the Cherubic hymn and, on the other side, St. John Chrysostomos and another bishop.

On the arch in front of the apse are frontally depicted archangels and, below them, two figures of bishops from the Celebration of Holy Liturgy: only the footwear remains of one while the other, on the south side, probably represents St. Cyril of Alexandria because his scroll is inscribed with a specific text of magnification of the Virgin.

On the vault is the Ascension.

The walls of the altar space were also decorated with figures of bishops, all in frontal stances. One appears in half-figure on the south wall and another by the iconostasis, in the passage opening towards the prothesis there are two in half-figure and another two below them, the name has been preserved only by St. Spyridon (on an older layer of mortar under this image there is a drawing of a head of some saint, perhaps St. John the Prodromos). In the passage opening towards the diaconicon there are two half-figures on the soffit of the arch and, further down, two bishops, among whom we find St. Achilleios of Larissa.

Prothesis. At the top of the apse is a half-figure of James brother of the Lord and below him a deacon. On

the vault in front of the apse were half-figures of bishops and we can identify only one as St. Symeon relative of the Lord. Below them are remains of two other bishops. On the soffit of the arched opening leading towards the naos there were also two bishops, one of whom was St. Tarasios. On the north wall, in the upper register, are half-figures of two unknown bishops and, above the window, St. Modestos. Further down are Sts. Clement of Ancyra and Sophronios of Jerusalem. On the south side, on the pier, there was another holy bishop.

Diaconicon. In the apse, only a holy deacon has been preserved. Three bishops stood on the south wall and two on the north.

Naos

On the triumphal arch is the Annunciation. Below the figure of archangel Gabriel there is a half-figure of St. Demetrios. In the bottom register, around the iconostasis, were Sts. Peter and Paul.

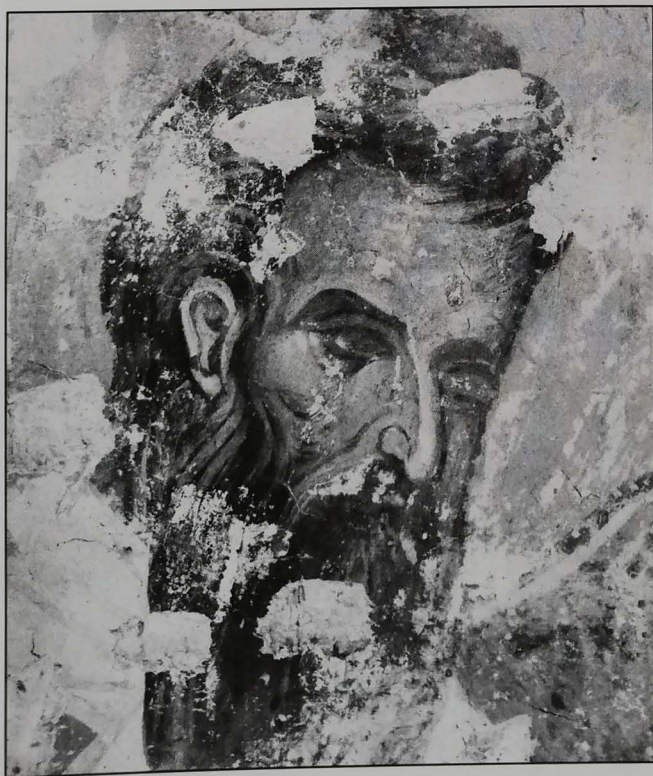
On the walls, frescoes have been preserved only above the painted socle. The line of saints on the south wall begins with the winged St. John the Prodromos, next to him was St. Theodore of Stoudion with an inscribed scroll, then Stephen the New and two monks. West of the entrance were three other monks, the last of which is St. Macarios (in the window on this wall there is a leaved cross with the letters $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{C}$ $\overline{X}\overline{C}$ $\overline{\Delta}$ $\overline{\Pi}$). The two saints on the west part of the

north wall represent holy poets. Only the name of St. Cosmas has been preserved. A fragment of a leaved cross remains in the window. By the other window, also decorated with a leaved cross, there were four holy monks.

Narthex

Except for a few fragments which are not in their original locations there are no frescoes in the narthex today.

The iconography of the frescoes of the church of the Annunciation has been investigated by Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 52–62, fig. 17–35 and drawing B. The author made a list of the frescoes and published the names of the saints, in cases where they were preserved by the figures, studied their artistic qualities, dated them to the second decade of the XIV century and, based on the images around the iconostasis, assumed that the church was originally dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul. The same scholar returned to these frescoes once again (Djurić, *Chilandar*, 88–92, fig. 67–68, in colour), repeated his earlier conclusions and mentioned that the narthex was once decorated with the Last Judgement (of which there is no proof). At the same time he expanded his assumption concerning Peter and Paul with an interpretation that the appearance of their images indicates the funerary function of the church. These frescoes were briefly considered by G. Babić-Djordjević in: *Istoriја srpskog naroda*, I, 478 and S. Petković, *Hilandar*, Belgrad 1989, 83.



Chilandar

Refectory



As a part of his generous restoration of Chilandar monastery, it seems that king Milutin also raised a spacious refectory to the west of the katholikon. In the course of the great renovation of the monastery in the XVII century, a flat wooden ceiling was put up in this building and its walls decorated with new frescoes in 1622.

The refectory is a building of rectangular ground plan, with a north-south orientation. There is an apse on each of its narrower sides. It is covered by a pitched roof.

The original frescoes have been preserved only above the flat ceiling from the XVII century, on the north pediment, i.e. a triangular segment of the wall above the apse (B. Živković, *Popis fresko-površina u manastiru Hilandaru*, Glasnik DKS 8, 1984, 72). Judging by their style, they date from the same period as the rest of the wall paintings created in the monastery in the days of king Milutin, that is from the close of the second decade of the XIV century (Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 51). They were cleaned in 1976–1979 (B. Živković, *Konzervatorski i restauratorski radovi na živopisu u manastiru Hilandaru*, Glasnik DKS 5, 1981, 39).

The author of these frescoes is unknown.
The inscriptions on them are in Greek.

Preserved frescoes.

At the top of the triangular segment of the wall there was an image of Christ with an open book, surrounded by angels in medallions of which only one is better preserved. Three scenes related to the righteous Abraham are arranged in the zone below: the welcoming of the three angels, Hospitality of Abraham and Sacrifice of Abraham.

V. J. Djurić wrote about the XIV century frescoes from the refectory twice: Djurić, *Chilandar*, 88, figs. 66, 69 (in colour) and Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*, 41–53, fig. 11–16 and drawing A, where he gave a detailed description, published the accompanying inscriptions, considered their iconography and style and dated them to the period around 1320. On these frescoes cf. also *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 478 (G. Babić-Djordjević) and S. Petković, *Hilandar*, Belgrad 1989, 42.

Chilandar

*Icon of the Presentation of the Virgin
in the Temple*



The icon (now in the monastery treasury) is painted in tempera on canvass on wood, dimensions 95 x 110 cm. It is damaged along the vertical axis in its left part and minor damages exist also on its right side. The background is gold. In the centre of the painting are representations of Joachim, Anne and the Virgin. Joachim is dressed in a blue hiton and a light violet himation, his left hand is on his chest and his right stretched out towards the infant Mary. Anne is wearing a blue dress with another, red dress over it and a maphorion. She turns towards Joachim and points towards the high priest Zachary. In front of them is the Virgin as a young girl, wearing a blue dress with another, brown dress over it. She stretches both her arms towards Zachary. The high priest is shown standing in front of the open doors of the altar with arms stretched out towards the Virgin. He is wearing a blue dress with a brown hem and another, red dress with wide sleeves and a brown hem over it. His cloak is light green, decorated with ornamental letters. There is a white cap with a red top on his head and olive green shoes on his feet. A tall and wide ciborium whose pyramidal top rests on four dark blue coloumns with gilded capitels towers over all the figures. On the right side of the icon, the Virgin is shown sitting at the top of the stairs, dressed in the manner already described in facing Zachary. A food-bearing angel, hidden by the ciborium, flies towards her. On the left side of the icon is a tall building with an undulating roof and a large entrance with a curtain tied in a knot. A red vellum hangs between this

building and the ciborium. In the foreground stand seven maidens in two groups arranged one behind the other. They are wearing green, red and violet dresses with gold applications and red shoes. Three girls have scarves on their heads and one transparent veil. All hold lighted candles. Joachim, Anne, the Virgin and the angel have gold halos with dot patterns along their circumferences. The inscription on the icon reads (В)ЪВЕДЕНИЕ (ВЪ) (Х)РА(МЪ).

The icon was apparently created in the second decade of the XIV century and, as an image of the feast day of the church, probably stood on the iconostasis of the katholikon.

It is not signed so that the name of its author remains unknown.

The inscription on the icon is in Serbian.

Researchers found this icon split into two parts, now joined together again, and, conservation wise, it has since been treated in a representative manner.

The first to draw attention to this icon was Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 174, fig. 27 who assumed that it once stood on Milutin's iconostasis. It seemed to him that western influences could be observed on the icon so that he compared it to Serbian monuments of the middle and the second half of the XIV century. The same author returned to this icon in several other instances and offered a different dating: Radojčić, *Die serbische Ikonenmalerei*, 73-74, Abb. 11; id., *Ikone Srbije i Makedonije*, Beograd 1961, p.

X; *Icônes – Sinai, Grèce, Bulgarie, Yougoslavie*, Belgrade 1966, pl. LXVI, CI (S. Radojčić); S. Radojčić, *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1969, 66 (saw in it a reflection of Constantinopolitan classicism in its Serbian variation and looked for resemblances in Bogorodica Ljeviška); V. J. Djurić devoted even more attention to this icon, recording most completely all its features, associating it with the decoration of the Chilandar katholikon and assuming that it could be the work of an artist from Thessaloniki (Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 81–82, fig. 32–33). A while later, he repeated his assessment of its exceptional

qualities, classified it among the best creations of Byzantine painting of the XIV century and singled it out as the most beautiful icon in Chilandar from the age of king Milutin. He also suggested that it could have originally stood under a proskenetaron in the church (Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86–88, figs. 72–73 in colour; cf. also Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*, 73). Flattering words about this icon have also been published in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 493 (G. Babić-Djordjević); G. Babić, *Ikone*, Beograd 1983, 140; M. Tatić-Djurić, *Poznate ikone od XII–XVIII veka*, Beograd 1984, pl. XIV; S. Petković, *Hilandar*, Belgrad 1989, 45.



Chilandar

Icon of an angel

This icon is badly damaged and the dimensions of the preserved part are 97.5 x 38.5 cm. It is painted in tempera on wood, against a gold background. The angel is shown in full figure, turning to the left, head gently inclined. Dark green is used as a base for his face. The modelling of the face is achieved with strokes of light pink and white and random strokes of red and black, whether in the form of broad patches or thin lines painted over it. The drawing is classicist, harmonious in the ratio of particular elements, the nose of the angel is somewhat elongated and gently curved, lips slightly pouting and eyebrows curved up. The angel's hair is chestnut, curly, with a ribbon above the forehead. His right arm is bent at the elbow and pressed against his chest. He is wearing a reddish brown monk's habit with three small red crosses clearly visible on it. The icon is now kept in the monastery treasury.

It was probably painted around 1320 because it is very similar to the frescoes of the katholikon, created around that time, and there is almost no doubt that it is the work of the same artists. Its original location is not known and it was probably a part of a larger ensemble.

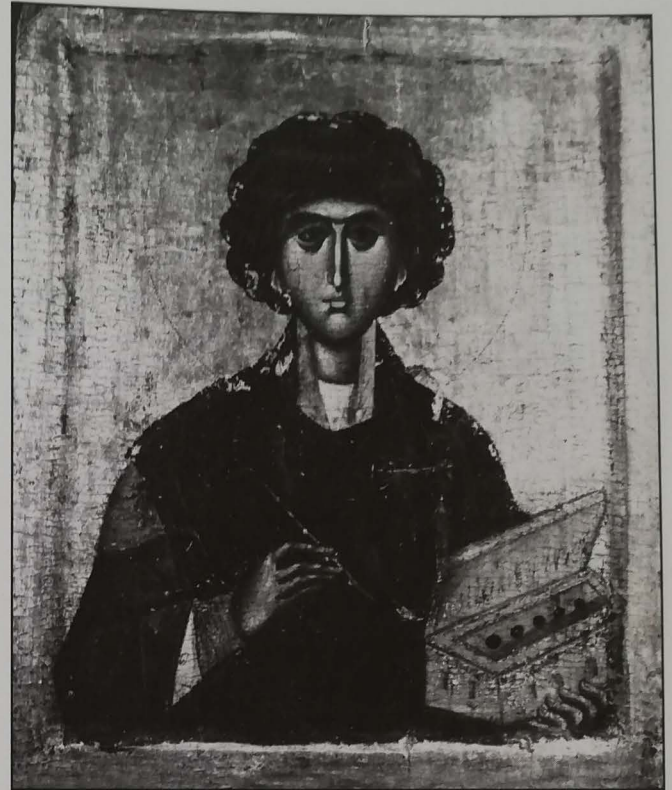
No inscription is preserved on the icon.

The name of its author is unknown.

It was discovered, described (including elements which differ from our description) and published by Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, 82, fig. 34–35. He associated it rightfully with the frescoes in the katholikon. The same author reflected on this icon once more: Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86, 88. Its iconography has not been investigated.

Chilandar

Icon of St. Panteleimon



The well preserved icon of St. Panteleimon (O ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΗΜΟΝ), dimensions 40.50 x 33.80 cm, is painted on canvass on wood. A half-figure of the saint is shown against a gold background with his right hand raised to his chest. With the tips of the fingers of this hand he holds a scalpel and in his right, lowered hand an open medicine box. His face is oval, with gentle transitions from a dark green shadow into a warm ochre. His eyes are almond shaped and slightly slanted, his eyebrows curved upward, his nose long and straight and his mouth small. Thick, dark, curly hair falls a little below the ears. He is wearing a white sticharion with tight red epimanikia and a greenish himation with a red ornament on his right shoulder and an equally red collar. A dark blue, almost violet cloak is worn over all these clothes. The flesh is modelled by using a warm ochre with dark shadows on the neck, around the outline of the face, under the eyebrows and the eyes and around the nose. The illuminated surfaces – on the hands, the neck, under the eyes and on the chin – are accentuated with light, distinctive strokes. Gold is used quite seldom, in the form of thin lines on the clothes and on the medicine box. The icon is now kept in the monastery treasury.

It was created probably in the first years of the XIV century.

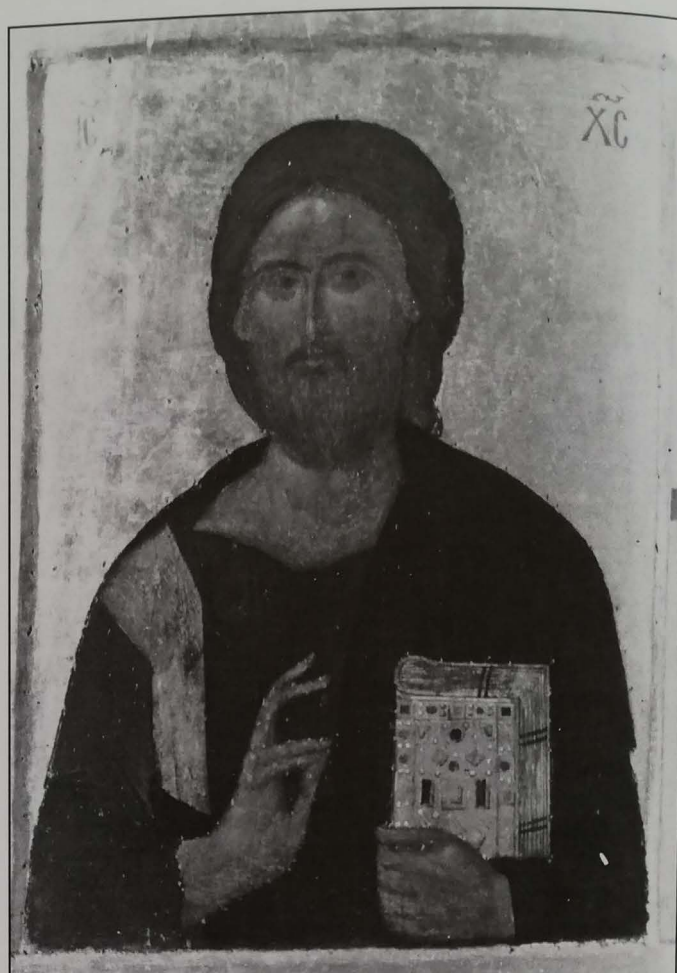
Its author is unknown.

The inscription is in Greek.

This icon was first noted by Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173, who also wrote about it later on: Radojčić, *Die serbische Ikonenmalerei*, 72, Abb. 8; S. Radojčić, *Ikone Srbije i Makedonije*, Beograd 1961, p. X, pl. 8; *Ikone s Balkana*, Beograd 1966, pp. LXV, XCVIII, pl. 177; Radojčić, *Slikarstvo*, pl. XXXVI (inclined to see in it a Constantinopolitan work of the first years of the XIV century). However, Djurić, *Chilandar*, 64, fig. 47 offered a slightly earlier dating, to the close of the XIII century, compared it to the frescoes of Arilje and assumed that its author could have come from Thessaloniki: *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 425 (V. J. Djurić); M. Tatić-Djurić (*Poznate ikone od XII–XVIII veka*, Beograd 1984, s. p., pl. 9) agrees that it was created in the last decades of the XIII century, although she suggests Constantinople as the place of its origin, while S. Petković (*Hilandar*, Belgrad 1989, 45, Abb. 10) is of the opinion that it was painted at the turn of the century, i.e. around the year 1300.

Chilandar

Icon of Christ



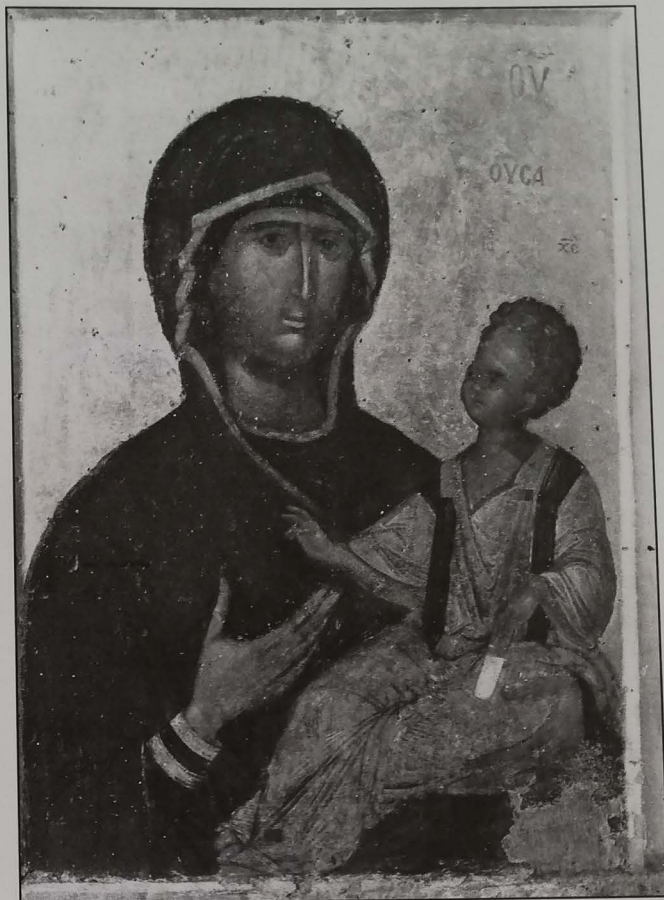
The icon (now in the treasury of the monastery) is painted in tempera on wood, dimensions 132 x 100 cm. It shows a half-figure of Christ blessing with his right hand while holding a closed gospel book with decorated covers in his left. He is wearing a light violet hiton with a clavus on the right shoulder and a dark blue himation. His hair is chestnut and finely combed. He has a short, fair coloured beard. The colour of the flesh is light, especially on the forehead, the cheekbones, neck and hands, with barely visible shadows. He is marked with red letters $\overline{\text{TC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ against a gold background.

This icon is probably a work from the second decade of the XIV century. It is possible that it once stood on the iconostasis of the katholikon.

Its author is unknown.

Not much has been written about this icon. It was mentioned by Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173, and its reproduction published by Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86, fig. 72 who assumed that it was once a despotic icon on the iconostasis of the katholikon. Cf. also *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 493 (G. Babić-Djordjević).

Chilandar

Icon of the Virgin Eleoussa

The icon is painted in tempera on canvass on wood (124 x 112 cm), against a gold background. The Virgin (ΜΡ ΘΥ ΕΛΕΟΥΣΑ) shown from the waist up with Christ (ΙC XC) on her left arm, is depicted in a frontal stance, turning slightly towards Christ to whom she points with her right hand. The infant Christ lifts his head slightly towards Mary, blesses with his right and in his left hand holds a rolled-up scroll resting against his left leg. The Virgin is wearing a dark violet maphorion with edges trimmed with a reddish-gold band and a blue dress with horizontal gold applications under it. The head scarf is also blue with radially arranged gold lines. Christ is wearing a light green hiton, a dark blue syndon and a yellow himation with threads of gold. The scroll in his hand is white on the bottom and red on the top. Olive is the predominant colour used in rendering flesh, with fine transitions into somewhat darker shadows and white lighted patches. Details around the eyes, the eyebrows, nose and hair are created with fine

strokes of brown and lips are rendered in cinnabar. The inscriptions are written out in red paint. The icon is now kept in the treasury of the monastery.

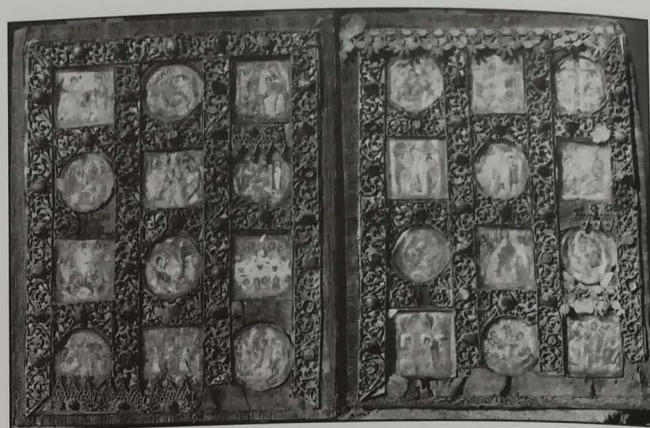
Tiny wholes in the icon attest that it once had a metal revetment. Its state of preservation is excellent and recently it has also been cleaned.

It was created probably at the same time as the icon of Christ, in the first decades of the XIV century, perhaps for the iconostasis of the katholikon.

Its author is unknown.

The icon was only mentioned by Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173, while Djurić, *Chilandar*, 86, determined the dating and assumed that it used to be a despotic icon in the katholikon, cf. also Π. Α. Βοκοτόπουλος, *Ελληνική τέχνη. Βυζαντινές εικόνες*, Αθήνα 1995, 214, εικ. 99 and *Istorija srpskog naroda*, I, 493 (G. Babić-Djordjević).

Chilandar

Dyptich with miniatures

Twenty four compartments, circular (4.50 cm) and rectangular (5.50 x 4.50 cm) in alternation, are distributed on two wooden panels (29 x 24 cm), twelve on each. Each compartment contains a miniature painted on parchment. The scenes are painted against a gold background, decorated with tiny pearls and protected by pieces of polished rock crystal. The spaces between the miniatures are filled with silver and gold filigree and semiprecious stones on a gold leaf base. On the left wing of the dyptich are representations of: the Annunciation, Nativity and Adoration of the Magi in the first row; Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Baptism and Raising of Lazarus in the second row; Transfiguration, Entry into Jerusalem and Last Supper in the third row; Washing of the Feet, Betrayal of Judas and Christ Before Pilate in the fourth row. The right wing of the dyptich has representations of: the Mocking of Christ, Flagellation and Christ Before the Cross in the first row; Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross and Holy Women at the Sepulchre in the second row; Descent into Hades, Christ appearing to the myrrhophores and Incredulity of Thomas in the third row; Ascension, Descent of the Holy Spirit and Mission of the Apostles in the fourth row.

The dyptich was created in one of the workshops of Venice in the last years of the XIII century. The time it reached Chilandar is not known. It may have been a gift from king Milutin, presented along with similar works which are now kept in the Athonite monastery of St. Paul.

Some of the miniatures have Latin inscriptions. It has been established that three different painters worked on these miniatures.

The group of art works of which the Chilandar dyptich is a part is quite well studied: F. W. Volbach, *Venetian-Byzantine Works of Art in Rome*, The Art Bulletin XXIX/2 (1947), 86–94; P. Toesca, *Un capolavoro*

dell'oreficeria veneziana della fine del Duecento, Arte Veneta V (1951), 15–20; H. R. Hahnloser, *Das Venezianer Kristallkreuz in Bernischen Historischen Museum*, Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historisches Museum XXXIV (1954), 35–47; P. Huber, *Image et message. Miniatures byzantines de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament*, Zurich 1975. On the dyptich in the monastery of St. Paul cf. F. Dölger – E. Weigand – A. Deindl, *Mönchsland Athos*, München 1943, 164–167.

The first to notice the Chilandar dyptich was D. Avramović, *Opisanje drevnostij srbski u Svetoj (Atonskoj) Gori*, Beograd 1847, 3, while a reproduction and a short description of it was published by L. Mirković, *Hilandarske starine*, Starinar X–XI (1936), 87–92. The scholar who drew attention to it again was S. Radojčić, *Umetnički spomenici*, 173, and a while later he treated it in a monographic manner, S. Radojčić, *Hilandarski diptih. Novi prilog poznavanju mletačke minijature kasnog XIII veka*, Glas SAN CCXXXIV, Odeljenje društvenih nauka 7 (1959), 49–54: he described it, dated it to the last years of the XIII century and compared it to similar works in European collections and museums, pointed out the mixture of Byzantine and western elements in the iconography of the miniatures and ascertained the participation of three different artists in their painting. Great attention was devoted to the Chilandar dyptich also by P. Huber, *Image et message*, 143–150, who published reproductions of all the miniatures and compared them to other similar works. The dyptich and its miniatures were also described and published in *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, II, Athens 1975, 392–394, fig. 432–443. On his part, Djurić, *Chilandar*, 96, figs. 3, 74, assumed that this dyptich from Chilandar, together with another similar dyptich, a wooden cross and a panel with minatures, now in the monastery of St. Paul, reached Chilandar as gifts of king Milutin.

Abbreviations

Index of Names

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Arhiepiskop Danilo, *Životi*
- L'art byzantin du XIII^e siècle*
- L'art de Thessalonique*
- Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*
- Babić, *Les chapelles*
- Babić, *Les croix*
- Babić, *Kraljeva crkva*
- Babić, *Nizovi portreta*
- Babić, *O jednom vidu investiture vladara*
- Babić, *Peintures murales byzantines*
- Babić, *Priprate crkava kralja Milutina*
- Babić, *Studenica*
- Babić, *Sušica*
- Babić, *Živopisani ukras*
- Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*
- Bornert, *Les commentaires*
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- Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*
- BS
- Buchtal, *Toward a History*
- BZ
- CA
- Chatzidakis, *Classicisme*
- Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Odras kulta sv. Stefana*
- Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Uz problem*
- Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Živopis Svetoga Petra*
- Danilo II, *Die Königsbiographien*
- Demus, *Die Entstehung*
- ΔXAE
- Dinić, *Oblast*
- Dinić, *Odnos*
- Djordjević, *O fresko-ikonama*
- Djordjević, *Zidno slikarstvo*
- Djurić, *L'art des Paléologues et l'Etat serbe*
- Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken*
- Djurić, *Chilandar*
- Djurić, *Deževski sabor*
- Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*
- Djurić, *Istorijske kompozicije*
- Djurić, *Narthex de Chilandar*
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- Djurić, *La peinture byzantine vers 1300*
- Djurić, *La peinture de Chilandar*
- Djurić, *La peinture murale byzantine*
- Djurić, *La peinture murale serbe au XIII^e siècle*
- Djurić, *Portrety*
- Djurić, *Slika i istorija*
- Djurić, *Tri događaja*
- DOP
- Dufrenne, *Mistra*
- Dufrenne, *Problèmes iconographiques*
- Glas SAN
- Glas SKA
- Glasnik DKS
- Glasnik DSS
- GNČ
- Gouma-Peterson, *The Frescoes*
- Grabar, *Antiquité et Moyen âge*
- Grabar, *L'empereur*
- Grabar, *Une pyxide en ivoire*
- Grierson, *Catalogue*
- Grozdanov, *Portreti*
- GSND
- GSUD
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- Hamann-Mac Lean – Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*
- Haustein, *Der Nemanjidenstammbaum*
- Istorija Crne Gore*
Istorija srpskog naroda
- Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije*
- Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres*
- JÖB
JÖBG
- The Kariye Djami*
- Kisas, *Solun*
- Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja*
- Lazarev, *Storia*
Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie*
Ljubinković, *Crkva Svetoga Petra u Bijelom Polju*
- Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarske insignije*
- Mercenier, *La prière*
- Mihailović, *Crkva Svetog Petra*
- Mijović, *Carska ikonografija*
- Mijović, *Menolog*
- Mijović, *Žiča*
- Milanović, *The Tree of Jesse*
- Miljković-Peppek, *Crkvata Sv. Nikita*
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- Millet, *Athos*
- Millet, *Recherches*
- Millet – Frolov, *La peinture*
- Milošević, *Die Heiligen Serbiens*
- Milošević, *Srbi svetitelji*
- Mošin, *Balkanskata diplomatija*
- Mošin, *Povelje kralja Milutina*
- Mouriki, *Stylistic Trends*
- Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*
- Okunev, *Aril'e*
- Okunev, *Portrety korolej-ktitorov*
- Okunjev, *Staro Nagoričino*
- Orlova, „Čto Ti prinesem, Hriste”
- Patterson-Ševčenko, *St. Nicholas*
- Πελεκανίδης, *Καλλιέργης*
- Petković, *La peinture serbe*
- Petković, *Pregled*
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